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COLLECTIONS

OF THE

State Historical Society

OF

NORTH DAKOTA

VOL. IV

O. G. LIBBY
Editor

FARCO, N. D.,
KNIGHT PRINTING CO., STATE PRINTERS AND BINDERS
1913

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

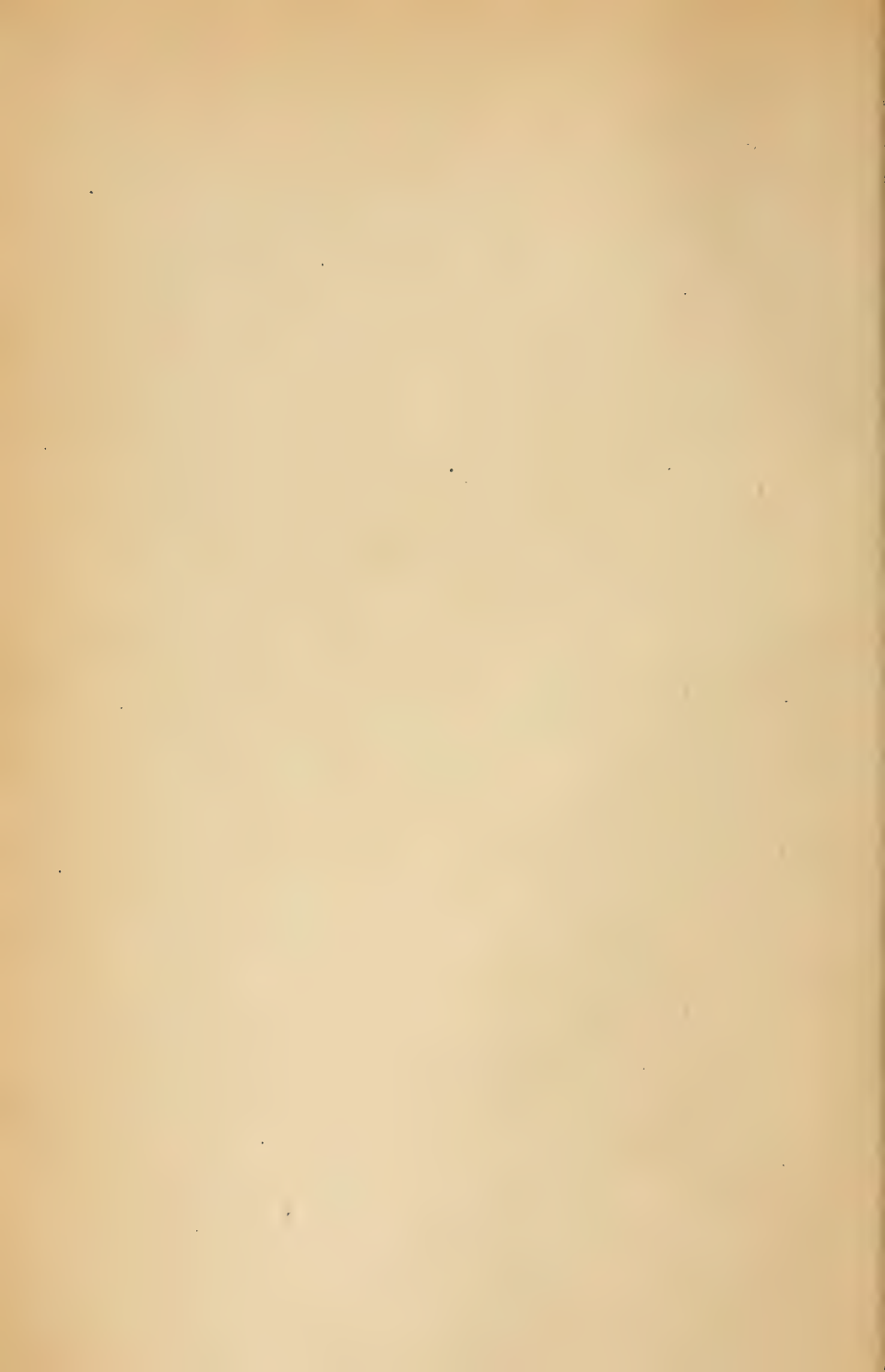
To the Governor:

The secretary of the State Historical Society of North Dakota, in behalf of the directors of the same, herewith transmits the report of the Society for the biennial period ending June 30, 1912.

The increased interest in our work and the widening scope of our labors are both registered in the material contained in the present volume.

O. G. LIBBY,
Secretary.

Grand Forks, N. D., Jan. 11, 1913.



ERRATA

- 671 Thomas Taylor, P. M. for Thomas Taylor, P. Mr.
Wm. Clouston, P. M. for Wm. Clouston, P. Mr.
- 674 Omit the words "Columbia continued and "New Caledonia
continued".
Benjamin McKenzie P. M. for Benjamin McKenzie, P. Mr.
- 690 Omit the words "Columbia contd".
- 707 Omit the words "Columbia contd".
- 725 Further for futher.
- 754 between for betwenn.
- 763 Russian American Fur Company for Russian American Fure
Company.
- 773 Omit the words "Columbia arrangements continued".

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Directors

Members

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Report of the Secretary



REPORT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NORTH DAKOTA FOR THE BIENNIAL PERIOD BEGINNING JULY 1, 1910, and END- ING JUNE 30, 1912.

Report of Receipts and Expenditures of the State Historical
Society of North Dakota from July 1, 1910 to June 30, 1911.

I

Receipts.

Balance of annual state appropriation of \$4600 on hand July 1, 1910	\$2931.36
Annual state appropriation available for use January 1, 1911	4600.00
Regular appropriation for the His- torical Society	\$2,000
For salary of curator	1,800
For field work	800
	\$4,600
Collections (sale of land belonging to State Historical Society)	177.00
Total	\$7708.36

Expenditures.

Total amount expended by vouchers drawn by the secretary on the annual state appropri- ation and paid by state warrants from July 1, 1910 to June 30, 1911	\$5298.39
Balance on hand July 1, 1911	2409.97
	\$7708.36

II.

Receipts.

Balance in the Treasury of the State Historical Society July 1, 1910	\$112.25
Dues received from July 1, 1910 to June 30, 1911	96.00
Sale of volumes of Collections from July 1, 1910 to June 30, 1911	20.87
Miscellaneous receipts	6.30
State Warrants:	
90397, Sept. 16, 1910	150.50
91037, Oct. 24, 1910	81.51
92318, Dec. 22, 1910	49.33
92319, Dec. 22, 1910	53.71
96340, Apr. 21, 1911	139.89
Total	
	\$710.36

Expenditures.

Warrants drawn by the secretary on J. L. Cashel, treasurer of the State Historical Society from July 1, 1910 to June 30, 1911	\$527.89
Balance on hand July 1, 1911	182.47
	\$710.36

Report of Receipts and Expenditures of the State Historical Society of North Dakota from July 1, 1911 to June 30, 1912.

I

Receipts.

Balance of annual state appropriation of \$4600 on hand July 1, 1911	\$2409.97
Annual State Appropriation	4600.00
Total	\$7009.97

Expenditures.

Total amount expended by vouchers drawn by the secretary on the annual state appropriation and paid by state warrants from July 1, 1911 to June 30, 1912....	\$4209.78
Balance on hand July 1, 1912	2800.19
	\$7009.97

II.

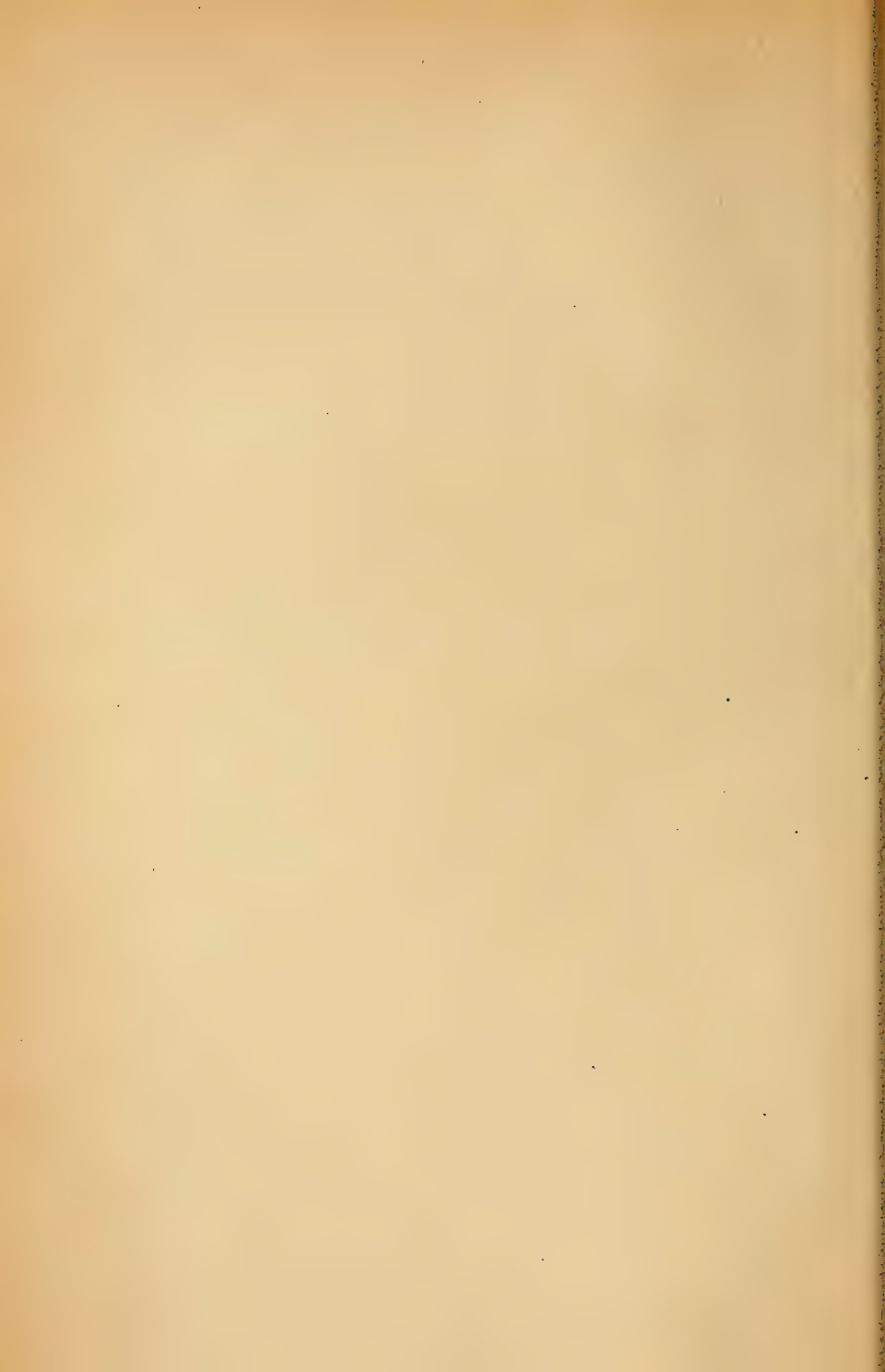
Receipts.

Balance in the treasury of the State Historical Society of North Dakota July 1, 1911.....	\$182.47
Dues received from July 1, 1911 to June 30, 1912	234.00
Sale of volumes of the Collections from July 1, 1911 to June 30, 1912	30.12
Miscellaneous Receipts	4.75
State Warrants:	
No. 100755, Oct. 9, 1911	132.19
No. 103710, Jan. 23, 1912	5.25
No. 103711, Jan. 23, 1912	41.71
Total.....	\$630.49

Expenditures.

Warrants drawn on J. L. Cashel, treasurer of the State Historical Society from July 1, 1911 to June 30, 1912	\$296.56
Balance on hand July 1, 1912	333.93
	\$630.49

Library and Exchange List
Museum
Field Work



LIBRARY

During the past year the board of trustees of public property have put in order the old boiler room adjoining the museum for the purpose of a library. This increase of space has furnished an opportunity for the Society to properly display its books and to give the public access to them.

During the past two years the library has grown rapidly by the purchase of books bearing on our state history and also on history of the entire northwest. Very large additions have been made, also, by exchanging publications with other societies and libraries in both the United States and in Canada.

Our collections have been enriched by the addition of important diaries formerly belonging to the pioneers of the state. Two of these are especially important for the information they contain regarding the life on the upper Missouri. A portion of the diary of Henry Boller, trader at Fort Berthold from 1858 to 1862, was furnished us by Mrs. Henry Boller along with many other letters he wrote at that time. The diary of Rev. C. L. Hall, Congregational missionary at Fort Berthold and Elbowoods, which he has kept from 1876 to the present time, forms an exceedingly valuable record of mission work and Indian life for over thirty years. The diaries of Eben Starr of Tracy, Minnesota, and Frank Myers of Miller, S. D., furnish valuable material on the Sibley and Sully expeditions in this state. The relatives of F. A. Van Ostrand, whose diary has been copied by the Society, have sent additional data and letters written during the early seventies.

A number of old maps have come into the possession of the Society along with a fine set of local maps donated by the Sanborn company.

EXCHANGE LIST.

Academy of Sciences, San Francisco, California.
Academy of Science, Springfield, Illinois.
Agricultural College, Fargo, N. D.
Alabama Historical Society, Montgomery, Ala.
American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.
American Geographical Society of New York.
American Museum of Natural History, New York.
Atlanta University, Atlanta., Ga.
Boston Book Co., Boston, Mass.
Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D. C.
California Academy of Sciences, San Francisco, Cal.
Carnegie Library, Ottawa, Canada.
Carlisle Indian Press, Carlisle, Penn.
Chicago Historical Society, Chicago, Ill.
Charleston Museum, Charleston, S. C.

Colorado College, Colorado Springs, Col.
Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, Conn.
Dedham Historical Society, Dedham, Mass.
Delaware Historical Society, Wilmington, Del.
Department of Agriculture, Ottawa, Canada.
Department of History, Pierre, S. D.
Davenport Academy of Sciences, Davenport, Ia.
Deutscher Pioneer-Vereins, Philadelphia, Pa.
Entomological Society of Ontario, Guelph, Can.
Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.
Evanston Historical Society, Evanston, Ill.
Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, Ill.
Fort Totten Review, Fort Totten, N. D.
Free Public Library, Philadelphia, Pa.
Georgia Historical Society, Savannah, Ga.
Geographical Society of Quebec, Quebec, Can.
German-American Historical Society of Illinois, Chicago, Ill.
Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Historical Department of Iowa, Des Moines, Ia.
Historical Society of Southern California, Los Angeles, Cal.
Illinois Academy of Science, Springfield, Ill.
Illinois State Historical Library, Urbana, Ill.
Indian Rights Association, Philadelphia, Penn.
Indiana State Library, Indianapolis, Ind.
Iowa Academy of Sciences, Des Moines, Ia.
Ipswich Historical Society, Ipswich, Mass.
Laidlow, G. E., Ontario, Canada.
Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
Long Island Historical Society, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Louisiana State Museum, New Orleans, La.
Maine Historical Society, Portland, Me.
Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Md.
Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Mass.
Michigan State Library, Lansing, Mich.
Milwaukee Public Library, Milwaukee, Wis.
Minneapolis Public Library, Minneapolis, Minn.
Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, Mo.
Mississippi Valley Historical Society, Lincoln, Neb.
Moorhead W. R., Andover, Mass.
Nebraska Legislative Reference Bureau, Lincoln, Nebr.
New Brunswick Historical Society, St. Johns, N. B.
New England Historical and Genealogical Society, Boston, Mass.
New Jersey Historical Society, Newark, N. J.
New Hampshire Historical Society, Concord, N. H.
New Hampshire State Library, Concord, N. H.
New Mexico Historical Society, Santa Fe, N. M.

New York Historical Society, New York.
New York Public Library, New York.
New York State Library, Albany, N. Y.
Niagara Historical Society, Ontario, Canada
North Carolina Historical Society, Chapel Hill, N. C.
Northern Indiana Historical Society, South Bend, Ind.
Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly, Columbus, O.
Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society, Cincinnati, O.
Ontario Agricultural College, Guelph, Canada
Ontario, Historical Society, Toronto, Canada
Ontario Provincial Museum and Art Gallery, Toronto, Canada
Oregon Historical Society, Portland, Ore.
Ottawa Literary and Historical Society, Ottawa, Canada
Pacific Monthly, Portland, Ore.
Peabody Historical Society, Peabody, Mass.
Pennsylvania Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pa.
Phillips Academy, Dept. of Archaeology, Andover, Mass.
Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pa.
Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
Records of the Past Exploration Society, Washington, D. C.
Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence, R. I.
Riggs, A. L. Santee, Neb.
Shafer, Joseph, Eugene, Ore.
Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D. C.
Society of Montana Pioneers, Helena, Mont.
Society of California Pioneers, San Francisco, Cal.
South Dakota State School of Mines, Rapid City, S. D.
State Historical Association, Austin, Texas
State Historical Society of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia.
State Historical Society of Kansas, Topeka, Kan.
State Historical Society of Louisiana, New Orleans, La.
State Historical Society of Minnesota, St. Paul, Minn.
State Historical Society of Mississippi, University, Miss.
State Historical Society of Montana, Helena, Mont.
State Historical Society of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebr.
State Historical Society of Oklahoma, Guthrie, Okla.
State Historical Society of Washington, Seattle, Wash.
State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
State Museum of Natural History, Springfield, Mass.
Tennessee Historical Society, Nashville, Tenn.
Tennessee Valley Historical Society, Guntersville, Ala.
Texas State Historical Association, Austin, Tex.
The Historian, Mission Hill, S. D.
Trinity College Historical Society, Durham, N. C.
University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Ark.
University of California, Berkeley, Cal.

University of Colorado, Boulder, Col.
University of Idaho, Moscow, Idaho
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.
University of North Dakota, University, N. D.
University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
University of Toronto, Canada
University of Washington, Seattle, Wash.
Vermont Historical Society, Montpelier, Vt.
Vineland Historical and Antiquarian Society, Vineland, N. J.
Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Va.
Washington Historical Society, Tacoma, Wash.
Wentworth Historical Society, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada
Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, O.
West Virginia Historical Society, Charleston, W. Va.
Wisconsin Archaeological Society, Madison, Wis.
Wyoming Historical Society, Cheyenne, Wy.
Wyoming Valley Historical and Genealogical Society, Wilkes-
barre, Pa.
Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

MUSEUM

The crowded condition of the museum rooms have made it impossible for the Society to enter into any considerable collecting in the state. For the past two years considerable work has been done however in the collecting of material illustrative of our early Indian agriculture, their secret societies and the hunting of their game. A collection of food stuff used by the upper Missouri Indians has been begun and already includes many specimens of corn, squash, sunflower seed, Indian turnip and wild cherries, in the various stages of preparation. To this collection is being added another of the agricultural implements in early use, such as the shoulder blade hoe, bone spade, digging stick, and wooden mortar and pestle.

Of the weapons used in hunting, the society is in possession of the elk horn bow backed with sinew, arrows tipped with flint, bone, sinew, iron and copper, the flint knife set in a wood handle and the Hudson Bay Co. knife. For tools used in the preparation of the hides there are numerous specimens of bone fleshers and elk horn scrapers. The latest addition is the old style fish trap with the accompanying paraphernalia including the songs, and also photographs showing various stages of manufacture and use.

The Indians of the state are manifesting an increased interest in what the Society is doing to preserve the relics of their early days. They have visited the museum constantly and are taking a personal interest in adding to its collections. A Mandan woman has given us a model of the old earth lodge of her tribe, fashioned according to the sacred rites of her ancestors.

Mrs. A. D. Anderson of Bismarck recently loaned the Society a considerable collection of Sioux specimens. Other citizens are contributing from time to time pioneer relics of the early days. A number of old guns and revolvers have been donated, also a Hudson Bay Co. bullet mold. The curator is anxious to secure representative collections illustrating the early life of the various nationalities represented in this state. So far the Icelandic collection is the only one which is at all complete.

FIELD WORK

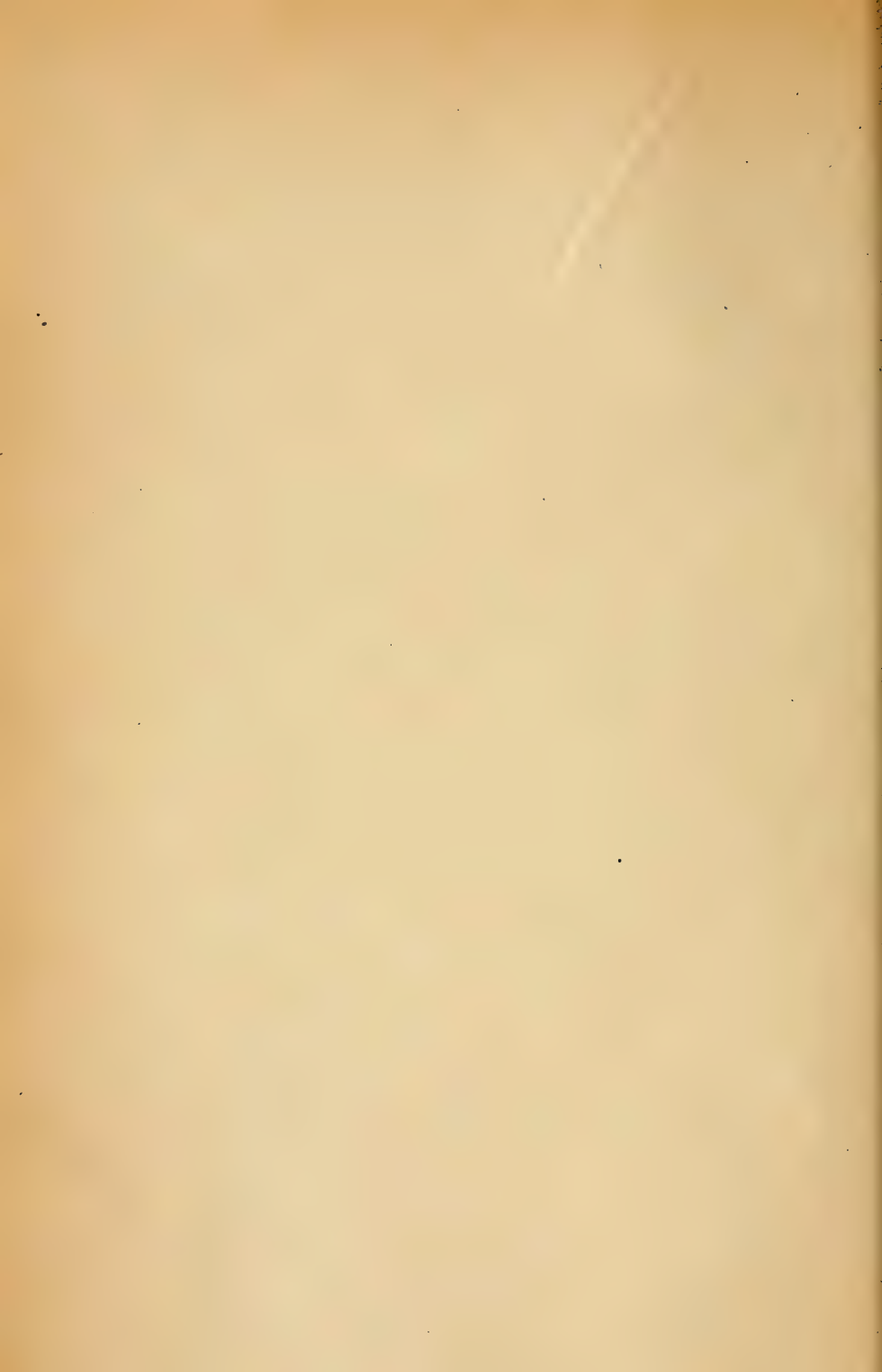
During the season of 1911 two important explorations were conducted. A preliminary examination of the Sheyenne and James River valleys was made and among other results the first true effigy mounds in the state were discovered. Later in the season the Mandan villages on the east side of the Missouri river were explored and listed and the field work was extended to the Grand river, South Dakota. The principal value derived from this trip was the widening of the field of inquiry to include the Sioux. Work in this region will be continued next year. The Society found the assistance of Rev. A. McG. Beede, field missionary at Cannon Ball, of great value; he is a keen observer and has the confidence of the Indians.

The field work of 1912 was done largely among the Indians on the Ft. Berthold reservation. Through co-operation with the United States Bureau of Ethnology we were able to secure the services of Miss Frances Densmore, government expert in Indian music. Miss Densmore recorded and transcribed a considerable number of old Mandan songs. With them she secured exact accounts of the significance of many of the songs and a large amount of material upon the secret societies of this tribe. Next in importance came the Hidatsa songs of which many were secured, some unusually fine. In addition to this there were secured twenty-three records of typical Mandan words and five records giving entire an ancient Mandan legend. The cylinders recording all this material were deposited in the vault of the Society at the state capitol. The complete report will appear later in the publications of the Bureau of Ethnology. While this work was going on, the secretary, in company with Rev. Beede, spent some weeks among the Arikara, procuring from the surviving scouts who served under Custer in 1876 a complete account of that remarkable campaign. This hitherto unused evidence throws a flood of light upon many obscure phases of the subject and will be later published with the Sioux account of the same events. Among the most valuable results of this piece of field work is a chart of the Little Big Horn battle field illustrating the part played by the Arikara scouts under Reno.

All of which report is respectfully submitted,

O. G. LIBBY, Secretary.

NORTH DAKOTA HISTORY



THE STORY OF THE GRANDSON, A HIDATSA LEGEND

The sun and the moon had a quarrel. The sun said to the moon, "I know the most beautiful woman in the world." "No" said the moon, "It is I who know the most beautiful woman in the world." The sun said to the moon, "Who is the most beautiful woman in the world?" And the moon replied:—"The most beautiful woman in the world is a Hidatsa maiden whom I see every night going from the village over the bank through the woods to the river for water, carrying in her hand the earthen pail." The sun replied:—"The most beautiful woman in the world is the Creek woman, whom every day I see at the bottom of a deep hole in the ground as I pass overhead." The moon laughed and said to the sun:—"How can a Creek woman compare in beauty to the maiden whom I see every evening?" The sun answered:—"If this maiden were to look me in the face she would no longer be beautiful, but the Creek woman looks upon my face with open eyes and not like your maiden with her eyes closed and her face twisted and distorted." So they quarreled, and finally they agreed that they would each bring his favorite up into the heavens and there compare them, one with the other. The sun drawing water sent down his long rays and drew the Creek woman up along one of these lines to himself. The moon also sought to obtain this Indian maiden in the following way. One evening the Indian maiden was going with one of her companions to the river for wood. They passed out of the village through the ditch over the edge of the hill upon which the village was located, and down the path into the brush and timber growing on the edge of the river. As she walked along she noticed how large and beautiful the moon was, shining through the trees, for it was the time of full moon. Presently she came to where a large tree had partly fallen against its companions and as she glanced up the slanting trunk she saw near the top a large hedgehog. She said to her companion:—"Sit here and I will go and kill this hedgehog and get his quills. She seized a stick and started up the slanting trunk, finding it a very easy pathway for her feet, and plenty of branches to take hold of to help her going up. When she arrived near the hedgehog she raised her stick to strike it, but it slid backward up the tree a little way. Again she advanced and again it slid or scuttled up the tree, each time just avoiding her attack. This went on for some time until presently she was aroused by the cry of her companion. Looking down she found she had come a very long way indeed and saw herself far above the tops of the tallest trees. She noticed also that the trunk over which she had walked was

This legend is given exactly as told by Scattered Corn, daughter of Move Slowly, the last of the Mandan holy men and guardians of the sacred tribal relics. The interpreter was Jas. H. Eagle, grandson of Move Slowly. [Ed.]

now entirely smooth and without branches. She glanced quickly back at the hedgehog, who now stood black against the moon, and she realized that this was a magic animal who had power to destroy her. She called down to her companion as do all Indians in times of extreme peril, or when they are about to die, "You may have all my things." As she said this, the hedgehog melted into the moon, and the moon seized her and carried her off. So the sun and the moon came together, each bringing the most beautiful woman in the world. They decided that the test should be made by giving each of their favorites some food to eat, and they agreed that whichever one made the most noise while eating should be declared the winner. In this contest the Creek woman was unable to make any noise, and, not wishing to be entirely beaten by the Indian maiden, she took from the fire some coals and chewed them with her food, making a slight crushing sound. The black from the coal ran down from the corners of her mouth and the moon began to laugh and jeer at her appearance, whereupon she leaped upon the moon and fastened on his breast. He tore her away and threw her into the edge of the fire, but again she leaped at him and clung fast. At last he began to be weary of this and the Creek woman remained clinging to his breast. You will still see her in the sky when you look at the moon. The Indian maiden became the wife of the moon and lived with him many years. A son was born to them and when the boy was five or six years old, his mother took him out with her to dig Indian turnips. The father warned them not to dig the largest turnip nor pull it from the ground. This aroused her curiosity and she pulled up a large turnip. She noticed that a deep hole was left in the ground and being anxious to know what it contained she lay close down and looked through the hole. To her great astonishment she found she was able to see the earth far below and also the Missouri river. She looked carefully and thought she made out her own village close to the river bank. This made her extremely homesick and she longed to return to the earth, but she had to turn back to her home, carrying her boy on her back. When her husband returned from hunting, for he was accustomed to go out every day, she said to him: "When you go tomorrow, hunting, bring back to me all the sinews of a buffalo. Do not leave any out." As this was her first request, he obeyed without question and the next evening returned with the bundle of buffalo sinews. But by mistake he had left out three small sinews, but neither of them knew it at this time. The next day when her husband left for the hunt, she set about making a long cord by braiding the sinews which her husband had brought her. She worked so rapidly that soon she had a very long cord which would bear her weight easily. Then she started out for the hole in the

ground which she had marked with a stick the day before. When she arrived, she placed her stick crosswise of the hole and fastened one end of the sinew cord to it and let the cord down through the hole toward the earth. Then she fastened her boy securely upon her back with her blanket and began to descend the cord hand over hand. As she climbed further down, the wind caught her, and swung her to and fro slowly through the air but she climbed down farther and farther, feeling with her feet for the rope beneath her which she could not see. At last, as she grew quite weary, she discovered that she could no longer feel the rope with her feet below her hands. She glanced downward with great effort and discovered that the rope was too short to reach the earth. The three sinews that her husband had not brought her made the rope that much shorter. Now she hung far above the top of the tallest tree. Here she remained suspended without daring to let go and unable to form any plan whereby she could save herself and her boy. When her husband returned home at night with his game which he had killed in the hunt, he found the tepee dark, no fire burning and his wife and boy gone. Instantly he set about to discover the trail by which they had left the tepee and speedily he found himself at the entrance of the hole through which his wife had escaped toward the earth. When he saw the stick and sinew cord, he knew at once what had happened and he became extremely angry at what his wife had done. Looking through the hole, he discovered that she had not yet reached the earth and, in fact, she had ceased to descend because the rope was too short. Thereupon he selected a large stone lying on the ground near by and began to make it of the right size to go through the hole by rubbing it with both hands and saying at the same time, "Get smaller, get smaller, get smaller." When it had been made very small indeed, he took it to the sinew cord and placed it firmly against the side and said to the stone: "Go down, following the cord all the way and kill the woman who has tried to steal my boy." The stone thereupon slid swiftly downward, faster and faster, until finally it struck the woman upon the head and killed her and she fell as a bird falls to the earth, her blanket fluttering and swelling in the wind, so that she did not strike the earth hard enough to kill the boy. The boy had been crying from fright before his mother fell and the fall stunned him for some time. Then he came to himself and found his mother did not move; he struggled with the folds of the blanket and finally succeeded in getting free and began to run about on the ground, calling for his mother to find him something to eat. When she did not move, he began to go further and further in search of something to eat. At nightfall, he returned to her body where he slept. The next day he sought still further for food, so that he never returned again to his mother's side.

At length, he came to the garden of the grandmother, an old woman who lived alone in what the Indians now call the "Grandmother's Lodge," the remains of which they still point out, in dim outline, upon the edge of the bank in the tall grass on the Fort Berthold Reservation. The garden was in the low ground among the bushes and weeds of the bottom land at the foot of the hill where her tepee stood. The boy found the garden full of corn, squashes and sunflowers and he ate eagerly of the green corn. When morning broke, he hid himself at some distance from the garden and the old woman, coming down the hill to the garden, discovered his footprints in the soft ground in all parts of the garden. Now this garden was guarded and protected by the animals who helped the grandmother raise her crop each year, The deer plowed the ground with their horns, the ducks and geese picked the harmful insects and helped to keep the garden free from weeds, so that she was much surprised to find in the soft mould of the garden footprints entirely unlike what she had ever seen there before. She recognized them as belonging to her own race and she desired very much to possess the child who had wandered into her garden. In order to do this, she must first make medicine but she could not make medicine until she knew whether the child was a boy or a girl. So she returned to her lodge and spent the day making a beautiful playing ball, such as the Indian girls use in their games, and a bow and arrows such as the boys are accustomed to use in learning to shoot. These she took back to the garden just at dusk and placed upon the ground, retiring to her lodge for the night. When the boy again sought the garden for his meal, he discovered the bow and arrows and the playing ball upon the ground. He paid no attention to the playing ball, but eagerly seized the bow and arrows, the first he had ever seen. He practiced shooting upon the corn, the sun flowers and squashes and when morning came the garden was a wreck. Eagerly the old woman descended from her lodge to discover by the traces in the garden whether the child was a boy or a girl. When she saw the corn and squashes and sun flowers shot to pieces by the arrows, she exclaimed joyfully, "It is a boy!" and immediately began to make medicine by which she might seize and hold him as her own. All day she labored in her lodge, using her utmost powers of enchantment and at dusk she descended the hill and changed herself into an old carrying basket, such as the women are accustomed to use about the village. When the boy came back again once more to the garden for corn to eat and to shoot again at the squashes and the sun flowers in the garden, he passed close by the old carrying basket without noticing it. As he did so, the old woman changed her shape and seized him and held him fast. She carried him to her tepee and he became the grandson whom all the Indians know as the "Morning Star."

As he grew older, he developed magic powers which at times alarmed the grandmother and made her fear him. He noticed that the grandmother was in the habit of taking a dish of food into a corner of the lodge, where a large blanket lay upon a low bed or couch. He saw her thrust under this blanket the dish of food and that when it was removed it was always empty. At last he said, "Grandmother, what is it that you give food to under the blanket?" But she said to him, "Never ask and never look, it will do us all harm." So when the old woman was in the garden gathering corn, the grandson took his bow and arrows into the lodge, went softly to the side of the blanket and pulled it back to see what was concealed there. To his great surprise, there was an enormous snake, very large around, with eyes as large as sunflowers. It opened its mouth at him but he said "I am not afraid of you" and taking his bow and arrow, he shot the snake in the neck just under the mouth and the snake writhed and twisted and fell from the couch and filled the room with his body, twisting and turning in every direction. The grandson went out, saying "I will tell my grandmother what you are doing." When the grandmother climbed the hill with her load of corn, the grandson said, "Grandmother, there is a big snake in the house and it covers the floor of the lodge. I shot it in the neck but it is not yet dead." The grandmother then said, "You are a bad child. The snake is my husband and now we shall all die." So she entered the lodge, pulled the arrow from the throat of the snake and lifted it in her arms as best she could saying, "My grandson is a bad child and did not know who you were." So carrying it she reached the edge of the Short Missouri and threw it into the water where it still lies, as all the Indians know.

The grandson gradually came to wander away from the lodge in every direction but the grandmother said to him, "Do not go on the hill behind the lodge where the thick bushes grow, and when he asked why he should not go there, the grandmother said, "You will be hurt if you go there." So at the first opportunity the grandson climbed the hill back of the lodge and came close to the bushes there, when a great bear thrust his head out of the bushes and growling attempted to seize the grandson in his claws, but he said to him, "Are you not ashamed to try and frighten me," and he ordered him to stop and the bear stopped. Then the grandson pulled a long bull snake out of the grass, made a noose at the end and placed it about the bear's nose and turned and led him down the hill to the lodge. He tied him to the door of the lodge and ran to meet the grandmother who was climbing the hill with her load of corn, saying "Grandmother, I have a pet dog and he is tied to the door of the lodge." When the grandmother saw the huge bear she was very much frightened and she ran quickly to the lodge door and unloosed the snake from the

bear's nose, saying, "My grandson is a bad child and does many things which I have asked him not to do." The bear being released ran growling up the hill and was seen no more.

By this time the grandmother had become thoroughly afraid of the grandson, since she was convinced that he possessed stronger medicine than she had. She had told him on a previous occasion never to go to the large red butte which still stands on the bank of the Missouri near the lodge of the old grandmother and which the Indians call the "Snake's Home." This command of the grandmother had aroused the grandson's curiosity and he determined to explore this hill. One day he climbed the rising ground and came to the foot of the red butte or the Snake's Home. To his great surprise, it appeared to be open at the end like a cave. After thinking it over for a moment, he picked up a large flat stone and carried it with him into the hill. As he passed the entrance, it was closed behind him, leaving no trace of an entrance. He found himself in an immense underground room within the hill and on every side of him were ranged rows and rows of snakes of all sizes and descriptions, with their heads up from the ground, tier upon tier. He did not show any fear of them but placed his large flat stone upon the floor of the room and sat down upon it, being careful to draw his feet under him. Thereupon the leader of the snakes said to him, "Now, grandson, we have you here in our secret lodge and you will never come out again. We intend to kill you here and put an end to your power." This they said they would do because they had heard how he had shot his arrow into the throat of the great serpent, the husband of the grandmother. The grandson sat still upon his stone and the snakes attempted to reach him in order to kill him with their poisonous fangs. Since he was seated upon the stone which came from outside their lodge, they could not touch him. A number of the snakes dived down into the ground and came up underneath, thinking to bite him in that way, but one and all bruised their heads against the stone, which they could not pierce, and finally they formed a row around the stone, each one vainly endeavoring to reach across and kill the grandson. But he only laughed at them and told them they had better go back to their places since they could not reach him. Then they asked him if he was not hungry and he said he was and would like to have some meat. They promised to roast it for him but, after roasting it, many of the more poisonous snakes bit into the meat, leaving their poisonous fangs imbedded there. These fangs had the power of poisoning whoever ate the meat and of returning to the mouth of the snake to which they belonged. But the grandson took the meat they offered to him and instead of eating the roasted meat as they supposed he would, he threw it into the fire and burned the poison out of it. All the snakes whose fangs remained in the meat

suffered the most excruciating pain from the heat which was burning their fangs.

After eating the meat, he said to the snakes:—"You see that you cannot harm me. My medicine is stronger than yours. Would you like to have me tell you a story?" The snakes assented and the grandson began, "All day when the wind blows, the leaves on the trees shake, the branches wave, the grass on the prairie rustles and sings, and the waves in the river and on the lakes dash and beat on the shore. But when the night passes and morning comes, the leaves cease to rustle and the grass is still and the waves no longer sound upon the shore." At this point a number of the snakes fell down asleep. Again the grandson repeated the same words with a slight variation at the end and more snakes fell asleep until finally upon the third repetition of this story all the snakes lay asleep flat upon the floor, their heads all pointing toward the grandson in a ring completely around their lodge. The grandson thereupon leaped to his feet, drew a large knife and, stepping from the stone, he proceeded to cut off from each of the snake's heads the hard horny beak with which they were accustomed to bite the Indians and kill them. He passed his knife swiftly in a circle about the room, severing the beak from the head of each snake at a single stroke. As he did this the door of the lodge opened and he passed out into the air, leaving the awakening snakes wallowing in their blood, with all their poisonous beaks lying strewn about the floor. But one little snake had not slept when the grandson had sung his magic song and this one alone escaped from his knife and darting down into the floor of the lodge, he called to the grandson, "Do not dare to drink water that touches the earth." The grandson heard him but was unable to reach him in time to do him harm. So he passed out of the lodge leaving the snakes as they have been ever since, blunt-nosed, still showing the mark of the knife of the grandson. As the day went on, the grandson became thirsty and started to find water but, as he stopped to drink, he remembered the words of the little snake and did not dare to drink the water that everywhere touched the earth. At last he came to a great boulder lying on the surface of the ground and in it there was a little hollow filled with water. "This," he said, "at least does not touch the earth" and he stooped to drink, being by this time extremely thirsty. But the little snake had penetrated the stone from the earth and as the grandson opened his mouth to drink the water, he darted into his mouth and down his throat. Instantly the grandson pulled off his own head but the snake slid further down his throat. He pulled his body in two but the snake eluded him by darting again into his head which lay upon the ground. Then the grandson called upon the winds to blow and they blew the head containing the snake into a stream near by.

Then he called upon the sun to make the water boil and the water boiled and the snake escaped from the head and the grandson caught him. When he had put his body and head together again, he held the snake in his hand and said to him:—"You have made me much trouble, you little snake. It is no light thing you have done to make me tear my body into three parts and now you shall be punished for it all." So he took the snake to a small piece of soft sand stone and rubbed his beak upon it until there remained not one bit and the nose of the little snake was rough and bloody. So when he had taken from him his medicine, he let him go and the little snake's head and nose have remained to this day as the grandson left them.

After this exploit the grandson did not live any longer with the grandmother, only visited her occasionally. He went about the earth killing the monsters that plagued the Indians, causing the rivers to flow in the right channels and the difficult hills to be smooth for the pathway of the Indian, and in every way seeking to make the lot of the Indian a happy one on the earth. He is still going about on the earth a long way off, and he will some day return to make the Indians happy, and to give them back the land of their fathers which the white people have taken from them.

EARLY HISTORY OF McKENZIE COUNTY.

Geo. F. Shafer.

McKenzie county, more recently known as the "Island Empire," is situated in the extreme western part of North Dakota, and has an area of about twenty-seven thousand acres of land. It derives its latter appellation from the peculiar fact that with the exception of a few miles on the southwestern border, it is encircled by water. The northern and eastern boundaries are formed by the Missouri, a part of the southern boundary by the Little Missouri and its picturesque range of Bad Lands, while on the west is the Yellowstone. The history of this new county is to a large extent but a repetition of that of most of the counties of the western states. It is an interesting and romantic story of the subjection of the hostile Indians, the extermination of the buffalo, and the many different kinds of wild game, the era of the traditional cattle-kings, ranchers, and cowboys, and last of all the advent of the farmer. It is another example of the marvelous transformation of a wilderness into a highly civilized community within the short space of a quarter of a century.

The early civil and political history of this new county is somewhat varied and indefinite. The territory of which McKenzie county is now comprised was originally a part of Howard county, and, in 1883, was divided into three unorganized counties, namely Wallace, Allred, and McKenzie. Wallace was annexed to Stark in 1897, for judicial purposes; McKenzie was annexed to Billings in the same year for the same purpose; a part of Allred was attached to Billings in 1897, and the remainder to Williams in 1890. In this condition they remained until 1905, when the legislature organized the new county out of these three previously unorganized counties, and called the new consolidation, McKenzie. Thus, as far as practical purposes were concerned, there was no local government in McKenzie county prior to 1905, except the law of self-preservation and the unwritten law of the frontier. While it was true that different sections of the county were attached to other counties for judicial purposes, which condition was supposed in theory to give the people the protection of the law, yet the fact was that such a condition was a hindrance rather than a benefit to the settlers. If, for instance, a resident of Wallace County desired the arrest of a horse-thief, it was necessary for him to travel to Dickinson, a distance of eighty miles, in order to secure a warrant and an officer. The result would be that the thief could place himself far beyond the reach of the law long before the injured settler could avail himself of legal assistance. Needless to say this process was but seldom resorted to. On the contrary, the victim of a theft would

immediately secure his rifle, avail himself of a posse of friends, and without any legal ceremony or display, would pursue his stolen property with vigor, and usually with success. Likewise, there was no demand for the civil law, as there was much land and but few people, hence their interests and rights did not conflict. There seems to have been only one civil lawsuit in McKenzie county before its organization, the case of Cuskelly vs. Shafer. In that case the plaintiff was a resident of Dickinson and the action was never tried, owing to the fact that the defendant exhausted himself traveling back and forth between his home and Dickinson, eighty miles each way, attending terms of court. Moreover, in absence of all government or law, the people were not subjected to the troubles and burdens of an organized community; as there were no offices to be filled, there were no elections, no political strife, and none of the evils engendered thereby. There were no schools, no jails or poorhouses, no bridges or county roads; in short there were none of those institutions of civilization which must be established and maintained at the expense of the people. There was no representation and no taxation. To those pioneer people the burdens and the benefits of organized society were unknown. Thus, without the aid of state or nation, without the help of any law, except the natural laws of self-protection, and the equally effective un-written laws of the West, these simple but rugged people lived together in prosperity and good order.

The first official census taken in McKenzie county was recorded in 1890. The record shows a population of twenty-seven persons at that time; twenty-four in Wallace, and three in McKenzie county.¹ This is nearly correct, exclusive of Indians, who were supposed to have been stationed on the Berthold Reservation, but who made no pretence of staying there when hunting was good elsewhere. This report, however, includes eight Indians, but it does not include several white people who were there at the time.² Naturally there were many transient cowboys, hunters, and trappers which these lists do not include, but otherwise, they fairly represent the stationary population there at that time.

As a matter of course the earliest settlers were hunters and trappers. While McKenzie county was never a favorite resort for the buffalo, yet such game as elk, antelope, black-tail and white-tail deer, mountain sheep, bear, beaver, otter, mink, musk-

1. The following are the names of the white people contained in the census: In McKenzie County, Wilbur Pool, Thomas Grasier, and Charles O. Armstrong; in Wallace County, Daniel Manning, Kate Manning, William Manning, Bennie F. Manning, Dell Dickinson, Frank Chesrown, John McGee, Geo. M. Frye, Angus Schrader, Arthur N. Jeffries, Nora C. Jeffries, William F. Cantelow, John Armstrong, Henry Neetert, John Thompson, and Alex A. Carp.

2. The following are the people not enumerated in the census, but who were living in McKenzie County in 1890; Frank Banks, E. E. Chase, W. Arett, Sid Tarbelt, Arthur Mahoney, Wilkes Richards, — Merrill, Geo. Bacon, Chas. Shafer, Eva Shafer, and Geo. F. Shafer.



G. M. Frye

rats, wolves and coyotes, were very plentiful. The pioneer hunter and trapper of McKenzie county is Chas. Shafer, who claims to have trapped on every running stream, and hunted in every valley within the boundaries of the Big and Little Missouri rivers. The most fruitful part of his hunting career was between the years of 1883-1890. Among others who made it a business to hunt during those early years, were E. E. Chase, Geo. M. Frye, Arthur Mahoney and Theodore Roosevelt.

The first log cabin known to have been erected within the county, was built in 1883 by Messrs. Chase and Frye mentioned above, at the mouth of Cherry Creek on the Little Missouri river. The purpose of its erection was that it might serve for a hunting camp. This cabin still stands and is in good condition. About this time another one was built at the present county seat by Chas. Shafer; this cabin was accidentally burned a few years later. Ex-president Roosevelt also built one at his ranch on the Little Missouri, but the ranch and the cabin have both long since disappeared. The cabin was taken to the St. Louis Exposition in 1904, to the Portland Exposition in 1905 and now stands on the capitol grounds at Bismarek, North Dakota.

The next stage in the development of this pioneer region was the era of the stock-raising industry. Contrary to the opinion of many, this did not mean the passing of the hunters and trappers. Indeed, they became more plentiful than ever, although the buffalo had been exterminated by 1883, and the mountain sheep and elk a few years later. Yet the business of hunting and trapping the many other kinds of game flourished even as late as 1900. In many cases the small rancher and the hunter was one and the same man. In fact every rancher had to be a hunter in order to provide himself with fresh meat, which was always the staple food in the west. And nearly every hunter became a rancher when hunting became unprofitable.

The honor of inaugurating the ranching business in McKenzie county is due to the firm of Chase and Frye. These men came from Elk River, Minnesota, and, after hunting one winter, that of 1883-4, started a ranch the following spring at their hunting camp on the Little Missouri. They imported a small herd of cattle and a few horses, and their place was known as the No. 7 (pigen-seven) ranch. A few years later they moved to the mouth of Seven-mile creek, two and one-half miles south of Schafer. At about that time the firm was organized into the Percheron Horse Co., but the new concern was always known as the mule-shoe bar ranch. They specialized in the breeding of draft-horses, and developed what is generally reputed to be the finest herd of Percheron horses in North Dakota. In the summer of 1910 the business was sold to a new company.

During the same year the largest and most famous cattle ranch in McKenzie county was organized. It was owned and financed by Reynold Bros. of Texas. It was conducted on a large scale, and according to the old traditional way of allowing the cattle to roam on the prairies at will until in a condition to be shipped to the market. This company also performed what is considered to be one of the most remarkable feats in the history of ranch life, that of driving large herds of cattle across the country from Texas to North Dakota. This achievement was first accomplished in 1884, when, under the leadership of A. N. Jeffries, the manager of the company, a daring band of Texan cowboys piloted a monster herd of cattle from the Rio Grande to the Little Missouri. The herd was guided by means of a compass, and reached North Dakota in September, having left Texas early in the spring. This process was repeated each year until 1897, and in this way the grazing lands of McKenzie county were replenished by new cattle. Among the men who helped drive the first herd from Texas were A. N. Jeffries, Wilkes Richards, Frank Banks, W. Arett, Chas. Armstrong, and Mr. Tarbelt. This concern was always known as the Long X outfit, deriving its name from its official brand on the left side. The kind of cattle thus imported from Texas were usually two year old steers. They were called "trailers" because of their tendency to roam back and forth over the prairies. After traveling all the way from Texas to North Dakota they seemed to develop a nervous habit of aimless roaming, which was not excelled even by the wolves. Particularly were they inclined to follow buffalo trails, for if they once struck a trail across the prairie, there was no rest, day or night, until they found its destination. Because of this characteristic they were very obnoxious to the smaller ranchers, as they would continually lead astray the more domestic cattle. Every spring when the "trail herd" was turned loose at the mouth of Spring creek, the small ranchers were compelled to put forth additional efforts to keep their own herds nearer home, and to keep the range cattle away. Realizing this trouble the Long X outfit at times, furnished the small ranchers extra saddle horses in order that they might be better able to protect themselves, but it was all of no avail. The task was like that of keeping away the mosquitoes in the springtime, or the flies in midsummer. At the time of their arrival these cattle were small, thin, scrawny looking animals; about the only thing worth noticing about them were their long horns. However, after experiencing two years on the northern range they developed into large, magnificent animals, and always brought first class prices on the Chicago markets.

Naturally such a large and extensive stock business necessitated the employment of a large number of men during the spring and fall of each year. These men were all cowboys, most of whom

had come from Texas with the trail herds. The chief purpose for which they were used was to brand the calves in the spring, and to round-up for shipment the beef cattle in the fall. Two crews, or speaking in terms of western language, two "wagons" were operated each season to gather the beef cattle. With each wagon there were about twenty-five men, including representatives from other ranches, who were called "reps." After gathering the beef herd, it was driven to Belfield, N. D., loaded on the cars, and shipped east. The operations of a "beef-round-up" were most interesting to strangers and have often been described. Beginning at the point farthest from the railroad the "round-up" would work in the general direction of the railroad. With each outfit there were two wagons, a mess-wagon, driven by the cook by means of a four-horse team, and the bed-wagon, driven usually by the "night-hawk," whose other duty was to keep guard over the saddle horses every night. Camp was moved twice each day, in the forenoon and afternoon, a distance of about six or eight miles each time. With the wagons always went the saddle horses, driven by the man in charge, whose other duty was to bring fire-wood and water for the cook. The rest of the cowboys were engaged in what was called "riding circle." That is, every morning, under the instructions of the foreman, two groups of riders of about ten each, left camp in opposite directions. They would proceed about ten miles from camp, detailing a couple of riders every two or three miles. Then this line of riders would travel across the country in a half circle, gathering all range-cattle they found, and meeting the mess-wagon at its noon camp. After dinner the cowboys would change riding horses, and make a similar detour in the afternoon, meeting the wagons again at the evening camping grounds. Thus, twice a day, all the range cattle within a circle of fifteen or twenty miles in diameter would be gathered in. The cattle collected in this way were driven along with the wagons. Every few days, the round up would stop a half day, and separate the beef-cattle from the rest, leaving behind those not in condition to be shipped, and taking the beef herd with them. The men on the round-ups worked seven days in the week, both day and night in all weathers. Nothing stopped them but fire. If there was a prairie fire, the beef herd was abandoned at once, and all efforts were devoted to save the range from the fire, which, outside of winter, was the ranchman's greatest enemy. Every man, except the cook, had to stand guard over the beef herd two hours each night before his day's work was done. While the life of the cowboy has been pictured as most beautiful and romantic, it is in reality full of hardships and nerve racking experiences. The cowboy had to be in the saddle from daylight until dark, with two hours breaking his short period of sleep. He was often wet to the skin for days

at a time; and, sleeping on a damp bed in the rain, the sleet, and the snow, there is little wonder that nearly every cowboy is a victim of rheumatism and a physical wreck at the age of thirty five years.

The Long X outfit had the reputation, during the early years, of doing business on the most economical basis of any ranching concern in the west. It is said that in the fall of the year, when the regular beef round-up was being made, it was the custom of the cook to drive the mess-wagon to the side of a patch of wild plums, and then shout "grub-pile," whereupon everyone would fall to, and make a meal of nature's food. The variety of food was not very great, consisting only of bacon, flour, and coffee. Later however, in its more prosperous years, the rations were raised to the regular standard, consisting of black coffee, potatoes, fried beef steak, hot baking powder biscuits, canned tomatoes, canned corn, and baked beans. This menu was served three times a day without fail, and it tasted better each time. No cowboy ever had indigestion while on the job, for if there is anything that will give a man an appetite it is riding fifteen hours a day, and there is nothing that will satisfy it like a large cut of fried beef steak, a plate of fried potatoes, a cup of hot coffee, and a number of warm baking powder biscuits.

Other well known men, besides those mentioned, who worked for this company were Sam Sellman, "Colonel" Rush, Ben Arp, Ralph Hatton, Ralph Raum, Daniel Manning, Frank Poe, Jay Grantier, Arthur Mahoney, Geo. Bacon, ——— Merrill, Geo. Frye, and E. E. Chase. Of these, the first three have long since returned to Texas, from whence they came; Ralph Hatton is in Alaska; Ralph Raum is deceased; Daniel Manning and Geo. Frye are residents of Dickinson, N. D.; Frank Poe, Jay Grantier, Arthur Mahoney, and Geo. Bacon are still living in McKenzie county; E. E. Chase is in Elk River, Minnesota: Of the first list given, A. N. Jeffries, manager and foreman, is deceased, Wilkes Richards and W. Arett are residents of Dickinson; Frank Banks is in Williston. The headquarters of this company was at a ranch on Squaw Creek, which was purchased from Hall and Braden in 1885. The head quarters were at first on Bowline Creek where a log shack still stands. Hall and Braden had intended to operate a sheep ranch on Squaw Creek, but the Vigilantes, who made their notorious raid thru Montana and western North Dakota in search of alleged horses in the fall of 1884, burned their hay. Being without hay, they lost their sheep in the following winter and consequently, they were compelled to sell out the next spring. The Long X Cattle Co. was not so fortunate in a business way, as some of its competitors. The hard winter of 1886-7 dealt it a severe blow at the beginning of its career, from which it never recovered. After the hard winter of 1896-7, it sold its entire business to the



Daniel Manning

Converse Cattle Co., thus closing the career of the largest and most famous stock ranch in the county. With it passed away much of the best, and certainly the most romantic, portion of the history of the region.

With the exception of the ranch just referred to, all of the ranches, large and small, operated on the plan of herding their stock within a few miles of the home ranch and of providing shelter, and feed for the cows, calves, and young stock during the winters. Most of the larger ones had what were called cow-camps, or summer-places where the cattle were taken in the summer time in order that grazing near the home ranch might be in better condition for fall and winter pasturage. The second largest ranch in the county, the Morning Star Cattle Co., familiarly known as the Birdhead outfit, did business on this plan. It was organized in 1893 by J. M. Uhlman, Jaynes Bras, and others from Wisconsin. The home ranch was situated near the mouth of Timber Creek, in the valley of the Missouri. The ranch was first built in 1891 by Stroud Bros. of Texas, who engaged in the cattle business there for two years. At the end of that time they sold out to Landers and Green, who in turn, disposed of their interests to the Morning Star Cattle Co. The manager of this ranch, and the man who was responsible for its early success, was J. M. Uhlman. It continued its enterprise until 1904, when it was succeeded by another company. The principal ranches in McKenzie county, outside of the ones mentioned during the years between 1884-1900, were owned by Daniel Manning, Brooks, Goodall, Geo. Bacon, Frank Banks, Jay Grantier, Townsend Bros., Noble Bros., Stroud Bros., Cartwright and Sons, Frank Poe, R. B. Gore, and Chas. Shafer.

The Hidatsa Indians were supposed to have been stationed on the Berthold Reservation, but they did not by any means stay there. They were not hostile, but exceedingly arrogant and overbearing. It was their custom during the earlier years, to visit new settlers and to give them so many hours in which to leave the country. The famous old chief, Crow-Fly-High, took great pleasure in thus intimidating the white people. He actually did succeed in causing some of the more weak-hearted ones to seek other locations. As a pretext for ordering the settlers out of the country, the old chief always claimed that the reservation extended over all of the territory now included in McKenzie county, and no amount of evidence or argument could convince him of the contrary. As a matter of fact he knew better than any one else where the boundary line actually was. While these Indians outwardly appeared to be bold and dangerous, in reality, they were cowardly and harmless. These Indians had the reputation of being the most cowardly tribe in the west. A few illustrations will give some idea of their tendency to threaten, and

their lack of courage to carry out their threats. When Chas. Shafer first established his hunting camp at the present county seat in 1884, he was waited upon by Crow-Fly-High, and given to understand that he had to leave the region at once. His demand was promptly refused. Whereupon the chief departed in a great rage, threatening to return at sun-rise the next morning with two hundred warriors, and that should the hunter be found there at that time, he would be scalped. Crow-Fly-High did not put in an appearance for many weeks, and when he did return he came alone, and with a meek request for something to eat. It was also their habit to leave the reservation without authority, and to camp along the rivers all summer for the purpose of hunting deer since the game supply on the reservation was exhausted. This was very destructive of game, since the killing went on during the breeding season. Shafer was determined to put an end to this practice. After securing an appointment as special game-warden, he succeeded in putting them all back on the reservation without any assistance other than the seal of his authority. For many years afterwards it was the custom of the Indian agent at Berthold, to allow the Indians a couple of weeks leave of absence from the reservation during the fall of each year, in order to give them an opportunity to hunt. So great was their respect for the seal with which Mr. Shafer was equipped, that invariably they came to the game warden for permission to hunt within his territory. The writer well remembers these many occasions and was the recipient of many presents in the form of moccasins, buckskin breeches, and other products of Indian genius.

Crow-Fly-High was a peculiar character. It is said that he took part in the historic Custer Massacre. No one knew how old he was; he was surely the oldest Indian in the tribe, because his memory seemed to reach farther back than that of any other Indian. Whenever he went anywhere with his band he always rode a few miles in advance on his pony. Anyone that knew him, could identify him for miles, as he always rode alone at high speed, and his quirt, which consisted of a short stick with straps attached at one end, was constantly applied. Upon arriving at a ranch, he would leave his comrades, and visit the rancher. He always knocked at the door, and then entered before he was bidden. After entering, he would grunt "How" to anyone that might be present, appropriate a chair, select a good position near the stove, take out his pipe, and smoke until he was invited to eat. His only purpose of visiting was to get something to eat, and he would never end his visit without eating, unless told to get out. Although he could speak English fairly well, he would never converse in that language. The result was that if there did not happen to be anyone present that could speak in his native tongue, he would sit for hours like a sphinx. Unlike his fel-

low Indians he never adopted the white man's method of dress, but always clung to his traditional blanket. This fact together with his ugly look, and his haunting silence, gave him a terrifying appearance, especially to women and children. The old chief, like the rest of his comrades, had the appetite of a glutton, nor were his table manners strictly up-to-date. On one occasion when Crow-Fly-High and two other Indians were eating dinner at a ranch, there was on the table a pan of exceedingly large sized baked potatoes. After emptying and filling their plates two or three times, there was one huge potato left in the pan. The Indians looked at the potato, then at each other, and began an eating contest. At first the race was about even, but soon it became apparent that youth must be served, for the chief's age was telling on him. Finally realizing that he had lost, he suddenly stopped, looking at the potato and then at one of his competitors who was just finishing. He stood up, reached nearly across the table, secured the coveted prize, placed it along side of his plate, re-seated himself, and went on eating as calmly as though nothing had happened.

Another characteristic of the Indian was that he never questioned the quality of his food. He was never known to reject meat no matter what its quality. On one occasion an Indian asked my father if he might have a calf that had died the night before from Black Leg. The hired man, who had just come from the east, inquired in a rather curious way, what he wanted to do with that old dead calf. Whereupon the Indian replied that he wanted to eat it. Seeing the look of incredibility and astonishment on the face of his inquirer, the Indian added: "Ugh! calf make good eat; put a little salt on 'em, then, he make good eat." Gradually the Indians ceased leaving the reservation except for the purpose of visiting their so-called cousins, the Crows in Montana. The Indians were very much inclined to visit each other, especially for the purpose of trading horses. All of the Indians have since left that part of the reservation between the Little and the Big Missouri rivers. And that portion of the land which they formerly occupied, is now leased by the United States government to the Springville Cattle Co. for stock raising purposes.

Prior to 1903, there were but few families living in McKenzie county. The first white women to make their home in this pioneer county were Mrs. Daniel Manning and Mrs. Hans Christian-son. These women with their families, spent the winter of 1889 in McKenzie county, returning to Dickinson, N. D. the following summer, where they still reside. The first family to make permanent residence in the new region was that of Chas. Shafer, consisting of three, Chas. Shafer, Eva Shafer, his wife, and Geo. Shafer, their two year old son. They came to McKenzie county

in 1890 from Dickinson, N. D., making the journey of eighty miles by means of a team and wagon. Shafer had already established his home there six years before. The Shafer homestead occupied the site of the present county seat, twenty-one years before the organization of the county. Later, the Shafer family was joined by Wm. Benson and wife, Mrs. Frederick Diehm and John and Fred Diehm. The first of these returned to Dickinson after a short stay, not being able to accustom themselves to the hardships of a frontier life. Hunting was the chief means of subsistence for these pioneer families during the first few years. As game of many kinds was plentiful, the hunter was able to supply a larger quantity and better quality of meat than can be found in more modern communities. It was Shafer's custom in the fall of each year to go into the Little Missouri Bad Lands, and, after a week's hunt to return with a wagon load of deer, sufficient to last until spring. Then he would secure a second load, and with that would journey to Dickinson, where it was traded for flour, sugar, shoes, and other necessities of life. He would next take a 22 calibre repeating rifle and shoot a load of prairie chickens; these, after being drawn and frozen, remained in good condition until disposed of on the market at from thirty-five to fifty cents apiece. The proceeds from these sales provided incidentals until the next hunting season. But after the ranching business was well established, hunting was no longer relied upon except as a means of providing fresh meat. For three or four years the Shafer family was the only one within the boundaries of the county. During the next six years, several settlers came in, the Poes, Uhlmans, Goodalls, Grantiers, Parks, Eggies, Ventlings, Smiths, and Porters took up their abode in the new territory. The last five families however, departed after a short period of residence, the hard winter of 1896-7 being mainly responsible for their departure. At the close of the decade ending in 1900, there were only five women and five children living in the county. This will give some idea of how slow the progress of settlement was during those pioneer days. It was thirteen years after the first family established its home there, before the immigration of others was begun in earnest.

Until 1896, there was no means of communication other than that afforded by the rather irregular travel of the settlers to and fro from the railroad. At first Dickinson was the chief center of supply, but later its place was taken by Williston. Whenever a rancher went to town he made it his business to get the mail as well as many other incidentals for all of his neighbors within a circumference of twenty-five or thirty miles, and after carrying it to his home, it would remain there until some other took it on to its destination. Since the settlers went to town but two or three times a year, it was not an uncommon thing for a letter to



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be six months old before it reached the one to whom it was addressed. Needless to say, the people were not very much given to correspondence. However, they would read a newspaper a half-year old as eagerly and with as much interest as the modern city dweller does his morning daily. In 1896 the first postoffice was established within the limits of the Island Empire, it was named in honor of Joseph G. Stroud, who was the first postmaster, and who was mainly responsible for its creation. It was located at the Stroud ranch, now known as the "white House," where, although at different times it migrated back and forth from the Bird-Head ranch to Baker's Ferry, it is now situated.

The mail was carried twice each week from Williston, every Tuesday and Saturday, by means of a spring wagon as far as the river, it was then taken across the river in a row boat. On the opposite bank, the stage-driver was met by the postmaster, who conveyed the mail to the post office, a distance of three miles. After dinner the mail and its carrier was conveyed back to the river, and started on the return journey to Williston. In the winter time the stage-driver crossed on the ice with his team, but there was always a period of several weeks in the fall when the river was freezing, and in the spring when the ice was breaking up, when it was impossible for any mail to be carried. Brothers operated this stage line, and was the first to supply mail to the people of McKenzie county as an agent of the government.

The second, and what has since become the largest postoffice in the county, Schafer, came into existence in 1900 at the ranch of Charles Shafer. The mail was carried from Stroud, by means of a spring wagon in the summer and a saddle horse in the winter. The distance was twenty-six miles, and the trip was made twice each week. The stage-driver, leaving Schafer in the morning, met the driver from Williston at Stroud at noon and returned to Schafer the same afternoon. During the first year, the postmaster conveyed the mail without compensation, in order that postoffice facilities might be established in the new county.

During the next five years, Banks, Cartwright, Almira, and Charlson postoffices were created in the order given. Since then the following postoffices have been established: Wilbur, Tobacco Garden, Spearinville, Sanford, Rothville, Nameless, Mary, Kingsley, Goodall, Farland, Estes, Elsworth, Elida, Dore, Cherry, Catlin, Berg, Arnegard, Alexander, Williams, and Almira. The last two, however, have been abolished.

Thus at the close of the nineteenth century, McKenzie county was a typical pioneer community, one of the last to release its hold upon the old order of things, and to accept the changes of progress. From this time on, a rapid series of changes takes

place, resulting in the almost complete passing of this era of western life, together with its strange customs and peculiar industries, and the inauguration of the era of agriculture. There seems to be no official record of the population of the county in 1900, but there is no reason to believe that there were more than two hundred, including ranchmen, cowboys, hunters, trappers, women and children.

It was in 1901 that the government surveyors first made their appearance, and began the laborious task of giving the land a definite description by which it might be located in the future. This arduous undertaking was not completed, especially in the Bad Lands, until after the county was organized in 1905. About this time also, the region was subject to a great influx of small ranchers. It seemed that the entire state awoke suddenly to the special adaptation of this region to the stock raising business. So rapidly did they come, and so thickly did they settle the country, that it not only put an end to stock-raising on a large scale, but made anything except ranching on a small basis, unprofitable. Contrary to the general opinion, it was not so much the farmers as it was the small ranchers, that throttled the business of the traditional cattle kings. The large stock companies were not able to withstand the fierce competition of the small competitors, and, consequently, were the first that were compelled to close out. The reason for this is not hard to see. The success of the larger concerns depended upon giving their cattle sufficient range upon which to graze unmolested. When the small ranchers came in, they appropriated the public lands to themselves, and drove the range cattle off to the grazing grounds of their neighbors. They, in turn, would drive them on to someone else. Thus when the county became thickly settled with little ranchmen, not only did they deprive the range cattle of the necessary range upon which to feed, but kept them moving back and forth between the ranches. In this one-sided contest the larger concerns were soon vanquished. The struggle between the small cattlemen, however, was much more intense. It was a struggle for the survival of the fittest, in which the one with the fewest stock and most favorable location, had the advantage. The chief objects of the controversy were the range and the hay. While the land all belonged to the government and any one could graze his stock anywhere on it, yet in the very nature of things, a man with a few cattle was able to retain more than his proportionate share of the land, and in that way could crowd the larger herds out, sooner or later. In the matter of hay, it was the unwritten law of the plains, that each man was entitled to all the hay between his place and half way to that of his neighbor. Thus if one man had a better hay meadow than his fellow ranchmen, he had a decided advantage in the struggle. But this rule was a good deal

disregarded during the later years, and it became a question of getting the hay first. Sometimes two neighbors would be seen cutting hay on the same meadow, in which case, each man took the hay mowed by himself. The hay problem was solved very nicely by one of the ranching companies, which imported men from the east to file on the hay lands. These men were given employment on the ranch while making proof, after which they sold their land to the company. It was in this way that one of the well-known meadows was acquired, and it was mainly because of this meadow, that the company holding it was able to continue its ranching business notwithstanding the advent of the farmer.

The era of the little rancher however, was destined to be very short. No sooner was he settled than there could be seen coming over the horizon of the east the advanced guard of the farmers' army of invasion. Early in 1903, a few farmers settled in the northeastern portion of the county in the neighborhood of Charlson. From that time until 1907 a constant stream of land seekers poured into the county, and began the process of filing on and proving up claims under the Homestead law. In a time so short that it can hardly be realized, the broad plateaus, the rolling hills, and the fertile valleys, which but recently had been occupied only by herds of horses and cattle, were now dotted with little claim shacks, and small strips of plowed ground, indicating the transfer of possession, and the beginning of a new regime. The tide reached its high water mark in 1907, when most of the best land was taken, and the emigration of those who had completed proof on their land was commenced.

Most of the new settlers were of Scandinavian descent, chiefly Norwegians, although there was a fair sprinkling of Swedes, Danes, Russians and Germans. A very large per cent of these people were foreign born and not naturalized at the time of the settlement. Whenever district court convenes within the county new citizens are created by the dozen. Probably a majority of the new class come from other counties within the state, while the rest were mainly from Minnesota and Iowa. There can also be found representatives from nearly every state in the Union, Canada, and most of the countries of Europe. While many of the first to come were speculators and transients, who left the county immediately upon proving up on their land, yet most of them brought their families with them, and came prepared to make permanent residence. This class has proven itself worthy of its opportunity and has done much in the way of over-coming hardships, and in aiding the transformation of the wilderness into an agricultural community.

A small part of the new people entered McKenzie county from the south, traveling across country from Dickinson, and fording the Little Missouri river at the Diamond C crossing. But

by far the larger share came in from the north, by way of Buford, Williston, and Nesson. The greatest barrier to settlement, and the real reason why McKenzie county was one of the last counties in the state to become settled, was, of course, the Missouri river. Prior to 1900, the only means of crossing it in the summer time, was the row-boat; all stock had to be swum across. Every fall hundreds of beef cattle were crossed in that way. Whenever a rancher went to Williston for a load of supplies, he drove to the river, left his team and wagon at some ranch, crossed the river in a row-boat, walked to town, had his supplies hauled to the river bank, conveyed them across by means of his boat, and then returned home. For many years, a public row-boat was operated opposite Williston by a man named Roberts, and another at the present site of Raum's Ferry by Geo. Baker. Between 1901 and 1905, six ferries were established. One at Banks, N. D., by Frank Davis, one at the mouth of Tobacco Garden Creek by C. Sax, one at the present site of Uhlman's Ferry by Geo. Baker, one at Raum's Ferry by Ralph Raum, one at Williston by Cap. Bailey, and one at Buford. All of them were cable-ferries except Bailey's which was run by gasoline power. These ferries have afforded ample transportation facilities, and have played an important part in the settlement of McKenzie county.

It was in 1903, that the need of schools, bridges, better roads, and other conveniences of an organized county became apparent to the people. An agitation for organization was immediately begun. But this proposition met stubborn opposition at the hands of the big stock interests. The cause of this opposition is at once obvious. So long as the county remained unorganized there was no taxes to be paid. There were thousands of horses and cattle on the range upon which not a dollar of taxes had ever been paid, and the owners of which lived in other counties and other states. The small ranchers who had no families, felt that the burden of a newly organized county would outweigh its benefits, and, consequently, cast their influence on the side of the larger stock interests. Still others were financially bound to some of the large companies, so they, too, were found opposing the idea. It was only those ranchers who had families living in the county, and who felt the need of school facilities, that joined the farmers in their campaign for organized government. The leaders in this struggle for organization were F. S. Kellogg, Wm. Jansen and Chas. Shafer. These men organized and conducted the campaign throughout. A petition was circulated and signed by nearly a hundred and fifty citizens, requesting the Governor for a special election to determine the issue. The request was granted, and a bitter campaign followed. So bitter was this contest that ties of friendship which had bound men together for years, were broken. Charges of

bribery and selfishness were hurled back and forth, and it was freely predicted that blood would be shed. While the question of organization was the pivotal issue around which the battle was waged, yet there were three full tickets in the field for the county offices, and three towns competing for the county-seat, namely, Cartwright, Stroud, and Schafer. It was proposed that the new county be organized out of Allred, Wallace and old McKenzie, and that it be called Roosevelt county, in honor of the president, who had once lived and hunted within its borders. The election was finally held on June 4, 1904, and resulted in the defeat of the organization forces by a majority of eighteen votes. The joy of the anti-organization forces knew no bounds, for they thought they had given the idea a blow from which it could not recover for some years. The hard earned victory of the stock interests, however, was short-lived. When the Ninth Legislative Assembly met the following winter, it arbitrarily organized a new county out of the unorganized counties last mentioned, and named it McKenzie county. Thus was the matter definitely settled, without any further struggle between local interests and without engendering any more bad feeling between the farmers and the ranchers. The latter accepted the situation without further controversy. Early in the spring of 1905, an impromptu convention was called at Cartwright, for the purpose of ascertaining the general sentiment of the people with reference to the location of a temporary county seat, and for the selection of county officials. At this meeting, a place known as Stone-house, situated near the mouth of Timber Creek and belonging to Joe Stroud, was chosen as the temporary county seat. For the various county offices the following gentlemen were recommended:—for sheriff, Frank Poe; for auditor B. W. Dimmick; for treasurer, Geo. W. Milhouse; for clerk of court, W. S. Graham; for coroner, J. J. Wanka; for surveyor, Wm. Janson; for probate judge, F. S. Kellogg; for county superintendent, S. M. Starr; and for commissioners, John H. Shaw, James Waters and Joseph Stephens. No one was selected for state's attorney as there was no attorney in the county at that time. State's Attorney Van R. Brown of Williams county acted in that capacity until Robt. Norheim was appointed. All of the gentlemen enumerated above were appointed by Governor Sarles, except the two commissioners last named. Frank Banks and A. F. Noble being appointed in place of Joe Stephens and James Waters. In the matter of the location of the county seat, the choice of the convention was utterly disregarded by the Governor, and a certain place owned by A. F. Noble, situated near the head of Camp Creek, and not even suggested in the convention, was duly appointed county seat, and named Alexander. Thus the first town to come into existence in the new born county was Alexander. Almost immediately after its designation as the capital of the coun-

ty, a bank, store, livery stable, lumber yard, hotel, blacksmith shop and barber shop appeared, and by autumn a thriving little village replaced the recently isolated cow camp. In January, 1906, the firm of Glieve & Martin commenced the construction of a store building on the present townsite of Schafer, and thus was begun the building of a rival village. By the time spring had opened nearly all the business establishments of Alexander had been duplicated at Schafer, and a fierce competition for predominance in political, social and industrial affairs was well started.

Another evidence of the rapid change from the old to the new was the creation of rural schools. That, after all, was the chief purpose for which the friends of organization had carried on the struggle, and their cherished end was now to be attained. The first common school in McKenzie county was opened in August, 1905, at Schafer. The school house was a one roomed, frame building, owned by F. F. Gonion, and located on his homestead adjoining the townsite. The position of teacher was filled first by Mrs. S. M. Starr, and then by Cecelia Uhlman, and the pupils were, John and Christiania Belgard, Eugene and Lettie Uhlman, Chas. and Fred Shafer, and James Oeder. The school furniture consisted of one circular table, and a half dozen straight backed chairs. The teacher and students gathered around the table, and learned as best they could, using one reader, one arithmetic, one geography and a spelling book. This primitive school continued its sessions until winter, but it was not long before many schools sprang up all over the county, and now there are eighty or ninety schools in all.

Almost from the day of its birth, McKenzie county was a center for political fights. The chief issue before the people was the question of the permanent location of the county seat. The arbitrary designation of Alexander as county seat, by the Governor was the cause of a great deal of dissatisfaction among the citizens. The coveted prize was contended for by three places, Alexander, Stone-house, and Schafer. The first and last being the principal competitors. So bitter was the contest and so determined were the contestants, that each faction put a complete ticket in the field in order that the victorious party might dominate the county government. All distinctions between political parties and individuals were lost. The platform of each candidate was his preference for county seat, and by that alone, he was judged by the electors. In November, 1906, the first general election was held. The result was favorable to the village of Schafer. The vote was as follows: Stone-house, 94; Alexander, 212; and Schafer, 311; the last mentioned town winning by the small majority of five votes. This result was the signal for a change of battle ground from the ballot box to the courts. The election was contested, the constitutionality of the law under

which the election was held was attacked, the legality of the organization of the county was assailed. The hostile board of county commissioners refused to declare Schafer the county seat pursuant to the result of the election, and county officers favorable to Alexander declined to move their records to the new county seat, and uncertainty prevailed everywhere. For over three years, writs of mandamus, injunctions, prohibition, etc., were the order of the day. Some phase of this question was, at one time or another before five different district judges, and in the supreme court three times. Each decision was favorable to Schafer, the present county seat. The attorneys who conducted these suits for the Schafer people were, T. S. Becker, of Schafer, and Geo. A. Bangs of Grand Forks. Alexander was represented by Palda and Burke of Minot, Engerud, Holt and Frame of Fargo, and A. J. Bessie of Williston. During the winter of 1907 the official records of the county were moved to Schafer in obedience to an order of the court. In January, 1909, an attempt was made by some enthusiasts from Alexander to regain the records by force. To that end a party of men journeyed thru the deep snow from Alexander to Schafer, but the plan was discovered and frustrated. All of the legal remedies having been exhausted, the matter was at last definitely settled.

In the short period of ten years a marvelous change had been wrought. The antelope and deer, the herds of cattle and horses, have been replaced by grain fields, school houses, and villages. The Indian, the hunter, the trapper, and the cowboy have all departed and in their place is found the tiller of the soil, the business and the professional man. While the rancher has not yet entirely vanished, he has been driven from his home on the prairies, and he has taken refuge in the Bad Lands of the Little Missouri. The new industrial era has come and the story of pioneer life in McKenzie county now is but a memory.

VIGILANTES IN NORTH DAKOTA.

No character is so inseparably associated with pioneer life in western Dakota and eastern Montana, as that of the notorious horsethief. Of the many forms of lawbreaking that daily occurred, for only one was the death penalty inflicted, that of horse stealing. Assault and battery, robbery, rioting, and murder went not only unpunished, but often unnoticed, except as a matter of transitory interest. But with horse-stealing it was different. If a man was assaulted, he would soon recover; if he was robbed, he could soon regain what he had lost, money was a small object anyway; but if his horse was taken, he would be left afoot, stranded on the prairie without means of transportation, deprived of that which, next to his gun, was the pioneer's most valuable possession. Hence, to steal horses was a crime for which no punishment was too severe. Because horses were the most valuable of chattel property, and the easiest to make way with, horse stealing was indulged more than any other kind of thievery. It was to suppress this great evil, that the leading stockmen of Montana held a meeting at Miles City in 1882; and organized a Vigilance Committee. The prime mover in bringing about this organization was Granville Stewart, then the richest stockman in the west. The committee was simply an unauthorized company of men banded together for the purpose of catching and summarily hanging every man suspected of being a horse thief. The committee was composed of two kinds of members, honorary members and active members. The honorary members were those who did the organizing and planning, but who did not care to risk their lives and reputations in actual execution. The active members were those who did the actual work, and their number was about fifty. They were composed mainly of shifters, irresponsible parties, men without property or character, ex-convicts and horse thieves. They were hired on a salary basis, ranging from \$35.00 to \$50.00 per month. For two years, this organization operated in all parts of Montana and waged a successful campaign. It proved a highly efficient instrumentality in riding the territory of undesirable citizens in so far as it was used to accomplish its primary purpose, but at times it served a secondary purpose which overshadowed the first in importance.

In the fall of 1884 it was deemed advisable to make an expedition into Dakota. To this end a detachment of about twenty men was made up at Glendive, and a character known as Flopping Bill was put in charge of the party. Being in need of a suitable guide, it was decided to take Louis LaPache, a French Canadian, who was at that time in Miles City, awaiting trial for horse stealing, having been arrested in Dakota a short time before by U. S.

Marshal Aatte. Thus equipped the committee moved down to Medora and began preparations for an active campaign into McKenzie county. The company first proceeded along the north side of the Little Missouri River. Its first stop was at the mouth of Beaver Creek in Billings county, where there was a ranch owned by Wm. Roberts, Geo. Medlock, and Jim Monroe. No one was found there but their hired man, Thomas Webb, an Englishman. The proprietors had received word of the advent of the vigilantes, and had wisely taken refuge elsewhere. After allowing the Englishman to feel the sensation of a lariat around his neck, he was released on the condition that he leave the country and never return. Needless to say McKenzie county has not been visited by Webb since. The vigilantes further dignified their proceeding by placing the sign of the skull and cross-bones on the door of the cabin, together with a notice to vacate upon the penalty of death. They promised to return in thirty days to execute their judgment. The next stop was at the W ranch in old McKenzie county. The vigilantes expected to find allies at this place, as the ranch was one of the several owned by the noted Greece and Webeaux firm, one of the large stock concerns in Dakota and Montana, members of which had participated in the organization of the Vigilance Committee. However, they were disappointed. The W ranch foreman, Charley Armstrong, and his comrade, Sid. Tarbell, were not in sympathy with the movement, neither did they feel themselves bound by the acts of their employers, so they not only refused to entertain the vigilantes, but ordered them to depart. Passing down the river, a sheep ranch operated by Thomas McGregory, Scotty Dunorout and Bennett was next visited. No one was at home however for the intended victims had been forewarned and had taken advantage of their opportunity. The sign of the skull and cross-bones greeted them upon their return. The committee then went to Eaton Bros. ranch, but the brothers were not there, for a very obvious reason. It is here that a Hidatsa Indian, called Two Shields, was captured, he had been hunting in the woods. Being anxious for amusement a mock hanging scene was put on, the Indian was hanged to a tree with a rope so tied as not to strangle him. Then he was told to go to his cabin, to stay there three days, and then leave the country. Two Shields went to the cabin, climbed upon the roof and sat there singing and crying for three days and nights, after which he disappeared. At that time Hall and Braden were running a sheep ranch at a place on Squaw Creek, which later became the famous Long X ranch. The vigilantes burned 500 tons of hay, the barn, all the machinery, harness, and all other property that could be burned, ending up by setting the prairie on fire. The only one present was Charley Nacy, the hired man. He was taken along to act as guide, as it was thought that he possessed valuable information as to the whereabouts of cer-

tain persons. Nacy accompanied them as far east as Spring Creek, where he misdirected them and made his escape. In due course of time, the committee found its way to the Shafer ranch. There were three cowboys there at the time, Jasper Holts, Frank Chase, and Kid Edgar. These boys were taken entirely unawares, not having heard of their expedition, and they invited the travellers to dinner. The invitation was accepted, but after the meal, the hosts suddenly found themselves prisoners, and were told that they were to be hanged to the cotton-wood tree which stood near the cabin. The situation was for them critical, but they were saved by Frank Chase, who was a brilliant speaker, of striking personality, and a man of wonderful ingenuity. Chase told them that they were mistaken in their parties. He said that he was one of the biggest stockmen in that country, that he sympathized with their project, and would gladly co-operate with them. To prove the truthfulness of his statement, he took them out and showed them several herds of stock. He told them of what he had accomplished and his plans for the future. They listened and believed, and they departed thinking that they had found a friend, but in fact he was their dangerous enemy. Many years afterwards, Kid Edgar said: "I never was so dead sure of anything in my life as that we would be hanged to that cotton-wood tree, but Chase lied out of it." After leaving Schafer the expedition was uneventful for some time. The party continued to move eastward until it reached the Missouri River near the mouth of the Little Missouri. There the committee boarded a steam boat and went up the river to Ft. Buford. While on the steamboat the vigilantes did not by any means lose sight of their purpose. At a place called Nerson Flat, near the mouth of Tobacco Garden Creek, they found two hunters, Eve Bronson, and a man known as Red Mike. Bronson attempted to escape and was shot dead but Red Mike was captured. Every effort was made to make the prisoner divulge information which it was believed he possessed. To this end he was bound securely to a chair and a fire was made under it, but Red Mike refused to give any information, probably due to the fact that he had none to give. He was taken along to Ft. Buford and later let go. Thus, after a month's sojourn in Dakota, the vigilance committee returned to Montana. The results of the campaign might be briefly summed up in this way: a large amount of property was destroyed, countless miles of prairie was burned, one Englishman was persuaded to leave the territory, Two Shields, the Indian, was frightened back to the reservation; one man was killed, one man scorched, and no horse thieves were captured. The original purpose of the vigilance committee was to catch and hang horse thieves, but it sought later to achieve a secondary purpose which was not so commendable. The real purpose of the expedition

into Dakota was not to catch horse thieves, but to drive the small ranchers out of the country. There are five circumstances which point to that conclusion. First, it was at this time that the big stockmen of the West fully realized that they were soon to be crowded out of business by the ever increasing number of small settlers, and nothing was left undone to discourage settlement. Second, the expedition was largely one of devastation and not of pursuit. Horse thieves were not interested in grazing conditions, neither were they injured by the destruction of property, for they had none. Third, the campaign seemed to be directed entirely against permanent settlers. Horse thieves in those days were not permanent settlers, engaged in the cattle and sheep business, but instead, were transients of the most migratory character. Fourth, the committee did not catch, or so far as is known, attempt to catch any one suspected of being a horse thief. The expedition was in fact, the most notorious example of vandalism known to that part of the region. It was in that expedition that lawlessness reached its height. The small ranchers and cowboys, anticipating another invasion, provided a proper defense, but neither the vigilance committee, nor any of its members, ever returned.

BOHEMIANS IN RICHLAND COUNTY.

William H. Elznic.

Conditions in Bohemia.

The early Bohemian settlers in Richland County came chiefly from Veseli, Tabor, Pisek, and Budejovice. They came to the United States during the period between 1859 and 1872, years in which an exceptionally large number of Bohemian immigrants came to this country. These were all of the peasant stock, belonging to the class of small farmers. Their parents were self supporting and owned a few acres of land.

There were several causes that led to their coming to America, but not all of them who wished to come were allowed to do so, for many were unable to obtain passports.¹ The general causes were, the severe military requirements, the overpopulation of the country, and the consequent scarcity of land for farms and homes. The land was owned mostly by nobles and by the churches, and the poorer classes were obliged to work this land for a small compensation. The wages in some cases were so low that children were often required to herd geese or cattle in the summer months for mere board and clothes, and rather meagre quantities of each. Thus as they grew up, many of the young people were easily induced to leave their mother country, and come to America. Many had friends who had already crossed the ocean and were quite prosperous here. These friends wrote them letters in which they told of the high wages, scarcity of labor, and of the opportunities to secure free land from the United States government. But the newspapers of the country discouraged immigration in every way possible. Immigration agents had not invaded that part of Europe and newspapers could say anything without much danger of denial. However, the letters and promises of the friends were relied upon rather than the printed accounts.

But there were other causes that contributed to this immigration from Bohemia. The revolution of 1848 seemed to promise for Bohemia local independence and general reforms in government, but in the end no permanent reforms were secured. As soon as the revolution was over the emperor declared himself liberated from all constitutional restraint and liberties which the people had temporarily gained were taken away. In the succeeding period of reaction absolutism everywhere prevailed. The liberty of the press was at an end, and not a single paper was allowed to be printed in the Bohemian language. As late as 1859 the prime minister would not even permit the Bohemians to print their own political paper, and not till October, 1866 did it become

1. Austrian subjects could not leave the Empire without a passport and the government would grant only a few.



Mr. and Mrs. Albert Chezik
Mr. and Mrs. Matthew Lorenz

lawful to send a telegram in the Bohemian language. During these years it is not remarkable that many liberty loving Bohemians abandoned their native country and migrated to America.

The First Settlers.

The pioneer Bohemians in Richland County were Albert Chezik and Matthew Lorenz. The former came from Veseli and was chiefly responsible for the settlement in this part of the state. Albert Chezik was born in Bohemia in 1847, where he lived till 1859 when, with his parents and four brothers, he came to America. His father was a small farmer in Bohemia, but this farm being too small to provide for the family in the future, he decided to seek a more prosperous future in America.

Albert Chezik first settled on a farm with his parents near Muscoda, Grant County, Wisconsin. On April 15, 1871, with Matthew Lorenz, also of Muscoda, he set out for Dakota Territory. They left Muscoda on the Milwaukee road enroute for Iowa City, Iowa, and from there took the stage to Yankton, the territorial capitol of Dakota. Here the quality of land was not sufficiently attractive so they came back to St. Paul, Minnesota. After a few days stay in St. Paul, they received some information regarding land in northwestern Minnesota and eastern Dakota, and departed for St. Cloud, Minnesota. From there they decided to continue their journey on foot, partly because of lack of funds, and partly because the stage was very slow and offered them very little opportunity to examine land. They traveled for days, reaching Fort Abercrombie in Dakota, where, besides the fort, there were a few straggling log houses.

The first impression of the new country was very favorable and the two pioneers decided to make this their stopping place. They did not take up land immediately but waited for some time to get a better view of the surrounding country. In the mean time they hired out to Mr. Harris, a prosperous farmer near McCauleyville, Minnesota, where they worked for about three weeks. On Sundays they would borrow Harris' team and drive through the country searching for a good place on which to locate. They finally succeeded in selecting land near the present site of Wahpeton, where at that time was only a dug out occupied by M. F. Rich. Albert Chezik filed on the northeastern quarter of section five, range forty-seven, township one hundred thirty-two, and Matthew Lorenz filed on the northwestern quarter of section thirty-three, range forty-seven, township one hundred thirty-three. The land at that time was not surveyed, and they held their claims by squatter rights. In 1873 an agent from the Pembina land office came down to take their filing papers.

They at once began to erect sod shanties, and by the use of

Harris' team they were each able to break five acres of land, haul some necessary supplies from Fort Abercrombie, and plant some potatoes. When their shanties were finished and all other work done, they again worked for Harris till about the 15th of June. While on their homesteads they were able to secure provisions from Fort Abercrombie, and with game such as fish, deer, and antelope, they were abundantly supplied with food.

In July of the same year (1871) Albert Chezik returned to Wisconsin to help his father and brothers with harvest, leaving Matthew Lorenz in charge of their claims. After harvest he purchased two teams of horses, and in company with Frank Formanek, Joe Formanek, and his brother Joe Chezik, left Muscoda, Wisconsin, in two prairie schooners drawn by the horses he had purchased. The journey was a difficult one as roads were poor, bridges were few, and at times they traveled for miles without seeing a single human being. They frequently slept in their wagons, and for the most part depended upon the food they carried with them. They crossed the Wisconsin River at Bridgeport, Wisconsin, and the Mississippi at McGregor, Iowa. They used a ferry in each case and were charged fifty cents per team for crossing. On account of the unusual heat they did not travel in the middle of the day. They usually drove from four in the morning till ten, and then again from four in the afternoon till ten at night. Except for the heat they enjoyed excellent weather all the way and were not delayed by heavy storms. Upon their arrival in Dakota, Frank and Joe Formanek, and Joe Chezik immediately took up land near the present site of Wahpeton. As the land was not surveyed they had to wait for their title till the following year. In 1871, the St. Paul Minneapolis and Manitoba railroad was completed as far west as Breckenridge, thus giving the pioneers a close market for whatever products they had to sell.

In the spring of 1872, Mike Chezik, Frank Bezenek, Joe Kubela, and Chas. Formanek, arrived from Muscoda, Wisconsin, and took up land in the neighborhood, thus forming, with those already there, a fair sized settlement. In the fall of the same year, the following settlers arrived from Fort Atkinson, Iowa: Thomas Koza, Jacob, Frank, and Wenzl Mikes, Frank Novotny, Frank Doleshy and his father. Those who came in the spring all stayed in Albert Chezik's sod shanty till they built similar shanties of their own. Many were the amusing meals the pioneers prepared over their fires while on their homesteads. The cooking arrangements were necessarily crude and often times there were not enough dishes to accommodate the entire party. Meals were prepared over the open fire by means of a tin pail and a skillet. In the fall of 1872 Albert Chezik purchased a modern stove at Mankato, Minnesota, the first one owned among



Albert Formanek

the pioneers. In 1872 Albert Chezik built the first frame house in the settlement and the second was built by Matthew Lorenz the following spring, both of these still stand, where they were first built, two miles north of Wahpeton. The lumber for these buildings was hauled from Hancock, Minnesota. The same year Albert Chezik veneered his house with brick, manufactured by Frank Novotny, from clay found in the vicinity. Frank Novotny later took up a homestead about twelve miles northeast of the present city of Lidgerwood.

In the fall of 1872 Albert Chezik and John Farmanek went back to Wisconsin to spend the winter. During the stay at their old home they were both married and in February, 1873, with their wives, they took the train at Muscoda, Wisconsin, for their new home. They spent nearly four weeks in making the journey by rail. Snow delayed the train and several days elapsed before they reached St. Paul, Minnesota. After spending a week in St. Paul, they resumed their journey with no better result. The weather was cold and stormy and very slow progress was made. After several days travel they succeeded in reaching Herman, Minnesota. Here another week was spent waiting for the railroad to be cleared by a gang of men employed for that purpose. From Herman, Minnesota, Albert Chezik telephoned to Frank Formanek at Richville, Dakota (now Wahpeton) for a sleigh and a team of horses. The next morning after his arrival the two men left Herman for Richville, reaching their destination in the evening. Several days later the rest of the party arrived on the train.

In the spring of 1873 Albert Formanek, or Grandpa Formanek, as he was called, came to visit the new country. The excellence of the soil immediately attracted his attention and upon returning to Wisconsin, he sold his land and, with the rest of his family, came to settle in Dakota. He, too, came in a prairie schooner, and brought over a few head of stock besides various articles useful on the farm. The growth of the community still continued. The same year Thomas Koza, Joseph Stluka, and Frank Mickesh and sons came to settle. At this time settlers of other nationalities also came to settle, thereby populating the country around Richville very rapidly, and also increasing the size of the village itself. The next year, 1874, Albert Chezik's oldest daughter, Margaret, was born, she was the first white child born in the village of Richville, and the first Bohemian child born in Richland County.

In the years 1875 and 1876 the crops of the settlers suffered greatly from damage done by grasshoppers. Some fields were totally destroyed by these pests, while others were partly left untouched and brought their owners at least seed and flour for the next year. The new country was rapidly becoming settled,

making it necessary for the United States government to survey the lands in Richland County. This was done in 1872 by government surveyors who were assisted by Frank and Joe Formanek, both members of the pioneer community. Albert Chezik was elected sheriff of Richland County (1872) and since it was the sheriff's duty to do the assessing, he was also elected assessor, being the first sheriff and assessor of Richland County. The latter duty took him upon a disagreeable trip through the western part of the county, as there were a few settlers living on the Sheyenne River. While on this trip he experienced a three days blizzard.

Thus far the pioneers had been able to secure the services of Father Thompson, a missionary priest among the Indians. He held the first services in Albert Chezik's house in 1872, and he continued to do this till 1873. After that, services were held in any house in the small but growing village of Richville. Besides the Bohemian Catholics, there were also other Catholics in the vicinity, and these, together with the Bohemian Catholics, concluded to build a church and support a pastor. About eighteen families in all formed a congregation, bought burying grounds with the church property, and a small church building was built. This supplied the spiritual wants of all Catholics for some time. But as years went by and the congregation increased in size, the Bohemian Catholics decided to erect a church of their own and support a pastor. In 1884 a church was erected, known as the St. Adalbert Church, named in honor of its founder Albert Formanek, Sr. The first pastor of the St. Adalbert's Church was Rev. Father Bely, and the second was Rev. Father Dvorak. Both were Bohemians and spoke the language very fluently. This building was burned on April 21, 1906, and was replaced by a handsome brick structure in 1907.

During the pioneer days freight between Winnipeg and Richville was carried by boat on the Red River during the summer months and hauled in sleighs drawn by oxen or horses during the winter months. The Bohemian pioneers spent many weeks traveling to and from Winnipeg. There were ten regular stopping places or stage stations as they were called.¹ They usually made two stations a day.² For several years following the arrival of the first pioneers, there was considerable danger from prairie fires, which caused much loss of property at times, and even endangered the lives of the settlers.³ In the spring of 1880, through the work of Peter Polda, the nucleus of another Bohemian community developed near the present site of Lidgerwood. This

1. These stage stations were: Thompson, Georgetown, Goose River, Frog Point, Grand Forks, Turtle River, Kelly's Point, Pembina, (), Winnipeg.

2. From a letter written by Albert Chezik.

3. From a letter written by Joseph Chezik.



Mrs. Albert Formanek



country had been visited in 1879 by Frank Bisek of Alexandria, Minnesota, but he did not settle in Dakota for some years. Peter Polda had settled at Fort Atkinson, Iowa, in 1871 upon his arrival in America from his home in Budejovice, Bohemia.

The crops in Iowa had been ruined by chinch bugs or by rust for five consecutive years, and the farmers were looking for a better location. Having been informed through newspapers and immigration agents that the Red River Valley was one of the best wheat raising districts in America, Polda organized a small company to visit this country. The Company consisted of Peter Polda, Matt Kouba, John Kouba, Albert Heley, Sr., John Kadecka and Joseph Factor, all of Fort Atkinson, Iowa. They came to Dakota in the spring of 1880, filed on land, and returned to Iowa where they stayed till the following summer. About the 1st of May, 1881, this party with their families, and a few others, numbering about twenty in all left Fort Atkinson, Iowa for Dakota. The party traveled in prairie schooners drawn by oxen. They carried enough provisions for the journey, and the tools which would be most necessary upon their arrival. Their progress was rather slow, as roads were poor and bridges few. Often the immigrants were obliged to follow a stream for miles before they could find a bridge or a crossing place. When the party arrived near the place where the town of Fairmount now stands, they divided and the new comers, who had not previously filed on land in Richland County, continued their journey northward. On May 29, 1881, the remainder of the party pitched camp on their respective homesteads, and at once began building huts, and preparing the land for crops. The first ground was broken in making a fire break around the buildings to protect the settlers from prairie fires.

Peter Polda soon began writing a series of newspaper articles in the Czech language, telling of the great opportunities which this new country offered. These accounts were extensively circulated and Bohemians soon began to come from the states of Michigan, Illinois, Minnesota, Iowa, Ohio, Nebraska and Wisconsin. Besides these immigrants, others came direct from Bohemia and thus the new community grew rapidly. While a majority of these immigrants were farmers, many were factory hands not accustomed to working in the open air under the hot sun. Among the early immigrants were several artisans, but practically no tradesmen or professional men. Most of these new comers became farmers, but some settled in Wahpeton as day laborers. Among the newcomers were: John and Peter Wacha, Frank Blazek, and John Melonowsky from Ypsilanti, Michigan, Frank, Carl, and Wenzl Parizek from LaCrosse, Wisconsin, Frank Phillip, Frank Sperl, and Frank Voyek from Fort Atkinson, Iowa, and Frank Sheleney who came direct from Bohe-

mia. Between the years 1871 and 1910 the Bohemian population in Richland County increased to three hundred six persons, all of foreign birth.¹

The furniture of the cabins, and the dress of the people were of necessity simple. In many cases tables, benches and cupboards were made from the poplar and tamarack trees, hauled from the Sheyenne River, a distance of some forty miles. Deer skins and buffalo hides were often used as a part of the bedding. Caps were made usually from rabbit and badger skins. Wool was quite abundant and a spinning wheel was to be found in every home. Most of the clothing for ordinary wear was home made. Meat was obtained by hunting. Cranes, ducks, and geese were so plentiful, that the farmers had to watch their small patches of grain to protect them from destruction. The usual means of transportation was the wagon drawn by oxen. Many of the settlers were at first obliged to walk to Wahpeton, a distance of thirty miles, to secure food and other necessities for their families. The pioneers had no money to buy fuel, and for the winter wood was hauled from the Sheyenne River. The spirit of economy animated the community, and gradually led them to success. The people spent most of their time on the tillage of land; every year they plowed as much of their land as was possible till most of it was under cultivation. The land was very productive, and every one was pleased with the new country. The first crop was cut and bound by hand. Peter Polda's first crop was one hundred and seventy bushels of wheat and seventy-five bushels of oats, raised on about ten acres of land. With this grain crop, and the garden products he considered himself well off. The first threshing machine in this community was owned and operated by Mr. Sandwork, who did all the threshing for some years.

The marketing centers were at first, Wahpeton, and Breckenridge, Minnesota, the latter also being the postoffice. The milling center was Elizabeth, Minnesota, a distance of fifty-five miles, as flour there was cheaper than either at Wahpeton or Breckenridge. The trip both ways usually took two or three days, depending upon the weather. Peter Polda tells of several times being caught in a snow storm while on such trips, his only guide being the bunches of grass along the road which were not burned by prairie fires the previous fall. Not infrequently the settlers were overtaken by darkness when on their way home from the market, and would be compelled to camp out for the night. The mill at Elizabeth, Minnesota, was a small one operated by water power and was excellently situated on the Otter Tail river. As the town had no railroad connections, the flour was hauled to Breckenridge, Minnesota, to be marketed. For this reason it

1 U. S. Census Report, 1910.



Mr. and Mrs. Peter Poldá

Mr. and Mrs. John Wachá

Mr. and Mrs. Fr. Phillip



was sold at the mill cheaper than in Breckenridge. The owner of this mill was Charles Lesticle, an industrious and good-natured pioneer, always willing to help the newcomers in every way possible.

In 1884 the Northern Pacific Railroad was built from Wahpeton through Moorton and Wyndmere to Oakes, thereby bringing the market nearer to the settlers. The nearest market was now a distance of from five to eight miles from the different settlers. Every farmer now began to raise more grain each year, and the farms began to increase both in number and size. From this time on the settlers made rapid progress.

Present Conditions.

The purpose of the following chapter will be to briefly discuss the changes that have taken place since 1871, and to mention some of the forces which tend to Americanize the settlers.

Many of the old country customs still exist among the settlers, though most of them will pass away with the old pioneers. Some, however, are planted so firmly in the minds of the coming generation that they will survive the old settlers for years to come. Of these survivals, the Bohemian language is the most important. Though the young people use English in their conversation to a large extent, the mother tongue is usually used at home. Every child is first taught to express his ideas in this language. English is acquired before the first school years, as the children speak the language quite fluently at the age of five or six. A large percentage of the children are taught to read and write Bohemian. The numerous papers printed in that language, which are found in nearly every home, contribute much to this result. Some of these papers are the "Hospodar," "Amerikan," "Hlasatel," "Svornost," "Hlas," and "Katolik." Very few books written in the native tongue are read in the community. Another cause which tends to perpetuate the use of the mother tongue, is the constant immigration from the old country. These newcomers hire out to the farmers, and, not being able to speak English, are compelled to use the native language.

In early days, spinning wheels were used by the settlers very commonly. The spinning was always done during the long winter evenings and practically all the hosiery and mittens used were home made. However, all the spinning wheels have disappeared, and knitting is a thing of the past.

The first buildings were of sod, clay, and other material close at hand. The natural clay served for the first floor. The walls were made of sod, or home made bricks, and were about two and a half feet thick. The houses were usually boarded and whitewashed on the inside. The roof was also of clay, the rafters were tree trunks. The windows were made of small panes, which

admitted just enough light for the people to see. These houses were much warmer than a modern house, and the settlers were able to economize on their fuel. The other buildings on the farm were made of the same material as the dwelling houses. These sod buildings are now no longer in use and even their ruins have disappeared. The first frame buildings, erected by Chezik and Lorenz in 1872 and 1873, still stand as relics of the pioneer days.

The Catholic religion has remained the predominating faith among the Bohemians. At first the settlers were poor and few in number, and they were unable to build a place in which to worship. However, at the present time, circumstances have changed. Two of the largest churches in Richland County have been erected by them, St. John Nepomuck church located at Lidgerwood with a membership of about 275 and St. Adalbert church located at Wahpeton with a membership of about 300. Each church has a pastor; the present pastors are Rev. Father Alois Gaydousek at Lidgerwood, and Rev. Father Jos. Gaydousek at Wahpeton.

Very important factors, which tend to perpetuate unity among the Bohemian people of Richland County, are the present religious and non-religious Bohemian fraternal organizations. The two important national religious organizations of this nature are the Catholic Workman (Katolicky Delnik) and the Western Bohemian Catholic Association (Zapadni Ceska Katolicka Jednota).¹

The order of the Catholic Workmen at Lidgerwood was organized in 1899 with a membership of seventeen; its present membership is eighteen. The first officers of this organization were: President, Joseph W. Novotny; Vice President, Wenzl Fuka; Secretary, Wenzl Kuzel; Accountant, Frank Pokorney; Treasurer, John Pasak.

The Western Bohemian Catholic Association order at Lidgerwood was started in 1899 with a membership of eight, and since has increased to seventeen. The first officers of this order were: President, Albert Heley; Secretary, Joseph Hajney; Treasurer, John Heley.

Besides the two above named, the young peoples societies have been organized in 1911, one for young men having a membership of thirty, and the other for young ladies having a membership of twenty-five. These four organizations are affiliated with the St. John Nepomuck Catholic Church of Lidgerwood.

Similar organizations are in existence in connection with the St. Adalbert's Catholic church at Wahpeton, each of which has been quite prosperous. The Western Bohemian Catholic Association order at Wahpeton was organized in 1888. Its present membership is thirty-four. The Catholic Workmen was organ-

1. These two organizations are described in the appendix. Nos. 2 and 3.



Mr. and Mrs. Matt Kouba



ized in 1890, and at present has a membership of twenty-six. In 1908 the married ladies of the St. Adalbert Church organized the Altar Society. At present they have a membership of twenty-three. The same year the young ladies of that church organized the St. Cecilia Society and have a present membership of sixteen.¹

The non-religious fraternal organization is the Western Bohemian Fraternal Association, (Zapadni Cesko-Bratrski Jednota) also national in character.² The Lidgerwood order, August Herman, No. 30, was organized by Joseph Gadrny in 1889 with a membership of fifteen.³ The first officers were as follows: President, Peter Polda; Secretary, Karl Parizek; Treasurer, Peter Wacha.

The first meeting of this order was held on the farm of Frank Novotny, as there was no other more convenient place. Meetings were held later at the city hall of Lidgerwood till the year 1908, when enough money was raised among the members to erect their own hall at the cost of \$9,000. Its membership has increased from fifteen in 1889 to one hundred twenty one in 1912, making it the largest order of its kind in the state, there being thirteen such orders in the state at present. The membership is composed of eighty men and forty one women.⁴

The Wahpeton order, Red River. No. 42, was organized on August 1, 1897. This was the reorganization of a previous order having the name, Red River, No. 155, affiliated with the national organization, C. S. P. S., of which the entire Western Bohemian Fraternal Association is an outgrowth. The order began with a membership of ten, and has now increased to seventy-one, consisting of fifty two men and nineteen women. The charter members were as follows: Thos. Sramota, Frank Dolejsi, Alois Lesovsky, Jos. Matuska, Emil Hrubes, John Chada, Chas. Benes, Jos. Brush, Thos. Chezik, and Wenzl Mikesh. The first officers were: President, Thos. Sramota; Vice President, Jos. Brush; Recording Secretary, Wenzl Mikesh; Financial Secretary, Chas. Benes; Treasurer, John Chada; Escort, Thos. Chezik; Guard, Emil Hrubes.

The order holds regular meetings in the I. O. O. F. Hall every second Sunday of each month. In 1903 the order purchased its own cemetery, and its next aim is the construction of its own hall.⁵

1. For this information I am indebted to A. Chezik, and Rev. J. Gaydousek.

2. This organization is further discussed in appendix No. 4.

3. The charter members were: John Busta, Frank Hogza, John Krupicka, Thomas Kruchek, Joseph Kochian, John Kochian, Frank Maruska, Wenzl Parizek, Frank Parizek, Karl Parizek, Peter Polda, Thomas Polda, John Ryba, Frank Trnka, and Peter Wacha.

4. For this preceding information I am indebted to Matt Kouba and Wenzl Parizek. See appendix No. 4.

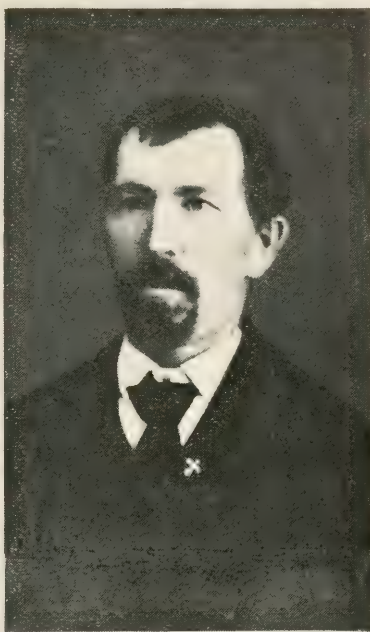
5. For the above information I am indebted to W. J. Zluticky, Secretary of the Wahpeton order. For a more detail discussion of the Z. C. B. J. in North Dakota see appendix No. 1.

The settlers have always taken much interest in educating their children. All children receive at least a common school education, and a fair portion go to the high school. For the last five or six years, students of Bohemian parents have graduated with every graduating class in both the Lidgerwood and the Wahpeton High Schools. Up to the present time ten have graduated from the Lidgerwood High School, and about twenty from the Wahpeton High School. Some twenty students are attending college every winter. Besides these several have already received their degrees or diplomas from some higher institution.

The Bohemians are naturally fond of music. Hardly a home is without its musical instruments, and there are always one or more performers in each family. The violin is the favorite instrument. Many, however, prefer the guitar, accordion, piano or the organ, but lately wind instruments have been much used. Some five years ago the Elznic and Pavek Band was organized and it has furnished music for celebrations, fairs, and various social events throughout this part of the state.

The industrial development of the settlers has been marked by steady growth. Land has greatly increased in value since the pioneer days, the average price now being sixty dollars per acre. In 1882 John Zimmerman traded a quarter section of land for an old horse, now the same land would sell for eight thousand dollars.

In the matter of buildings the settlers have always kept pace with the rest of the state. Nearly all the farmers have a windmill to pump water for the stock, and some have gasoline engines for grinding feed. The average farm is about 300 acres though many farmers own as many as 1000 acres. The Bohemians are good grain growers and great lovers of trees. Each farm is surrounded by a thriving grove and every corner of the land is utilized. They are hard workers, and have little faith in schemes to save work; they give the same amount of energy to the virgin soil of North Dakota as they did to the crowded, and much-used soil of old Bohemia. On the other hand they believe in using farm machinery and their farms are fully equipped with all modern improvements. The first rural telephone was built in 1908. It is not owned by the farmers, but by the Lidgerwood Rural Telephone Company. This company has built some thirty lines which extend through different parts of the surrounding country. Nearly all the families have a telephone and during the last five years they have also secured daily rural mail service. Many of the settlers own one or more shares in the Lidgerwood Farmers State Bank. Farmers' stores, and farmers' elevators have been organized in the different towns in the county, within the last five years. In these corporations the capital stock



Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Chezik
Mr. and Mrs. Frank Novotny

is subscribed entirely by the farmers, who thus control them and receive all the returns.

The Bohemians have always taken an active interest in politics, although not many of their nationality have held office. The men who have held offices are Albert Chezik, elected the first sheriff and assessor of Richland County in 1873, and Frank Heley elected in 1908 to the office of sheriff, which he held for two years. In the party divisions the republicans and democrats predominate and there are a few socialists.

During the last few years some of the pioneers have rented their land and others have gone into business in the neighboring towns, though most of them are still living on their farms.

APPENDIX.

No. 1.

The Western Bohemian Fraternal Association, Z. C. B. J., in
North Dakota.

As will be seen in a later chapter, the Western Bohemian Fraternal Association, Z. C. B. J., is an outgrowth of the Bohemian Slovanic Benevolent Society, C. S. P. S. The first Z. C. B. J. order in North Dakota was started at Lidgerwood in 1889 under the name of August Herman, and with a membership of fifteen men. Its membership throughout North Dakota has grown very rapidly, and at present, January 1, 1912, it consists of four hundred thirty-five men and two hundred twelve women, making a total of thirteen orders and six hundred forty-seven members distributed among the different towns as follows:

No. of Order	Town	Membership.		
		Men	Women	Total.
30.....	Lidgerwood	80	41	121
36.....	Conway	50	13	63
42.....	Wahpeton	52	19	71
58.....	Pisek	30	7	37
106.....	Lankin (country district)	58	35	93
147.....	Mandan	60	43	103
187.....	Dickinson	21	15	36
188.....	Minot	17	12	29
189.....	Ross	18	9	27
190.....	Kensal	4	4	8
191.....	Lawton	12	7	19
202.....	Lankin (City)	25	13	38
208.....	Adams	9	3	12

No. 2.

Catholic Workman, Katolicky Delnik.

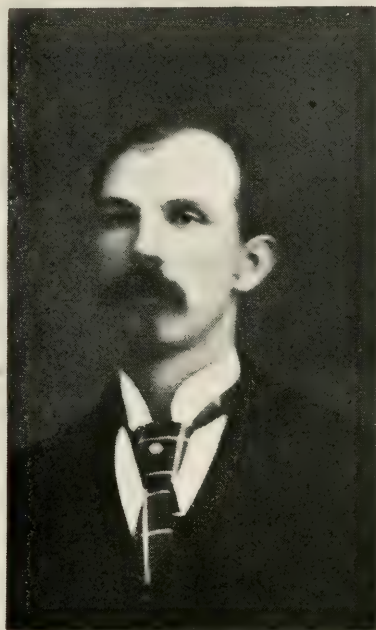
The Catholic Workman was organized in the year 1891 at St. Paul, Minnesota, with a membership of twenty-three, all of whom were strong believers in the Roman Catholic faith. The general purpose of the organization is to promote the moral, social and intellectual culture of its members and to provide by monthly and special assessments certain funds, namely: Widows and Orphans Fund; Reserve Fund; Disability Fund; and General Fund. The assessments were at first to be somewhat less with younger members than with older members. But this idea was soon abandoned, and now all members pay the same. The first officers of the Catholic Workman were as follows:

Chaplain.....	Rev. J. Rynda, St. Paul, Minnesota.
President.....	John Vacek, New Prague, Minnesota.
Secretary.....	Joseph Hovorka, New Prague, Minnesota.
Treasurer.....	Jacob Steinbar, Winona, Minnesota.
Physician.....	Dr. Jas. McKeon, Montgomery, Minnesota.
Lawyer.....	C. C. Kolar, Le Sueur Center, Minnesota.

The directors were: John Kovarik, Montgomery, Minnesota; Frank Moudry, Le Sueur Center, Minnesota; Emil Povolny, St. Paul, Minnesota, (died 1911.) The members soon became anxious to extend the organization into other parts of the country among other Bohemian believers of the Roman Catholic faith. In 1892 the organization was incorporated under the laws of Minnesota, and became a national organization. Rev. John Rynda of St. Paul was elected chief organizer. Each member also appointed himself a committee of one to help this new cause to the best of his ability. Their efforts soon began to bear fruit and the new movement spread very rapidly. It was soon taken up by Roman Catholics of the other towns and cities in Minnesota as well as in other states. Nebraska soon followed with a rapid increase both in the number of orders and membership; Iowa took advantage of the movement; then followed Illinois, Wisconsin, North and South Dakota, Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, Ohio, Michigan, Missouri, Maryland, and Pennsylvania.

Thus it will be seen in comparing the year 1891 with the year 1911 that considerable progress was made. The number of orders increased to one hundred seventeen and the total membership increased from twenty-three to three thousand seven hundred twenty-five.

In a report of the National Convention held at Chicago, Illinois, in January, 1911, the following is given by states for 1910:



Mr. and Mrs. Albert Formanek, Jr.

Mr. and Mrs. Joe Bezenek



State	No. of Orders	Total Membership
Nebraska	32.....	1174
Minnesota	19.....	595
Illinois	8.....	424
Iowa	8.....	267
Texas	16.....	309
North Dakota	6.....	146
Kansas	6.....	119
South Dakota	4.....	62
Oklahoma	4.....	75
Wisconsin	3.....	62
Ohio	2.....	100
Pennsylvania	1.....	124
Maryland	3.....	139
Missouri	1.....	17
Michigan	1.....	12
	114	3625

During the same interval, 1891-1911, occurred two hundred thirty-two deaths, and the total amount paid out on policies was two hundred sixty-five thousand five hundred dollars. The policies vary in amount from five hundred to two thousand dollars, no one being allowed to exceed the latter amount.

The officers for 1911 are as follows:

Chaplain.....	Rev. John Vleck, Plattsmouth, Nebraska
President.....	John Jirousek, Plattsmouth, Nebraska
Vice Pres.....	Joseph Drozd, Penelope, Texas
Secretary.....	Thos. Hovorka, New Prague, Minnesota
Treasurer.....	Fr. J. Polak, Prague, Minnesota
Physician.....	Dr. M. E. Lorenz, 1800 Alfort St. Chicago, Illinois
Attorney.....	C. C. Kolar, Le Sueur Center, Minnesota

Directors

Wenzl Vachal.....	1247 So. 15 St. Omaha, Nebraska
Anton J. Malek.....	Toma, Iowa
Anton F. Vrana.....	1754 W. 18 St. Chicago, Illinois

There are six branch societies of the Catholic Workman in North Dakota with a total membership of one hundred forty-six.¹

Vesleyville	46
Pisek	47
Lidgerwood	18
Wahpeton	18
Lomice	10
Lankin	7

1. For the foregoing information I am indebted to the present national secretary, Thos. G. Hovorka, New Prague, Minnesota.

No. 3.

Western Bohemian Catholic Union, Zapadni Ceska Katolicka.
Jednota, Z. C. K. J.

To give a brief history of the Western Bohemian Catholic Union, I will quote part of a letter from K. J. Kovarik, the national secretary:

"The Western Bohemian Catholic Union was organized in the year 1898 from the Branch Societies of the First Roman Catholic Central Union, Prvni Ustredni Jednota, existing in the states of Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska, North and South Dakota. On January 1, 1899, it was incorporated under the laws of Iowa, and authorized to do business in Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska, and North Dakota. On March 13, 1912, there were eighty-seven branch societies with 2828 male and 1435 female members insured to the amount of \$3,176,900. The Reserve Fund on that date was \$43,958.49. From January 1, 1899, to March 31, 1912, the amount paid to the beneficiaries of deceased members was \$324,900. On May 1, 1912, there were eight branch societies of the Western Bohemian Catholic Union in North Dakota.

St. John Nepomuk at Lidgerwood with 10 male and 7 female members.

St. Cyrill and Method at Pisek with 60 male and 23 female members.

St. Peter and Paul at Bechyn with 57 male and 24 female members.

St. Wenceslaus at Veseleyville with 47 male and 21 female members.

St. Wenceslaus at Wahpeton with 34 male members.

St. Wenceslaus at New Hradec with 55 male and 9 female members.

St. Adolph at Lomice with 10 male and 8 female members.

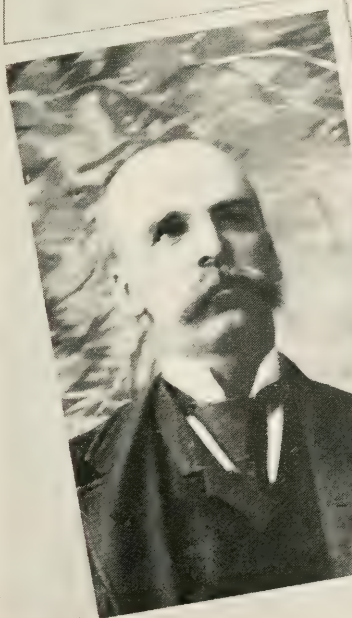
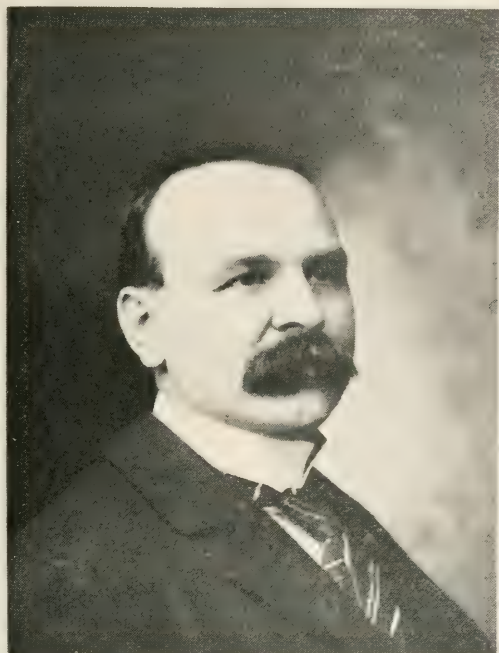
St. Peter and Paul at Dickinson with 22 male and 3 female members.

The officers for 1912 are as follows:

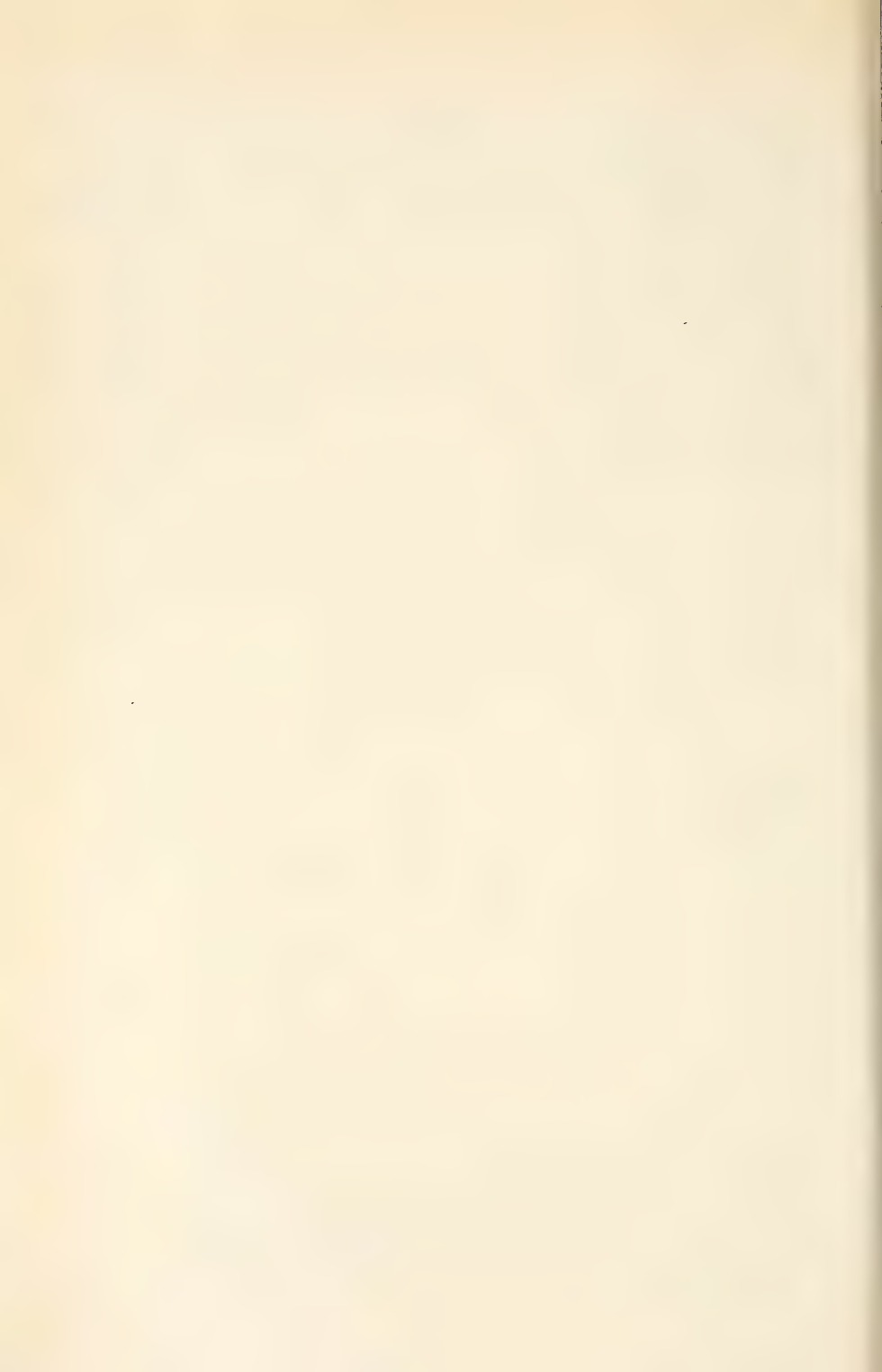
Chaplain.....	Rev. J. Rynda, St. Paul, Minnesota
President.....	L. J. Krdny, Wahoo, Nebraska
Vice Pres.....	John Prusa, So. Omaha, Nebraska
Treasurer.....	Joseph Machovec, St. Paul, Minnesota
Secretary.....	J. J. Kovarik, New Prague, Minnesota
Physician.....	Dr. W. J. Hovorak, St. Paul, Minnesota

Directors.

F. J. Fencl.....	Protivin, Iowa
F. J. Karnik.....	Veseleyville, North Dakota
Joseph M. Petrik.....	Lake Andes, South Dakota



Dr. Fred Formanek
Mr. and Mrs. Frank Formanek



"The following is a list of members of the St. John Nepomuck Order at Lidgerwood, Richland County on January 1, 1912: John Heley, Albert Heley, Frank Sheleney, Frank Voyek, Frank Franta, Joseph Hajney, Albert Kovar, Wm. Heley, Joseph W. Novotny, Rev. Alois Gaydousek, Elenora Heley, Verona Sheleney, Antonette Voyek, Anna Franta, Anna Hajney, Mary Kovar, Josephine Novotny."

"The members of the St. Wenceslaus Order at Wahpeton, Richland County on January 1, 1912, are as follows: John Dvorak, Frank Kosik, Frank J. Kosik, John Mares, Ed. Mares, John Busko, Frank Pechlat, Joseph E. Chezik, Ed. J. Chezik, Frank Tehle, John Holecek, Jas. C. Holecek, Albert Holecek, Frank Holecek, Ed. Holecek, Anton Holecek, Frank Lorenz, Chas. W. Lorenz, Bernard Lorenz, Albert Lorenz, Frank Srnka, Fred Srnka, John Cimbura, John Bricks, Rev. Jos. Gaydousek, Joseph E. Korbel, Wenzl Kubala, Wenzl Pazdernik, Chas. L. Pazdernik, John Pazdernik, Joseph Pazdernik, Joseph Barina, Frank L. Kub, and Ed. Brosh."

No. 4.

The Bohemian-Slovak Benevolent Society. Cesko-Slovansky Podporujici Spolek.

In a report of the Jubilee Festival of the 50th anniversary of the Bohemian Slovak Benevolent Society, C. S. P. S., held at St. Louis, Missouri in 1904, is found in part the following brief history. On March 4, 1854, several Bohemian citizens of St. Louis, Missouri, had gathered at the residence of Jacob Mottl, located on 9th St. between Souldard and Lafayette streets, for the purpose of discussing the possibilities of organizing a Bohemian lodge, not solely for providing life insurance for their families after their death, but also to serve as a fraternal tie among the members. After a lengthy discussion both pro and con, it was finally decided that a lodge would be organized. This was the beginning of one of the largest present day organizations of its nature namely, The Bohemian-Slovak Benevolent Society commonly known as the C. S. P. S. lodge. The charter members of this society were as follows: Joseph Stankovsky, Anton Neustadt, Albert Masek, Jacob Svacina, John Smrha, Peter Masek, John Baun, John Kadlec, John Stuchel, Joseph Kriz, John Stais, Joseph Petracek, John Dospiva, V. Stanek, Mat Stankowsky, Wenzl Panuska, Karl Sauer, Jos. Marsolek, Anton Morstein, Joseph Meyer, Jacob Mottl, Frank Nikrle, Wenzl Svec, Frank Voracek, Frank Sykora, Lawrence Gahn, Martin Vovec, and John Benda. Thus there were twenty-eight members in all to lay the foundation of this organization.

In the course of six months following the organization twenty-four new members had joined, but at the same time twenty of the members had been expelled, so during the first year the society had made little progress as far as membership was concerned. The first officers were as follows: President, Frank Nikrle; Vice President, Karl Sauer; Secretary, Anton Neustadt.

The dues at first were as follows: Initiation fee \$1.25, monthly assessments, 50 cents, and special assessments for the support of sick brethren totaled \$2.00 for the first year and \$2.50 for the second. The expenses paid by the association were, support to widows \$5.00 per month, and funeral expenses which the association was authorized to pay, \$20.00 towards the funeral of a brother and \$10.00 towards the funeral of a member's wife. The finances of the organization were in a satisfactory condition, as at the end of the first six months the treasury showed a balance of \$186.00 and at the end of the first year \$214.00 were on hand. During the years 1855-57 nothing of great importance had taken place within the association. Thus far it had not been strictly of a secret nature, but on March 1, 1857 it was launched for the first time as a secret organization. In this manner it progressed till March 3, 1862, when it was placed upon a national basis.

The First National officers were: President, Wenzl Polak; Secretary, Karl Claudius; Treasurer, Karl Roth.

Immediately after the Civil War broke out, this new association felt its effect, and by the end of June, 1862, it had practically ceased to exist. But in other parts of the city of St. Louis, this new idea had gained a firm hold, and on July 4, 1862, was organized the Missouri Lodge No. 2 of the C. S. P. S. This order was immediately placed on a national basis that is, other orders could be organized under the ruling of the same charter without a reorganization of the old one. The organizers of this order were: Wenzl Polak, Joseph Stankovsky, Andrew Mik, Martin Kovanda, Joseph Schanel, Wenzl Ruzicka, John Votava, Frank Vesely, Anton Klement, Jacob Dvorak, F. Zamrazil, V. Rehacek, Wenzl Hruska, Frank Novotny, and Jacob Bayer, making a total of fifteen. Following the organization of Order No. 2 others gradually came into existence. In September of that year it was publicly announced that Order No. 1 C. S. P. S. had been dissolved, and this was the end of the first Bohemian Benevolent Society in the United States. But its purpose, aim, and principles were so firmly fixed in the minds of those who had been connected with it, that instead of permanently ceasing to exist, it had made greater achievements than ever. Missouri Lodge No. 2 C. S. P. S. was steadily progressing, and its fundamental principles were gaining a strong foot-hold among Bohemians throughout other states. On February 2, 1870, was organized in Cleveland, Ohio, order Svornost, and upon the 8th

of March, 1870, received its charter from Order No. 2 C. S. P. S. for national existence under the name Svornost, No. 3, C. S. P. S.

The first permanent national officers, after Lodge No. 1 had ceased to exist were: President, Frank Polak; Secretary, Karl Claudius; Treasurer, Karl Roth.

A gradual but permanent progress followed and in 1873 we find that five orders were in existence with a total membership of 220. Till the year 1880 the number of orders increased to 66 and the membership to 3,957. In the September, 1912, issue of the Brotherhood Organ, Organ Bratrstve, we find there were 216 orders in existence with a total membership of 24,976 distributed among the various states as follows:

States	Members
Alabama	13
Arkansas	26
California	63
South Dakota	157
Illinois	8,292
Iowa	960
Kansas	256
* Maryland	429
Massachusetts	240
Michigan	650
Minnesota	480
Missouri	1,088
Nebraska	535
New Jersey	442
New York	4,234
Ohio	3,769
Oklahoma	22
Wisconsin	791

The association had been without an official organ from the time of its beginning till the year 1886, when it was decided to publish a national organ. The publisher of a paper called Den-nice Novoveku agreed to do the work in connection with his own paper. The paper was published twice a month in regular size eight page paper, at the cost of 40 cents per year and every member was compelled to subscribe. Since then several changes have been made in the paper, and it is now a thirty-two page paper, published monthly by Karl Jirak of Oak Park, Illinois, the cost being 40 cents per year per member.

No. 5.

Western Bohemian Fraternal Association. Zapadni Cesko-Bratrske Jednota, Z. C. B. J.

On account of many deaths in the large eastern cities, in proportion to the west, a number of the members of the Bohemian Slovanic Benevolent Society severed their connection with this society, and on February 11, 1897, together with some who had not been connected with the society, organized a new association at Omaha, Nebraska. The name of this new association was the Western Bohemian Fraternal Association. Their membership at the time of organization was 927, and the first officers were as follows: President, J. Zbanek, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Vice Pres., A. Novotny, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Secretary, A. Blaha, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Treasurer, A. Brayer, Cedar Rapids, Iowa. On the 4th of July, 1897, it was incorporated and since known as a national association. The principles of this new association are the same as those of the old order namely, Truth, Love and Loyalty among the members. It is a social organization as well as a beneficial one, and social members are admitted. It is open to women as well as men, and the policies range from \$500.00 to \$2,000.00. Any person is eligible to membership providing he has the usual requirements. Of course it is essential that one is able to speak the Bohemian language, as all the meetings are conducted in the native tongue.

The official organ of this association is the Fraternal Advertiser, Bratrsky Vestnik, published monthly at the main office of the Association, at 509-511 So. 12th Street, Omaha, Nebraska, with F. J. Kutak as editor. The paper is sent free of charge to all members, and at the rate of 50 cents per year to non-members. According to the official report, on January 1, 1912, the association had a total of 17,500 members with 226 orders, throughout 15 states as follows:

Montana	2	North Dakota	13
Minnesota	22	Oregon	3
Michigan	4	Oklahoma	16
Kansas	18	South Dakota	17
Iowa	24	Washington	3
California	2	Wisconsin	33
Colorado	1	Wyoming	1
Nebraska	67		

The National Officers of the Association on January 1, 1912 were as follows: President, F. M. Barta, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Vice Pres. F. J. Salda, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Secretary, Louis Blaha, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Treasurer, Emil Falda, Linwood, Nebraska; Physician, Dr. V. V. Smrha, Milligan, Nebraska.

THE FIRST DUNKER COLONY OF NORTH DAKOTA.

Roy Thompson.

Members of the Church of the Brethren, or, as they have until recently been called, German Baptist Brethren, and commonly spoken of as Dunkers, have been settling in North Dakota since 1894.¹ Their colonies were at first restricted to the territory surrounding Cando, Mayville and Devils Lake, but now they are well represented in almost every section of the northern half of the state, especially in the central and western portions of this area where government land was left vacant until after 1894.

The first Dunker colony to settle in the state was the one which came to Towner County in the spring of 1894 and located near Cando.² Other and larger colonies came later, both to Cando, and to other parts of the state, but the colony of 1894 was the pioneer, and it is with the history of this colony that the present paper deals.

Before taking up the history of this particular group, however, it will not be out of place to briefly review the history of the church, taking up its origin and growth, and some of the principal tenets which distinguish it from other Protestant denominations.

THE BRETHREN CHURCH.

The organization now known as the Church of the Brethren originated during that period of upheaval on the continent of Europe caused by a reaction against the Catholic Church.³ The valley of the Rhine became the theatre of much persecution of persons and sects who were courageous enough to hold and defend religious convictions of their own or who interpreted the Bible in a different sense from that of the state religion. Such was the tremendous impetus acquired by the reaction that the extreme position of no form and no religion was soon reached by the Pietists. In 1708, under the leadership of Alexander Mack, himself a Pietist, a group of eight persons was formed whose religious convictions impelled them to follow the spirit if not the letter of the Scriptures, and who believed that the radicalism of the Pietists tended to disorder and anarchy. After prolonged

1. This is a German word and means *one who dips or immerses, an immerser.*

2. The point farthest north and west reached by the Dunkers up to this time was Bijou Hills, S. D. A few single families from this settlement moved across the southern border of North Dakota in the spring of 1894 but no community settlement was started by them.

3. For this sketch I have used Brumbaugh, *History of the German Baptist Brethren in Europe*, Elgin, Ill., 1907 and *Two Centuries of the Church of the Brethren*, Elgin, Ill., 1909.

study of the Bible they met at Mack's house in Schwarzenau, Germany, for the purpose of putting their beliefs into practice. Following a period of solemn consultation and prayer, they proceeded to a little river, the Eder, where they performed baptismal rites, which, in accordance with their views, they did by triune immersion. Thus was founded a sect which grew rapidly into what is now known as the Church of the Brethren.

The text which was the basis of the organization of the church is found in Luke 14:25-33. It was used by Mack just before the ordinance of baptism, and is still used on such occasions. The particular part which led to its selection were the three words "counteth the cost" found in verse 28: "For which of you, intending to build a tower, sitteth not down first, and counteth the cost, whether he have sufficient to finish it?" Thus during an age of turmoil, religious and political, this group of earnest thinkers, abandoning all denominational precedents, founded a church, at once opposed to the formal religion of state and at the same time wisely kept free from the utter disorganization of the Pietists. These Brethren, or Taufers, carried the spirit of Protestantism to the acceptance of the maxim "No exercise of force in religion." For this they suffered every sort of persecution.¹

The church grew rapidly, branch congregations soon sprang up throughout Germany, and in 1719 the first emigration to America took place under the leadership of Peter Becker. The first settlement was made at Germantown, Pennsylvania. Dreams of moving to America were probably not new to some of the emigrants. William Penn had preached his way up the Rhine to Switzerland in 1672 and again in 1678. No doubt some of those who entered the compact of 1708 had heard him and were thus more easily influenced to move to Pennsylvania where they could worship as they pleased. Other colonies followed Becker's until most of the leaders, including Mack, left Europe for America. This land of political and religious freedom soon became the center of activity and the home of the church.

The history of the church in America is one of remarkable growth and progress. From the mother-congregation of Germantown the Dunkers reached out, established other congregations, and, keeping pace with the growth of the nation, have established themselves in every state in the Union.

The United States Census special report for 1906 on Religious Bodies gives the following data:

1. Non-coercion gave them the following principles which they rigidly adhere to:

We cannot compel any one to join our church, therefore we are opposed to infant baptism.

We are opposed to taking the oath by force of law.

We are opposed to war.

We are opposed, logically to state religions; we sustain freedom of conscience and exalt allegiance to God above allegiance to rulers.

Each individual is free to follow his own conscience.

"The Dunker or German Baptist Brethren bodies are four in number, as follows: German Baptist Brethren Church (conservative), Old Order German Baptist Brethren (withdrew in 1881), The Brethren Church (Progressive Dunkers withdrew in 1882), German 7th Day Baptists (withdrew in 1728).

"At the close of the year 1906 the four bodies taken together had 1,097 organizations; the total number of communicants reported by 1,090 organizations was 97,144. The Dunker Brethren have never formulated a written creed, deeming the scriptures sufficient."¹

THE FIRST DUNKER SETTLEMENT IN NORTH DAKOTA.

The first settlement of Dunkers in North Dakota owes its existence primarily to the activity of the Great Northern railroad, which, in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, spent much money and employed many men in finding settlers for the vacant government land lying within the territory of its newly built lines in the northwest. At the head of the immigration activity of the railroad from 1892 to 1909 was Max Bass, a man to whose remarkable energy and personal enthusiasm for his work is due, in very large measure, the rapid settlement and consequent development of the northern half of our state. North Dakota owes much to Max Bass, for it was his vital interest in the settlers themselves, his sympathetic concern for their welfare, born of a larger impulse than that of merely earning his salary, which made him so important a factor in laying the foundations of the commonwealth.²

In accordance with his policy of finding homes for settlers, Max Bass, during the summer of 1893, endeavored to secure for Towner County a colony of Amish, a religious sect. His plan was to persuade two or three families to move from their homes in the eastern states and settle in North Dakota. "The Amish people are very clannish, where one goes, others will follow like sheep," is his own expression of the situation.³ In a letter to F. L. Thompson, of Cando, he suggests that Thompson find a place for one C. F. Kidder, one of the Amish, upon his farm, "for the sake of establishing a colony near Cando."

The plan of establishing a colony of people who were bound together by religious ties suggested to F. L. Thompson the idea of securing a Dunker colony for North Dakota. This was very natural since he had lived as a boy near such a community at Girard, Illinois, and had had many dealings with them while in the mercantile business at that place. He had had ample

1. Special Report of the Bureau of the Census, U. S. Government, Washington, D. C., 1906.

2. For a sketch of Max Bass, see appendix No. 3.

3. Letter from Max Bass to F. L. Thompson, June 27, 1893.

opportunity to become acquainted with them, and was confident that they would make good settlers and desirable citizens. Particularly was he impressed with the fact that in the matter of religion, they practiced what they preached. Accordingly he communicated his ideas to Max Bass and suggested that he visit the Girard community with a view to organizing an emigration from that district.

Following this suggestion Bass visited the Illinois community, and endeavored to interest its members in North Dakota lands. He found them, however, unwilling to move. This was due, and very naturally, to the fact that they were enjoying very prosperous conditions and had no reason to be dissatisfied. Although this visit did not yield any direct results in the matter of immigration, it served to bring him into touch with the Dunkers, and to impress him with their desirability as settlers. His next move was to visit the annual conference of Dunkers at Muncie Indiana, in June, 1893. In answer to his inquiries he obtained the information that Rev. A. B. Peters, of Walkertown, Indiana, and T. Judson Beckwith, of Teegarden, Indiana, would probably be glad to change their locations and move to North Dakota.

The visit of Max Bass to the conference resulted in some correspondence between him and Rev. Peters, and ultimately in a visit on the part of Bass to Rev. Peters' home. The possibilities and advantages of the northwest were presented to the latter, free transportation was offered him for a trip of investigation and prospecting. Rev. Peters was much interested in the prospects held forth, and asked permission to take a number of friends with him. This request was readily granted by Bass, and a committee of Brethren was immediately organized for the trip of investigation. They were T. Judson Beckwith of Teegarden, William Baughman of Walkertown, William Holland of Tyner City, Rev. J. R. Miller and Samuel W. Burkhart of Nappanee, Indiana.¹

It was with much hesitation that this group of men consented to take the trip, for they knew that if they sold their homes in Indiana and cast their lot with the pioneers of North Dakota there could be no going back; they would be obliged, by reason of their slender finances, to remain where they settled. The price of land in Indiana was so high that once they sold, they could not re-establish themselves there.² The prospect of free government lands, however, was sufficiently alluring to induce these men to make the initial trip of investigation.

This committee of Brethren, accompanied by Max Bass, left

1. For a sketch of T. Judson Beckwith, see appendix No. 5.

2. Land sold for \$40 to \$65 per acre in the neighborhood of Teegarden, and from \$50 to \$100 around Nappanee.

Chicago, August 2, 1893, for North Dakota. They arrived at Mayville August 4, where they made their first stop. The appearance of the country and its apparent possibilities highly pleased the visitors. They found the prospects, however, unsuited to their financial condition for the government land had been taken up and improved, and could be had only by outright purchase, or on the crop-payment plan. By the crop-payment plan is meant that system whereby the purchaser of land pays a certain amount at the time of purchase and agrees to give the original owner a certain per cent of each crop raised on the land, usually one-half, until the whole amount agreed upon is paid. This plan is subject to much variation, however, depending upon the individual agreements between buyer and seller. This fact decided them to go further west, where government land was still open for filing.

Leaving Mayville, they continued their trip west. A stop was made at Lakota, August 6, but the conditions upon which they could acquire title to land were the same as at Mayville. On August 7 they arrived at Cando. Here they were hospitably received and entertained by the citizens of the town. Several days were spent in looking over the country. U. S. Land Commissioner F. L. Thompson, C. J. Lord of the Towner County Bank (now the First National), and E. J. Hanson assisted the visitors in the matter of transportation, and, being familiar with the quality and physiography of the land still open for settlement, were of much assistance in helping the Brethren to find a suitable location. The first day was spent east of town. Thompson and Hanson conducted the party, and took them as far east as the present town of Newville. None of the Brethren, however, was sufficiently satisfied with the country to file. Burkhart, who had lived in Kansas from 1885 to 1888, years when Kansas suffered from severe drought, thought this land compared unfavorably with Kansas land, especially that it was less level.¹

That evening as the party gathered in Thompson's office, a remark was made, which, though unimportant in itself, is yet remembered by all the Brethren, and is still told by them with much interest. Rev. Peters had said, "We're ready to locate, but have not yet seen the spot."

"I'll show the spot tomorrow," replied Thompson, indicating a certain quarter-section on the plat-book.

The following day, August 10, the party having been joined by C. J. Lord, spent the day west of Cando. Having covered a large amount of territory, the party returned towards town and arrived at the quarter mentioned by Thompson the night before.² This quarter is comparatively level, with a well-rounded hill at

1. For a sketch of Samuel W. Burkhart, see appendix No. 4.

2. The S. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 158, R. 68.

its approximate centre, and is admirably situated for a building site. Rev. Peters liked the land but could not make up his mind to file. He consulted Burkhart, and, after agreeing to stand by each other through thick and thin, both decided to take land. Rev. Peters filed on the quarter mentioned above, and Burkhart contracted for another quarter on the crop-payment plan.¹ Beckwith, too, decided to file at this time, and selected the quarter adjoining that of Rev. Peters on the south.² The homesteads of these three men marked the central point around which the future colonies settled. The people of Cando were given an opportunity to become acquainted with the Brethren, both in public and in private. Rev. Peters, who was an elder in the church, preached to the general public during the visit of the committee. His friends take great pride in the fact that this was the first sermon preached in North Dakota by a minister of the Brethren Church.

The committee returned to Indiana. All of its members were convinced that North Dakota's opportunities were well worth seizing. They were enthusiastic about it and began to communicate their enthusiasm to their friends and neighbors. The Great Northern railway now employed Rev. Peters to act as immigration agent, particularly among his own brethren. As a result of this activity a second party of twenty-nine homeseekers was organized. With Max Bass and Rev. Peters this party came to North Dakota early in September, 1893. This party was especially impressed with the prospects offered to the poor man. Of the twenty-nine, twenty-two filed on homesteads.³ They returned at once to their homes and began to make preparations for moving in the following spring.

Still a third party was organized the same fall and came to North Dakota about the middle of October. This party numbered thirteen and resulted in several more filings.

The movement had now assumed large proportions and a colony of Brethren in North Dakota was definitely assured. Rev. Peters started an active campaign in Indiana. He endeavored to interest the members of his church, as well as others outside the church, in North Dakota. He did not restrict his operations

1. The amount specified in the contract was \$800. Mr. Burkhart says that this contract aroused a considerable amount of curiosity among those to whom he showed it in Indiana. They were curious to know how land could be bought on such terms.

2. Beckwith asked Thompson to hold the quarter until he could go home and consult his wife. He sent the amount necessary for filing (\$16) by mail, and his filing was recorded Aug. 19, 1893.

3. This party, like the first, was shown about by F. L. Thompson. All settled near the filing of Rev. Peters and all, of course, wanted land next to his. They were quarrelling over this when Rev. Peters stepped up and told them to stop. Then he and Thompson, plat-book in hand, picked out and assigned land to each one. No one complained. Moreover, at the conclusion of the assignment, the Brethren surrounded Rev. Peters, raised him to their shoulders, carried him a short distance, and set him down on his claim.

to his own locality, but covered an extensive range of territory in north central Indiana, even going across the border into Ohio to gain recruits.

The method pursued by Rev. Peters in securing immigrants was largely that of personal solicitation among his personal friends and the members of his church. He traveled from community to community, telling the poor man of the wonderful opportunities which awaited him in the northwest. He visited the homes of those he thought he could interest, took a meal with them, or perhaps stayed over night. His work took the form of a personal canvass, and, because he himself was a poor man, and was venturing his all in a new country, the people whom he approached placed especial confidence in him.

In the work of securing immigrants for North Dakota Rev. Peters was aided at every opportunity by Max Bass. The farsighted judgment of the latter in selecting a man of the type of Rev. Peters for the particular work for which he did is only another instance of his thorough knowledge of men. One plan which proved exceptionally satisfactory was that of calling public meetings in the smaller towns for the purpose of coming in touch with a large number of people and advertising North Dakota. Bass spoke at most of these meetings and explained the conditions which awaited the prospective settler. Other officials of the Great Northern were present at some of the meetings and in every instance pamphlets and circulars descriptive of North Dakota were distributed. Those who had definitely decided to emigrate were usually requested to sign a paper to that effect.

In a letter written December 18, 1893, to F. L. Thompson, Bass said:—"I take pleasure in advising you that the prospects for a large emigration to your country are growing brighter and brighter every day. I am making new converts right along and receive the heartiest co-operation of all the parties who filed on land this fall."¹

In another letter of January 20, 1894, he urged Thompson to see that accommodations were made for a large number of colonists in the spring. He suggested also that the Cando papers take the matter up and that the citizens of the town perfect an organization for the purpose of assimilating the new settlers when they should arrive. This organization would operate a central bureau where a list of rentable lands would be kept on file; also the names of those who wished to hire help. Bass

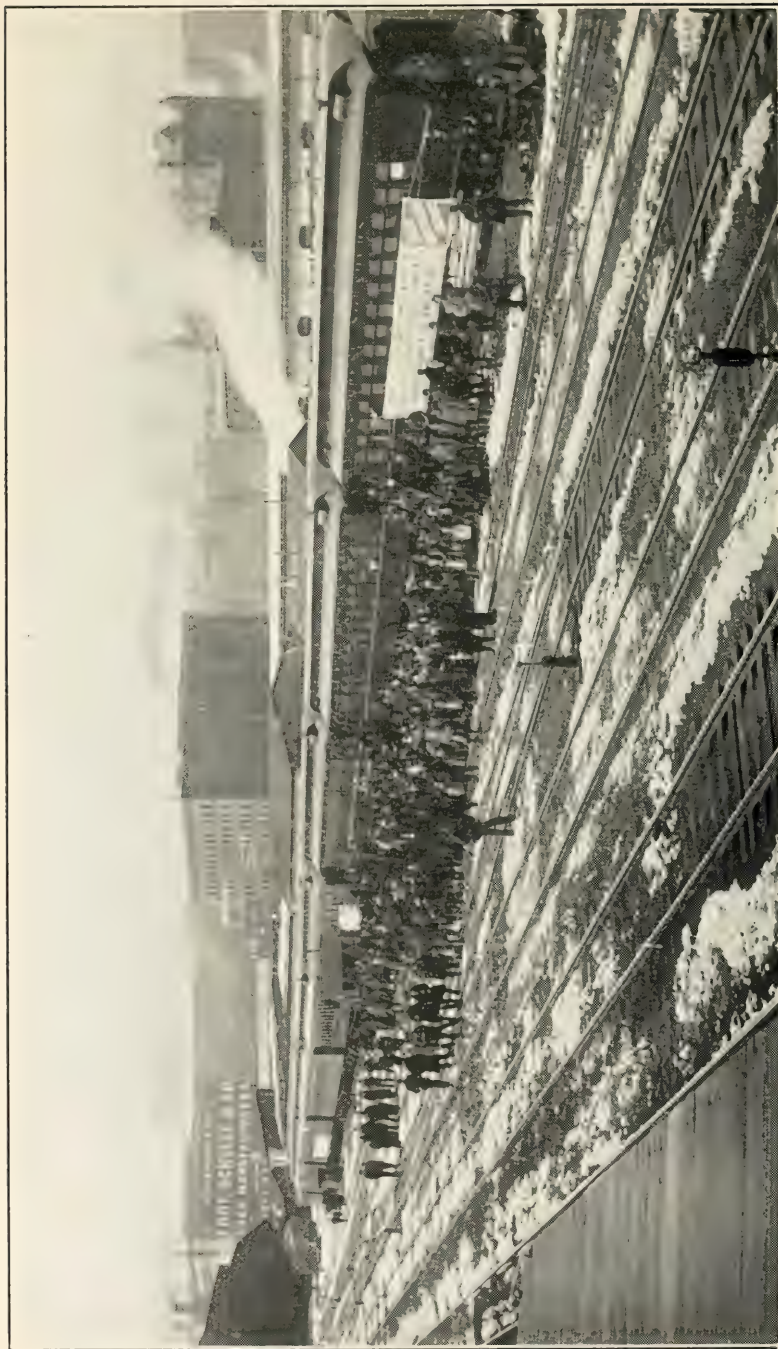
1. The following incident shows the personal interest taken by him in his work. A certain Mr. Blocher had come to North Dakota with one of the parties in the fall of 1893 and had made a rental contract with Hankey of Cando. The conditions of this contract were manifestly unfair to Blocher, since he was to receive only one-third of the crop and was to bear his proportional part of expenses. Bass wrote to Thompson, urging him to see Hankey and endeavor to persuade him to make a fairer contract with Blocher, for, he wrote, "I deem it my duty to look out for the interest of those people."

felt that he was undertaking a great responsibility in bringing such a large number of people to North Dakota, and wished to assure himself that they would be well taken care of.¹ That his predictions for a large colony were well founded was shown by the gathering of emigrants at Walkertown, Indiana, the last week in March, 1894. They came from all parts of the north central portion of Indiana. A majority came from farms, a few from small towns of Marshal and Elkhart counties. They brought their families with them and they brought their household goods, their live stock, farm machinery, in fact everything which could possibly be moved. Those who owned land either sold it or offered it for sale. They had prepared to sever all connections with their old homes and establish themselves permanently in new ones.

A special train was made up for the emigrants at Walkertown which was to make a through trip to Cando. The date set for departure was March 27. For several days previous to this date Walkertown was the scene of unusual activity. Everybody was busy loading household goods and live stock into freight cars. The excitement caused by their leaving for a new country was accelerated for the emigrants by the leave-taking of friends and relatives. Rumors of the terrible hardships to be met in North Dakota, the rigor of its winters, were on every tongue. News of the Bomburger murder had just reached Indiana, and friends of the colonists freely predicted for them a similar fate.² Stories of starving and freezing were heard on every hand. But the colonists were not deterred in the least. They continued their preparations for leaving, and found that comradeship in a new and uncertain venture made strong friends, so that their sorrow at leaving some friends was not wholly without recompense. The gathering of such a large number of people and their effects naturally caused some delay, and it was not until two o'clock on the morning of March 28 that the long train was ready to start. When finally assembled the train consisted of over thirty emigrant, or freight cars, and eight or nine passenger cars; the number of passengers was about 350. The experiences of the emigrants on this trip were many and varied. Each passenger car was provided with a stove which could be used for cooking so far as its limited capacity allowed. This stove was used chiefly for coffee-making. The colonists took ample lunches with them from their homes, and were enabled by frequent stops along the route to buy such provisions as bread and fruit. An experience most vividly remembered by the members of this first

1. The nature of the inquiries sent F. L. Thompson by those who thought of buying land here may be seen from appendix No. 2.

2. The Bomburger murder occurred at Cando, July 7, 1893, six of a family of eight were killed by a hired man.



Special Great Northern Train at Union Station, St. Paul, Minnesota, with
Dunker Settlers enroute from Indiana to North Dakota, March 29, 1894.

colony was the water famine. The water supply gave out, there was no water to drink, neither was there any for washing. Only those who have had the privilege of eating and sleeping in an emigrant coach can fully appreciate the significance of this latter statement. The sleeping accommodations, too, were limited. There were beds only for the women and children, the men generally were obliged to content themselves with the chair cars. There were no porters on board, every one was his own porter. At St. Paul a free lunch, consisting of coffee and buns, was furnished during the wait at the Union depot by the Great Northern. Max Bass had a photograph of the train and colonists taken during the wait in the yards. This he afterwards used for advertising purposes, as well as for personal remembrances to those who had taken the trip.

Bass accompanied the colony throughout the entire trip. To advertise the trip and arouse the "Dakota fever," he so arranged the train's schedule as to travel through Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin during the day time. The outside of the cars was covered with large banners upon which the opportunities of North Dakota were set forth in conspicuous letters. One, for example, bore the following statement:

"From Indiana, to the Rich Free Government Lands in North Dakota, via the Famous Red River Valley, the Bread Basket of America! For information about them apply to F. I. Whitney, Gen'l Pass. Agt., St. Paul, Minn., or Max Bass, Immigration Agt." The route from Walkertown to Chicago was by the Baltimore and Ohio, from Chicago to St. Paul the Chicago and Great Western, and from St. Paul to Cando the Great Northern. From St. Paul the train ran in two sections.

On March 31, 1894, the two sections of the emigrant train arrived at Cando. The citizens had made extensive preparations for the reception of the colonists. The town hall was thrown open to afford sleeping accommodations, and private residences were generously placed at their disposal until they could find permanent locations. In a few instances small temporary shacks were erected. Three boarding cars were sidetracked by the Great Northern for temporary use and a number of tents were provided from the railroad's construction crews to be used in case of necessity. The livery barns and some private barns were opened for the reception of live stock and household goods as they were unloaded.

All the immigrants wished to rent land the first summer, pending improvements upon their homesteads. Bass endeavored to discourage renting as much as possible, for he realized that the settlers should be homesteaders rather than renters. All but

one, however, lived on rented land the first summer.¹ Those living on rented land, after putting out their crops, immediately began to improve their homesteads. The Homestead laws at that time provided that, in order to make his claim good, a homesteader must establish a residence upon the land filed on within six months from the date of filing.² By the following spring they were living on their own homesteads. With hardly an exception, the colony of 1894 was made up of farmers. Some followed the carpenter's trade, but merely as a side line. Nearly every colonist was his own carpenter, his own blacksmith, and his own mechanic. In fact, each family was, to a remarkable degree, self-sufficing. This characteristic is traceable back to the German ancestry of the Brethren, and to a time when division of labor among those specially trained in certain trades was either unknown or not generally practiced.

The homesteads filed on by this group of Brethren were, for the most part, situated in Township 158, Range 68, around the homesteads of Elders Peters and Beckwith and Mr. Burkhart. A few filed in Township 158, Range 67 to the east and 159, 68 to the north. But the greatest number, nine-tenths at least, settled in 158-68, and later additions to this colony have made the township predominantly Brethren.

Such is the history of the first Brethren Colony. As is shown by the report of Max Bass to the Great Northern for the year 1902, there were other colonies and immigrations in ever increasing numbers every year thereafter for six years.³ But as the number of immigrants continued to increase they no longer settled together in one community but spread out over the state to different localities. Then, too, after the year 1894 the total number of immigrants did not come in a single body; neither were they predominantly Brethren. In all these respects the first colony of Brethren was unique. It was composed almost wholly of Brethren; all of its members settled in one community, and all came at the same time. For these reasons I have confined myself to this one colony, leaving the interesting story of other colonies for later treatment. I shall add, however, an account of the religious activities of these Brethren during their first summer and fall. Although no church was built, a church organization was perfected and a Sunday School organized. Such an account belongs properly to the story of the first colony, and

1. William Walterhouse.

2. "He must within six months after making his entry, establish his actual residence in a house upon the land, and must reside upon and cultivate the land continuously in accordance with law for the term of five years. Occasional visits to the land once in six months or oftener do not constitute residence. The homestead party must actually inhabit the land and make it the home of himself and family, as well as improve and cultivate it." Act May 14, 1880, 21 Stat., 140; appendix No. 15, p. 174. See circular of October 21, 1885, 4 L. D., 202.

3. See appendix No. 1.

may be considered part of the first chapter of the history of the Brethren in North Dakota.

RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES AND FIRST CHURCH.

As every one who is familiar with the Brethren or Dunkers knows, they give religion first place in their various activities. Religious duties hold precedence over all others. It was to be expected, therefore, that, after the colony of 1894 had attended to their most urgent material wants, its members would look to their spiritual welfare.

A real zeal for religious work manifested itself in this colony from the first. The immigrants no sooner satisfied their immediate needs for food and shelter than they began to look for a place in which to worship. The Methodist Church was placed at their disposal for this purpose, and it was there that they held their first public meeting. Rev. Peters preached the sermon on this occasion. Later, after the immigrants had found homes upon farms and until a church was built, the county court house and the public school building at Cando were used as meeting places. Regular services were also held in a country school house twelve miles northwest of Cando near their settlement. A Sunday School was organized within six weeks after the arrival of the colony.

The first definite church organization was effected August 4, 1894, four months after the colony's arrival. This was done at the J. W. McVey farm seven miles southwest of Cando, where a meeting was called for the purpose. The local Brethren were assisted in perfecting the church organization by Elders W. R. Deeter of Milford, Indiana, and Daniel Whitmore of South Bend, Indiana. Elder Deeter acted as moderator of the meeting; George C. Long was chosen secretary, Judson Beckwith, treasurer; and Samuel W. Burkhart, clerk. Burkhart estimates the number of bona fide church members present at one hundred. Of these, eighty-four were admitted to membership in the new church by presenting certificates of membership from their home churches. Some of those present were not supplied with such certificates and some who were so supplied did not wish to present them. At the same time there were admitted four ministers and four deacons. The four ministers were G. W. Strong, A. B. Peters, Levi E. Miller, and S. N. Eversole. The four deacons were Wm. Kesler, senior member, T. Judson Beckwith, Samuel W. Burkhart, and Wm. Baughman. After the meeting the ordinances of Foot-washing, the Love Feast, and the Salutation were observed, after which the Communion was ad-

ministered.¹ This church organization is noteworthy because it was the first of its kind in North Dakota. With the account of this organization the history of the Dunkers' first year in North Dakota is complete.

1. "Foot-washing, as taught in John 13, is held to be a divine ordinance. It has always been observed in connection with the Love Feast. It is not observed at any other time.

The Love Feast, or Lord's Supper, as a divine ordinance is observed in connection with the Communion, never at any other time. It is a full meal, partaken by the members in the evening only.

The Holy Kiss, or Salutation, is given at the close of the Lord's Supper and just before the Communion.

The Communion is administered after foot-washing, the Lord's Supper, and the salutation, and not without these attendant ordinances. The Communion consists in the bread and wine, commemorative of the sufferings and death of the Savior, Jesus Christ. Unleavened bread and unfermented wine are the emblems. The four ordinances last named are open to all members in good standing and to no others. The entire service is generally known as the love feast, and is usually held twice each year." Brumbaugh, History of the German Baptist Brethren in Europe and in America, p. 514.

APPENDIX

No. 1.

Report of Max Bass to the Great Northern Railroad, March
25, 1902.

Chicago, March 25, 1902.

Mr. J. W. Blabon,
4th Vice Pres., G. N. Ry.,
St. Paul, Minn.

Dear Sir:—

Complying with your verbal directions, I beg to submit a brief resume of our immigration work, from the time I took charge of same until now.

Possibly no state had a worse reputation than North Dakota and Minnesota at that time, owing to the peculiar conditions under which the earlier settlements were made. A homestead, tree claim, and pre-emption was possible for all settlers, and the spirit of speculation filled the country with a horde of land seekers, who were anything else but practical farmers. Of course these first settlers made a failure of their attempt at farming, and from the report of these failures, the impression grew that this region was unfit for agricultural pursuits. Many of our leading newspapers even took the stand that North Dakota ought to be obliterated from the map. Prior to this, General Hazen had reported to the Government that this region was unfit for agriculture. Another difficulty met with, not only at that time but even to the present, has been the general prevailing impression that settlers in North Dakota are during each winter in constant danger of freezing to death, while the untold horrors of a "BLIZZARD" has been so often repeated to the Eastern people, with every variation of exaggeration that the would be settler cannot disabuse himself of this idea. Only actual experience as a settler can ever convince an Eastern man that while the winters in North Dakota are colder than in the Central States, still the cold is not more seriously felt. Possibly no other factor has proven a greater hindrance to us in settling these lands.

I had lived for some years in North Dakota, and was well advised of the situation and fully convinced that a practical farmer could go there and make success. I was first compelled to secure settlers by making personal effort and persuasion directly to the farmer, and while I met with fair success, this process was too slow.

In 1893 I came in contact with members of the German Baptist Brethren Church, (commonly known as Dunkers) and succeeded in getting them to appoint a committee to go along our line in North Dakota and make a thorough investigation of the

opportunities to be found there, and without going into details of this trip, this committee reported the country good. The influence of this report enabled me to collect a little colony of settlers, (350) in the spring of 1894 and move them by special train from Chicago. These people were mostly Dunkers and came from Northern Indiana. Almost universal success crowned the efforts of these first settlers, and their good reports to Eastern friends coupled with judicious advertising caused our work to grow from spring to spring until now; we have been taking settlers from each of the Central and Eastern states in largely increasing numbers as the following schedule will show:

Spring of 1894	we had	350	people
Spring of 1895	" "	460	"
Spring of 1896	" "	1,035	"
Spring of 1897	" "	1,761	"
Spring of 1898	" "	5,342	"
Spring of 1899	" "	8,005	"
Spring of 1900	" "	10,056	"

The foregoing represents only those homeseekers whom we were able to collect and move on our special trains, and of whom we could keep a record. Thousands moved at other seasons of the year, and no record was, or could be made of them. In addition to the showing of settlers it is worthy of note to call attention to the special trains of box cars going out each spring loaded with the personal effects of the farmers who were seeking new homes. Without wearying you with a list of tabulated figures, our records show that we moved on an average about one freight car to every five settlers. If there has been any variation in this proportion, it has been to increase the average of freight, since, as the country becomes better known, more farmers move family and goods without first making a personal investigation.

We have endeavored to keep record of those who failed to remain in North Dakota, and while the circumstances prevented exactness, we can state with assurance that fully ninety-five per cent of this great colony movement are living on their homes in North Dakota today. They were home-seekers indeed.

Remarkable as this growth has been, the effects are even more noticeable along the lines of the Great Northern Railway in North Dakota where these people located. Eight years ago this region was a vast expanse of prairie country unsettled and uncultivated; now the entire region is dotted with the homes of our prosperous and contented settlers, every desirable homestead of 160 acres is now occupied as far west as Berthold. The official records of the United States Land Offices at Grand Forks, Devils Lake, and Minot show the number of acres thus occupied to be over five millions.

A trip along our main line and branches in this region eight years ago and now, would show even a more pronounced change. Little villages then are prosperous towns today; mere sidetracks eight years ago are thriving villages now. At every station the many large elevators bear witness to the wonderful change thus wrought. Still a better evidence of what has been accomplished may be obtained from a comparison of the passenger, freight and express receipts of these stations, eight years ago and today.

Two years of successful work remain to be accounted for. In 1900 it was decided to exploit the country along our lines in Montana and Washington. Bulletins were prepared, setting forth the opportunity to home-seekers and during the winter of 1900-01 energetic and careful advertising was carried on with the result that during the spring and summer of 1901 we moved to points along our line from the Red River Valley to Puget Sound no less than 55,000 home-seekers.

This last season we have pushed our work with equal energy and at the present writing are receiving such results as warrant the statement that the movement of home-seekers this spring will surpass that of 1901.

As an investment, the Great Northern Railway is sure of abundant returns for the money expended in this development of the country along its lines, and is bound to be well repaid. Increased passenger travel, shipment of supplies for these thousands of settlers and the caring for of their annual productions are not for just one year, but must continue in increased proportion for all the years to come.

"The man, who causes two blades of grass to grow where one grew before, is a benefactor of his country." This adage easily places the Great Northern Railway in a front place as a developer and benefactor of our great country; and, none the less insures abundant reward, financially, for its promoters, and bespeaks the far-seeing policy of its management.

Yours truly,

MAX BASS,

General Immigration Agent.

No. 2.

Some of the inquiries addressed to F. L. Thompson by easterners concerning North Dakota are of interest, and may be of some value in showing the prevailing ideas of North Dakota less than twenty years ago and a few of the most common ones are given below.

1. "Please give me prices of hay, oats and potatoes, and what the prices are likely to be in the spring (of 1894). Also of horses, lime, lumber, and hardware.

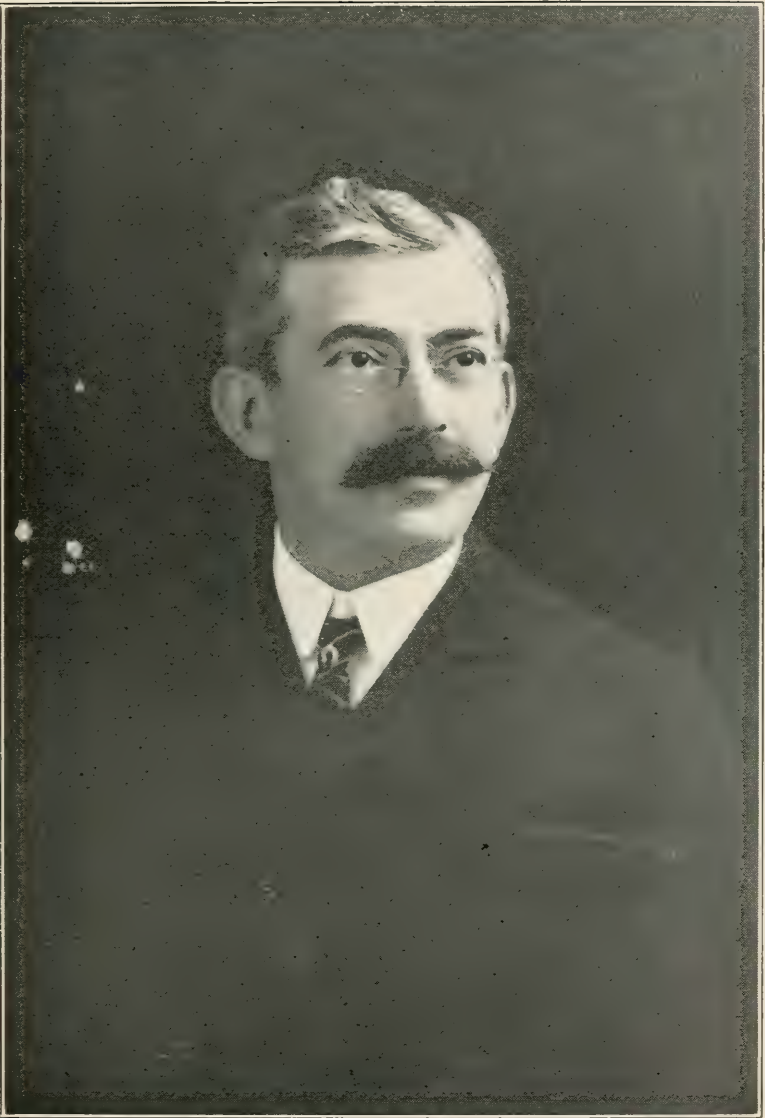
2. Is it true that great herds of stock roam the prairies destroying the crops, on account of there being no fences?
3. How much money will a man have to have to get along with?
4. How many horses does it take to farm 160 acres?
5. Is it true that four out of five crops are usually failures?
6. Is there any consumption or lung fever in the winter?
7. What are the prevailing wages of day laborers and carpenters?
8. Where can I get pine trees? Will all kinds of pine trees do well there?
9. Is there plenty of wood, rivers, and creeks?"

No. 3.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF MAX BASS.

Max Bass was born May 9, 1853, at Reichenberg, a town of 34,000 population in the northernmost section of the province of Bohemia, Austria. He spent his childhood and early youth in Vienna and there received his education. At about the age of twenty-four he came to the United States. Here he engaged in the business of commission merchant until his removal to the West. In the year 1883, being thirty years of age, he left New York and moved to North Dakota, locating at Belfield, now a small town on the Northern Pacific, a few miles west of Dickinson. Here, in company with several other New Yorkers, bankers and merchants, he founded the town called Belfield. He was the proprietor of a hotel, which afforded, for a time, a prosperous living, as the new town offered a stopping place for the freight outfits from the Black Hills. Later on, however, when this traffic ceased, the town did not prosper. In 1884 he was married in Bismarck, and in 1886 left Belfield for that place. At Bismarck he occupied a position as Deputy Commissioner of Immigration, under the first Commissioner of Immigration, Lauren Dunlap. This position he retained under the next two succeeding commissioners, P. F. McClure and Frank Hagerty. At the end of Hagerty's term the office was abolished, having been in existence six years.

Soon after this Bass went to St. Paul in charge of an exhibition advertising the resources of North Dakota. This exhibit was so ably handled that its excellence attracted the attention of F. I. Whitney, then general passenger agent of the Great Northern railway. Mr. Whitney became interested in Mr. Bass, and offered him a position as Immigration Agent with the Great Northern. This position he filled with eminent success until his death in 1909. His report to J. W. Blabon, Fourth Vice-Presi-



Max Bass

dent of the Great Northern, of March 25, 1902, is an eloquent testimonial of the remarkable services rendered by Max Bass to the Northwest.¹

During the first period of his service his home was in St. Paul, but after the year 1900, he and Mrs. Bass moved to Chicago, where they resided until his death. In 1908 his health began to fail and in the following year an unfortunate accident hastened his death, some years perhaps, before his time. The accident was occasioned by a truck wagon which ran into him, and he was carried, fainting, into a drug store. The accident occurred about May 18, 1909, and he died soon after. It is seldom that the death of an individual who occupies no conspicuous official position causes so much comment as did the passing of Max Bass. His life work was the upbuilding of the northwest, and he considered no obstacle too great to be removed if it stood in the way of stimulating immigration into Minnesota, the Dakotas and Montana. He was at all times a consistent promoter for the country he loved, and his tact and business knowledge did much to make the early settlers prosperous. He was always experimenting with new ways to make farming profitable and the results of his experiments were freely given to all who asked. He never considered that he was working for a salary, but held to the theory that his efforts would be rewarded by that feeling of satisfaction a man has who does well his duty when its accomplishment means the happiness of thousands of persons.

The following story is significant, and emphasizes one of Max Bass' most marked characteristics: An old employe of the Great Northern in speaking of Bass' habit of renewing old acquaintances, said:—

"The company during the early days would send out a train load of settlers. These were located along the right of way miles in advance of the settled districts, and Max was always one of the party to accompany them. After they had been located on homes and had a chance to raise a crop, Max would pay them another visit. I never knew him to fail on that second visit, and it helped to keep him in touch with his work. The settlers soon came to know him as their friend, and I have known him to hold general meetings at small towns, where farming in its different branches was discussed, and many a settler would drive in from the farm with his family just to meet Max and hear him tell them how to get the best out of the ground." In appreciation of his services, Lewis W. Hill, president of the Great Northern, named one of the new towns in western North Dakota Maxbass. He was further honored by having one of the extension lines of this railroad named after him.

1. See appendix No. 1.

No. 4.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF S. W. BURKHART.

Samuel W. Burkhart was born in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, January 6, 1864. He moved with his parents to Elkhart County, Indiana, in 1879, where he resided until he was 21 years old. On February 25, 1885, he went to Harvey County, Kansas, and worked as a farm hand one year, after which he went to Ness County in the same state, and filed on a homestead of 80 acres. After perfecting title on this land he returned to Elkhart, Indiana, where on December 31, 1887, he married Anna R., daughter of Joel H. and Katie Miller. After four years of experience on rented land and a year and a half on his own forty acre tract of brush land, his memory often dwelt on the scenes and experiences on the prairie during his brief stay in Kansas. This gave him a longing for a real farm home on the prairie. Fortunately, in July, 1893, Max Bass, the well known immigrant agent of the Great Northern railroad, called on Burkhart personally and told him of the opportunities awaiting him in the northwest. After Mrs. Burkhart's objections had been overcome, Burkhart consented to join the first committee of Brethren to visit North Dakota, early in August, 1893. Being favorably impressed with the appearance of North Dakota, Burkhart decided to move his family and personal property to Towner County, North Dakota. He started from Nappanee, Indiana, March 27, 1894, with the first North Dakota colony, and landed in Cando March 31. The first year Burkhart rented a quarter-section besides farming the one he had formerly bought on the crop-payment plan, and homesteaded eighty acres in 1895. He has resided in Towner County since that time and is the present owner of 720 acres of land in that county and 160 acres in Pierce County.

No. 5.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF T. JUDSON BECKWITH.

About the year 1850 E. A. Beckwith, then a lad sixteen years of age, left Buchanan, Michigan, for Iowa. Beckwith made the trip with Joseph Henry, serving as the driver of the latter's ox-team. They settled in Cerregard county, Iowa. About six months later Mary Argabrite, with her parents, left Sauk Town, Indiana, and settled likewise in Cerregard county. The place of settlement was then two hundred miles from a postoffice. In 1854 E. A. Beckwith and Mary Argabrite were married. Many hardships were experienced by them in their frontier home. They started with the sum of \$7 as the whole of their worldly possessions.

They always referred to these days, however, as the happiest of their lives. The first child, John W., was born November 27, 1856, and the subject of this sketch, T. Judson, October 29, 1858. In the meantime the elder Beckwith, having accumulated some property, started, in the spring of 1860, with his family for the old home in Michigan. The trip was made in a covered wagon. Here, October 27, 1860, a third child, Ida L., was born, and here the family lived until the three children had reached their majority. The younger Beckwith worked in his father's shingle mill from his earliest years until about fourteen years of age. At this time, the grandfather having died, Beckwith's father moved to the old estate and began farming.

At the age of nine years Beckwith received four months of schooling. This was all he received until nineteen years of age. Hence his school education was limited, but he always showed a keen desire for intellectual pursuits when an opportunity presented itself, and developed a wholesome appreciation for those stories which had a good moral effect. At eighteen, he rented his father's farm, and has ever since followed agricultural and horticultural pursuits. In 1881 he bought a forty acre tract adjoining his father's. On December 7, 1881, he married Mary L. Vetter. Nearly a year previous to this they had been baptized into the Church of the Brethren by being immersed in a creek through three feet of ice. They lived on the forty acre tract purchased the year of their marriage until August, 1887, when they removed to Teegarden, Marshall County, Indiana. Two boys, Harry A. and Thurston H., had been born to them. A farm of 120 acres was purchased here and every effort was made to get out of debt and make some advancement. About a year after moving to Indiana, (1888) Beckwith was made deacon in the Pine Creek Church. The same year another son, Jesse A., was added to the family, two girls, one a twin to Jesse, died in infancy. During the winter of 1891-1892 a considerable financial embarrassment was met with. Beckwith gave bail for a neighbor, and was obliged to forfeit the sum of \$600.

At the General Conference of the Church of the Brethren at Muncie, Indiana, in 1893 Max Bass, general immigration agent for the Great Northern railroad, came in touch with the Brethren and began to secure the names of those who would be interested in emigrating. He secured several names from Beckwith's father (E. A. Beckwith) and soon they began to receive circulars descriptive of the northwest. A short time after the Conference a communication came from Rev. A. B. Peters informing Beckwith that free transportation to North Dakota had been offered by Max Bass to a committee of Brethren, and that he (Peters) wished Beckwith to be one of the members. The committee left

Indiana the latter part of July, 1893, to investigate the prospects offered by North Dakota.

Beckwith did not, at this time, intend to move to North Dakota, but rather intended to go to Nebraska. But the opportunities of North Dakota were too good to be left behind. At Mayville, North Dakota, he had his first surprise and one which made him realize the large scale upon which farming was done in the Northwest. Here he saw fourteen gang plows (only one-half the force) plowing summer fallow. The investigating committee went from Mayville to Lakota, and from there to Cando. As a result of the committee's visit to this town, two of its members, Rev. Peters and Beckwith, filed on claims. These two filings established a nucleus for a later Brethren settlement.

In March, 1894, Beckwith and family left Indiana, with the first Brethren colony of 350, for his claim in North Dakota. The Great Northern officials and the people of Cando were very courteous to the colonists and the latter were comfortably provided for upon their arrival in Cando. Beckwith rented land the first summer of F. L. Thompson, and lived in a small granary, but after putting out the first crop he began to build a house. The first experiences on the raw prairie were many and strange. The barn was quite large but had no partitions, and had for a roof the open sky; a wagon was the manger.

In August, 1894, at the organization of the Brethren Church, Beckwith was chosen treasurer, a position he held until he removed from the state in 1899. In the same year, 1894, he was chosen school director and served in this capacity as long as he remained. The Church, having decided to erect a place of worship, appointed a committee consisting of A. B. Peters, William Kesler, and T. Judson Beckwith, to make suitable arrangements. The church was built during the summer of 1896 upon land donated by Beckwith, and dedicated in November of that year.

Beckwith still recalls the famous Thanksgiving blizzard of 1896, and often tells the story of finding his way from the house to the barn by means of a roll of binding twine. Before leaving North Dakota Mr. and Mrs. Beckwith returned several times to their old homes in Michigan and Indiana, and were the means of many more emigrants leaving their eastern homes for the west. One entire winter was spent by Beckwith in immigration work in the East. In the fall of 1899 Beckwith made proof upon his claim and soon thereafter sold it. He moved thence to Payette, Canyon County, Idaho, his present place of residence, where he has since been fruit farming upon a forty-acre tract near that place.

HISTORY OF THE EARLY PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN NORTH DAKOTA.

Rev. Jas. P. Schell.

The earliest missionary effort expended on what is now North Dakota soil, was confined to the valley of the Pembina river and the Turtle Mountain district, along the northern borders of the early Territory. This work was represented at first by the Catholic missionaries, Frs. Desmoulin and Belcourt; the former of whom founded a mission at Pembina as early as the year 1818; and the latter renewed the work at the same place in 1846, or earlier, after having located the Mission of St. Joseph on the present site of Walhalla, some thirty miles west of Pembina, about the year 1843.

Some years later, about 1853, a mission was also planted in the vicinity of the Turtle Mountains; in which the name of the founder, Fr. Belcourt, still survives. This early work was confined almost exclusively to the native French and half-breed population of the country.

Protestant missions, in the same region, were inaugurated by James Tanner, an American half-breed, whose father, a noted scout, had been stolen from his home in Kentucky by a band of Indians, was adopted by them, and afterwards married into the tribe.

The son, James, having been converted at a Methodist Mission (L'Anse) in upper Michigan, was afterward employed as interpreter at various mission stations in Minnesota, and came to the Pembina region in the summer of 1851. He was accompanied at the time by the Cass Lake missionary, Rev. Alonzo Barnard; who, at the urgent solicitation of Gov. Ramsey and Norman W. Kittson, made a prospecting trip thither with a view to opening a protestant Mission at St. Joseph for the education and evangelization of the mixed population gathered there, and whom it was felt were not sufficiently provided for by the French missionary. As a result of this visit by the missionary Barnard to "the regions

The matter contained in the following pages is not so much a history of the Synod of North Dakota as it is a compilation of facts and materials that may prove useful for historical purposes in after years. It will be found to contain about all that is really most valuable with reference to the earlier formative periods of our North Dakota work. And this we regard as most important for preservation in the present form, as later records of our presbyterial and synodical work are more fully recorded and easily accessible.

The committee appointed by the Synod to perform this task, Jas. P. Schell, W. H. Hunter and T. U. Richmond, wish to express their great obligation to Rev. J. F. Berry for his early papers on the history of Pembina presbytery, covering at the time pretty much all of the northern half of the State; to Rev. Willard C. Lyon for his summary of the early proceedings of the "Northern Pacific" and Fargo presbyteries, which practically cover the other half; and also to Rev. Sidney Stone for the local church histories of Fargo Presbytery, collected and edited by him, as well as to the other brethren who have contributed interesting and valuable articles.

beyond," he decided to return at an early date with his family and additional helpers and open up a mission school in the vicinity of St. Joseph. This purpose, however, he was not permitted to carry into execution until some years later. Stopping in Pembina over night on his way back to Cass Lake, he, in company with Tanner, conducted religious services in the house of one of the citizens there; and Barnard, a Presbyterian minister, was accordingly the first ordained protestant missionary known to have held a religious service on Dakota soil.

Only a month or so later (September 15, 1851), the late Dr. Black, a student of Knox College, Toronto, having been appointed by the Presbyterian Church of Canada to visit and explore the Red River country as their missionary, after a long and toilsome journey arrived at Pembina on his way to Fort Garry and old Kildonan (now Winnipeg). He had been accompanied from St. Cloud, Minnesota, by Gov. Ramsey, who was already on his way to Pembina to negotiate a treaty with the Indians as the U. S. Commissioner. In the early spring of 1852 Tanner returned from a missionary tour in the east, accompanied by a young man, Elijah Terry, from the First Baptist church of St. Paul, Tanner himself having also become connected with that denomination during his brief sojourn in the east. Arriving at Pembina in the latter part of March, they proceeded to the Red River settlement of Kildonan (Winnipeg) for some needful supplies, and soon after their return began the erection of a log building in which to open a school for the native youth.

This early Baptist mission was, however, brought to a premature and mournful close by the death of young Terry at the hands of a party of hostile Sioux Indians, on the morning of June 28, 1852.

On June 1st of the following year (1853) the Barnards, accompanied by David B. Spencer and family, and "good old John Smith of Ohio," arrived upon the ground from their Minnesota station at Cass Lake, where for some ten years they had been engaged in missionary work among the Ojibway Indians in the vicinity of Red and Cass lakes. The Barnards were Presbyterians, and the Spencers Congregationalists,—but both had hitherto been associated in missionary labors, independently of either of their great missionary boards.

Cordially welcomed and provided for at first by the trader Kittson and others, and encouraged by the results of Governor Ramsey's interest in securing from the Federal government a grant of \$500 to aid in the erection of suitable buildings for school purposes, the new arrivals at once entered enthusiastically upon the work they had set out to accomplish.

The details of the tragic story of the "martyrs of Walhalla" need not be dwelt upon here, as it has been more fully given else-

where;¹ but a few years more of arduous toil and patient self-denial sufficed to bring the devoted wives of the missionaries to their untimely graves and endow them with the martyr's crown. Thus those early attempts to establish a Protestant mission at old St. Joseph were indefinitely discontinued. "Well-nigh forgotten now are the weird and barbarous scenes formerly enacted at that old frontier trading post; and gone forever is that numerous, lawless and heterogeneous population amid whose former dwellings the quiet little village of Walhalla, fitly named, now stands; surrounded by such mild sylvan and picturesque charms as would scarcely suggest to the transient summer visitor the varied riot and uproar of the once well-known rendezvous and leading fur emporium of a vast region lying to the north and west."²

From that once important trading post of the Kittson and Northwestern fur companies, whose motley population of French, Indians and half-breeds numbered at times fully 1600 souls, the deep-worn trails extended northward far out into Manitoba, and westward into all the northern sections of our now populous State."

After the abandonment of the work at St. Joseph in the spring of 1855, we find very little to record for the space of about eighteen years, no other attempt having been made to evangelize the trader and aboriginal population. It was doomed to pass away; and as might have been expected, it has left no trace behind, save the deeply furrowed trail over the prairies, which will also soon be obliterated.

These eighteen years constituted a transition period, a time when the old was passing away and all things were becoming new. The white man's rifle had only too surely done its work on the buffalo-haunted plains of Dakota and the farther west. The wide-spread slaughter of the wild animals could not continue always. The decimated herds began their retreat, and with them those dusky tribes of the prairies, the Sioux and the Chippewas.

Fort Garry was developing into the modern city of Winnipeg, the queen of the northwest; while at the other end of the Red river, Moorhead, at the crossing of the Northern Pacific railway, was the door of entrance for thousands of eager immigrants. Was it any wonder that the hoarse screams of the Red river steamers soon broke the long silence of the borders of "the great lone land," proclaiming the advent of a new day in its history; or that the first permanent sign of the far-reaching change was the erection of log huts close by the busy landing-places along the stream. It had been observed that the half-breeds were raising an excellent quality of wheat in northern Minnesota; and the question was raised, Why could not the white man do the same

1. Schell, In the Ojibway Country, Walhalla, North Dakota, 1911.

2. Personal letter from Rev. J. F. Berry to Rev. Jas. P. Schell.

over in Dakota? The experiment was tried; and with its success there began a new era in the development of the country. From that day on, the grass was destined to encroach more and more upon the old cart trails; for the plaintive, prolonged squealing of the uncouth wooden structure, fit emblem of the barbaric age, was becoming faint in comparison with the smart rattle of the white man's wagon, which as the herald of a more hopeful time, was beginning to be heard along the Red River of the North, and would soon extend to all its timbered tributaries.

Ten years later, even this was to be drowned in the rush and roar of mightier and swifter wheels; and the spot at which these significant voices of the future were first to be heard, north of Moorhead, was already marked by a hamlet, which though no more important than several others located along its fertile banks, had received from the French traders in the early years of the last century the prophetic name of "Grand Forks."

"With the beginning of religious work at Fargo, December 17, 1871, at Grand Forks in February, 1872, we reach the modern period of our Dakota church history."

ORGANIZED WORK ON THE NORTHERN FRONTIER
THE OLD ST. PAUL PRESBYTERY.

October 1871-1879.

The three principal "ports of entry" for the incoming immigrants, and the home missionary as well, in those early days, as now, were Fargo, Grand Forks, and Pembina. Among the first to penetrate our new Territory along the line of the Northern Pacific railway, in the interest of our own denomination, were at least three truly missionary pioneers, namely, Elmer, Sloan, and Baldwin. The first of these, indeed the first representative of any Protestant denomination to enter the Red River valley as a regularly ordained minister of the gospel, was Rev. O. H. Elmer, who came from Sauk Center, Minnesota, to Moorhead in the autumn of 1871.

He came in advance of the railroad; and his own account of his entrance and early occupation of this new region, is presented as being both interesting and informing.

"I have," he says, in a letter addressed to some of his old-time friends, "a full journal containing many items of public interest, from which I could read to you for hours, of facts and events dating from Oct. 20, 1871, when I first drove into the Red River valley. I was drawn by a little black pony. In the front part of the buggy, and standing on end, was the trunk containing my most important personal effects; while the space under the seat and on top which I did not occupy, was filled with extra clothing, blankets, etc. I had driven from Sauk Center, something over 100 miles distant. On Thursday night, the 19th, I reached the grading camp of J. I. Jenkinson, who kindly gave me a bunk for the night. My breakfast might have been more palatable had I not seen the cook, with a pipe in his mouth, fishing a dead mouse out of a kettle over the fire! The following January, near the same spot, N. K. Hubbard and I took dinner in what was appropriately called the 'snow bank house.' It was located in the side of a coulee, drifted over with snow, and from the west there was nothing visible but a stove-pipe chimney sticking out about a foot above the snow. Returning to my main narrative; driving toward Moorhead on that first mentioned October day, when nearly a mile out, I could almost read the large letters of the Chapin House sign, painted on a tent hotel; where I boarded for two weeks; and in the dining room of which, I held, on Oct. 22, 1871, the first religious service ever held at what was then known as 'the crossing.' Three weeks before that date the town site of Moorhead had been surveyed, and about twenty buildings, mostly tents, had been erected. Across the river, on the Dakota side, was an Indian reservation, on which the present city of Fargo was afterward located. There was a heavy growth

of timber from the river back to the prairie; and a street cut through it was lined on either side with tents and shanties, in many of which, as well as in Moorhead, liquor was freely sold. There were a few men whose sense of 'dignity' led them to live without work; but some of the others, to whom we belonged, added to their other occupations that of the carpenter. I built a house 12x16, in which I studied and slept from 1871-6.¹

"But time would fail me," he continues, "to tell of all the odd characters of those early days, as well as of the oddities and customs of life and business common enough then. The railroad was finished by January 1st, 1872; but trains were not able to get through the snow-filled cuts before March of the following spring. We, however, had a mail three times a week by stage during the winter. Preaching services were maintained in the dining room of the 'Chapin House' in Moorhead, until spring, when we were crowded out by the throng of travelers going down the river by boat. Then we met in railroad coaches, in new unfinished buildings, warehouses, etc., until in June, 1872, when a rough chapel was erected for our purpose; and a church was soon thereafter organized, consisting of eight members gathered from both sides of the river. Meanwhile a Sunday School had been attempted in the timber on the Fargo side, in J. G. Keeny's board shanty law office; but it did not prove a success. An evening preaching service was begun in Fargo, December 17, 1871, in a tent hotel, and maintained during the winter. By a notice posted on a tree in front of the tent, and by a vigorous use of the dinner bell, at the hour for service, an audience of about twenty-five was usually gathered, consisting largely of gamblers, saloon-keepers and do-nothings. They generally gave close attention, and it was really surprising how zestfully and well they sang the old familiar hymns."²

How the beginnings of a later rivalry in denominational enterprise were viewed by some of the "boys" outside, the following spirited account, while not vouched for as being absolutely correct in all respects, is nevertheless so illuminating at this point, that we make no apology for inserting it here, as reported in the Minneapolis Journal some years since:

"The first M. E. church in Fargo grew out of a disagreement over a Christmas tree and festival in 1873, between the two rival burghs of Fargo and Moorhead. There was at Moorhead

1. While occupying this primitive structure, he received a visit from the venerable Dr. Cyrus Dickson, Secretary of the Home Missions Board in New York; to whom he willingly yielded his single cot, and lay on the floor beside him, wrapped in some borrowed blankets. And as they lay there, commenting on the situation in general, and the present one in particular, the older doctor suddenly exclaimed, "But I'll make them cry for this, brother Elmer!"—referring to the members of wealthy congregations in the east. And he did make some of them open their pocketbook and shed their dollars, if not their tears!

2. Letter read at Old Settlers' Meeting, Grand Forks.

a little Presbyterian church, presided over by Rev. Elmer, and it also had a Sunday School attachment. The two towns were very small that winter, and notwithstanding their rivalry, it was a common thing for the people from each to attend the services and festivities that were held in the other. It was decided to have a joint Christmas celebration, and a tree was ordered from eastern Minnesota. But the question of location was not broached until later; and then there was trouble. Men who had not been inside a church since coming from "God's country," became as heated in the strife as the most devout. Rev. Elmer boarded at the old Headquarters Hotel in Fargo, which was kept by Jeremiah Chapin, a profane old Montanian and frontier hotel-keeper, but a big-hearted and enthusiastic man. He took every opportunity to disparage preachers and church-goers; and Elmer being full of nerve to contend for what he believed to be right, the battle between him and Chapin finally grew so warm that he was bundled out of the Headquarters, and left to find what other resting-place he could. Then it was decided to have two Christmas trees. Fargo's, however, got switched off on the Moorhead side and spent the winter under the snow on an old siding down by the river bank. But the loss of the tree certainly failed to diminish the animosity between the two rivals. Fargo 'knew it had been stolen'; but could not discover it. However, the Fargo people had their entertainment, and every child that attended the show got what was rare in those days of paper money, a shining silver half-dollar. And Fargo's crowd was bigger than Moorhead's; so the winners were happy. Soon after this auspicious occasion, one Sunday when the little Moorhead church was working over time—with Rev. Elmer preaching morning and evening, and an Episcopal clergyman imparting his doctrines in the same place in the afternoon—along came Webb, a Methodist itinerant. He could find no resting-place in Moorhead, so he drifted across to Fargo, met landlord Chapin, told him of the plethora of preaching across the river, and pointed out the evident dearth in Fargo. Chapin was at once in arms to get for Fargo what Moorhead already had. He said, "We'll find you a place to preach tonight, and scrape you up a congregation, too!"—which he did. C. W. Rossiter was enlisted to get up some music; and every business place, saloon, and railroad car made to send out its occupants to swell the congregation. Webb was called a 'sooner' preacher, sooner fight than preach; and he looked it. A large share of his congregation that night were men who had been paid fifty cents in bar checks to be present, although he never knew it. He was so pleased at the size of the congregation that night on such short notice that he at once advanced the idea of a church; and in consequence of the fight over the Christmas tree, it was taken up with enthusiasm. About \$600 was

raised, saloons and gambling houses contributing a large share, and a building was erected. But there were no Methodists; and Mr. Webb was told, 'We have built you a church; now go ahead, and make your Methodists!' There were none to be found for trustees, for Fargo's population at that time resembled that of Sodom in the days of Abraham, with Lot out of it. This difficulty, however, was finally overcome by importing a few Moorhead men; and thus the first Methodist church building in the Red River valley was dedicated."¹

Meanwhile the new railroad was plowing its way across the broad Dakota prairie toward the Missouri, followed by our energetic field missionary, Rev. D. C. Lyon, westward into the "regions beyond."

The first church to be organized, however, in what is now the state of North Dakota, was at Bismarek, on the east bank of the Missouri river. The organization was effected on June 15, 1873, by Revs. D. C. Lyon of St. Paul, and I. O. Sloan, the latter of whom was in charge of a congregation at Belle Plain, Minn.

In making their first journey thither, they made a portion of the distance on a construction train, and the remainder of the way by team, in advance of the railway.

From the Fargo Record, edited by Col. C. A. Lounsberry, we extract the following account of the organization of the Bismarek church:

"The meeting was held in a large tent, erected by George W. Crummey for gambling purposes; although it had never been used for any such purpose prior to that date; and it was afterwards thought to have been 'hoodooed' for the business intended, as its owners soon failed and left the country 'broke.'

The tent stood on a lot nearly opposite the Tribune office, where McLean and Macnider afterwards established their business. The saloons on either side the building, and indeed throughout the town generally, were closed through the hours of religious service, and the football game, which was usually played on Sunday in front of this block, was considerably postponed to some other time.

Rev. Sloan addressed the audience in the morning, which was a fairly good one, and Rev. Dr. Lyon in the evening. His remarks were supplemented by those of Rev. Dr. Gates, who had secured lumber for a Congregational church, and had come hither for the purpose of superintending its erection. Indeed, through the active efforts of Mrs. Slaughter, the postmistress, the building was afterwards erected and used for the first school house, but never dedicated for church purposes. It was finally sold, and went into service as a business house.

1. Narrated by C. S. Weaver, an old Dakota resident.

In September (1873) the building erected by the Presbyterians was enclosed, and services were held therein. Rev. I. O. Sloan who had recently resigned his former charge in Minnesota, came to the work in August, and continued in charge there and in the vicinity for a number of years; and when he finally, by reason of age and infirmities, was constrained to relinquish his work and retire from the field, he was followed by the love and profound esteem of all who knew him. For more than four years after his arrival (August 1873—October 1877) Sloan was the only Presbyterian minister in the present territory of North Dakota.

The members enrolled at the time of the organization of the Bismarck church were C. A. Lounsberry, I. C. Adams, J. W. Fisher, Henry F. Douglass and Mrs. W. C. Boswell.

Rev. Dr. Lyon had previously visited the field, on May 11, 1873. One other sermon had been preached before that date, by a chaplain of one of the military posts; and a Union Sunday school had been organized by Mrs. Slaughter, with Col. C. A. Lounsberry as secretary.

On the day of the organization of the church, Revs. Lyon and Sloan went to Fort Lincoln and conducted services in the afternoon. They were accompanied by Rev. John Douglass and Prof. W. F. Phelps of Winona, and by Col. Lounsberry; and while there, the Indians made an attack on the fort. The attack was made while the services were being conducted, and the parties heard the call of "boots and saddles," and witnessed the dash made by Gen. Custer and his men.

The church at Bismarck was the first church organization effected by any Protestant denomination in North Dakota; and the building erected by Sloan, in the autumn of 1873, was also the first Protestant church edifice built in the same territory."

At Jamestown also the Presbyterians were early on the ground; Rev. D. C. Lyon, the Synodical missionary, having visited that point on his return from Bismarck, in June, 1873, when he also conducted a religious service there. An organization was effected there some years later, as well as at other points along the Northern Pacific railway, by the veteran, Rev. J. H. Baldwin, who entered upon his pioneer labors in North Dakota after he had passed the age of three-score years.

In October, 1877, Rev. C. B. Stevens came from Manitowoc, in the Presbytery of Milwaukee, with the tide of new settlers who were drawn hither by the glowing reports of wonderful success in wheat raising. Stevens was a man of high moral character, of marked executive ability, and full of missionary zeal. He was also a genial, cultured minister of the gospel, and soon wielded a wide and commanding influence, not only in the rising city of

Fargo, but also in the broad field of missionary endeavor that was being inaugurated throughout the northern half of the new territory of the Dakotas.

Shortly after his arrival, he gathered in some newcomers, and with those whose membership had previously been in the Moorhead church, he and Rev. Elmer organized (December 30, 1877) the First Presbyterian church of Fargo with nine members; and within a year thereafter, secured the erection of a house of worship. This was accomplished without aid from the Church Erection board; and, indeed, it is said that the Fargo church has never yet received missionary aid from any one of our church Boards.

EARLY BEGINNINGS AT GRAND FORKS AND PEMBINA.

Our second "port of entry," that for the central and more northerly portions of the territory, was Grand Forks, and at this point also Rev. O. H. Elmer was the pioneer.

Referring again to his narrative, he says:

"In a home-made jumper four long trips were made from Moorhead to Detroit, Breckenridge, Abercrombie and Grand Forks. That to the Forks was in February, 1872; at which time the first preaching service was held there, and also the first marriage ceremony (Protestant) performed.

The journey thither was a novel one, as well as a very cold one. The distance was fully eighty miles, but in all that distance I met (beside the daily stage) only one other conveyance on the way. Stopping over night at Frog point, I first met Howard Morgan, who kept the Hudson's Bay post and stage station. He was his own cook, and a first-rate one at that. Travelers were supposed to provide their own robes and blankets on that line in those days, but Howard kindly furnished what I lacked.

"Under the loft where I slept, some stage men were drinking and playing cards and swearing most of the night; and in the morning I overheard Howard give one of them an overhauling for doing so. One of the men came to me afterwards and apologized, and tried to induce me to accept as a present a two-dollar bill. Of course I would not take his money, and also promised not to report him to the officials of the Hudson's Bay Company, which he seemed greatly to fear; but I also improved my opportunity to counsel him to lead a better life."

"Grand Forks then numbered about a half-dozen buildings. The principal dwelling was that of Capt. Griggs, and that was unplastered, and had only a stove-pipe for a chimney."¹

"What changes," he observed some years later, "have been

1. Rev. O. H. Elmer in a letter read at the Old Settlers' Meeting at Grand Forks.

wrought since these long cold rides were taken in the winter of 1871. When I drove into Moorhead on that late October day, the river counties in Minnesota were still unorganized. At the same time none of the counties in North Dakota were organized. Probably not a thousand acres of land were actually under cultivation. Since then two whole States have been formed out of the original Territory, and in North Dakota alone, millions of acres are already under successful cultivation. Cities and villages have sprung up, with fine public and private buildings, and with all the equipments of law, of commerce, of education, as well as of religious and beneficent agencies."

The early religious work in Grand Forks is thus briefly sketched:

"On the 11th of February, 1872, the first Protestant sermon in Grand Forks was preached by me in the house (used later for a barn) of Capt. Alexander Griggs. On the second of June I preached again in Stewart's Hotel; this was after returning from an exploring and preaching tour in company with Rev. I. O. Sloan, up the Red Lake river as far as to the present site of Crookston.

"No regular religious work was attempted at the Forks, however, until the fall of 1873; when Rev. John Webb, a Methodist minister, was sent to the field. He began the erection of a church building; but for some reason failed to do much work at the Forks, and the church edifice was not completed until the spring of 1877. In 1874 a young man by the name of Curl followed him, but remained, I believe, less than a year.

"In 1875 I was summoned by telegraph to perform the burial services of two persons on the same day, and drove the distance, 80 miles, by team. In January, 1877, there having been few, if any, services held there for more than a year, I again drove down and conducted services on ten successive evenings. The people cordially welcomed me, and attended in good numbers, the services being held in the school house.

"In the spring of 1877, Rev. J. B. Starkey, being the presiding elder for that district, the Methodist church was completed. But very few services were held therein, and in February, 1878, I drove down again and gave the people ten-days' services. That was in an open winter and I went and returned in my buggy. There was no snow on the ground, and prairie fires were running. Our services were held at this time in the Methodist church, newly finished. I did not at any time attempt to effect an organization in the place, as we had no one to step in and care for the flock; I preached to awaken the people and to strengthen them in the gospel.

"In September of this year (1878), Rev. F. W. Iddings came upon the field from the Presbytery of Superior, and became, I believe, the first settled Protestant minister there. And the fol-

lowing spring, April 6, 1879, Rev. C. B. Stevens and myself drove to Grand Forks and assisted Iddings in organizing a Presbyterian church at that place, with about thirty members.

"My next trip to Grand Forks was by rail, in the spring of 1881, to attend the first meeting of my Presbytery, or other body of ministers, ever held within the present limits of North Dakota; and great were the improvements noted after the two intervening years."¹

Iddings' arrival was the signal for an advance in the enlargement of our work, both in Grand Forks and in all the surrounding region. He was a man of fine Christian spirit, an excellent organizer and committeeman, an efficient Clerk, and a wise and moderate counselor in our church courts.

The entrance to the extreme northern portion of the Territory at this time, was by the old frontier post of Pembina, at the junction of the Pembina with the Red River of the North.

"It was early in the year 1876," writes Rev. Berry, "that our denomination came to acquire a 'local habitation and a name' in this then new and wild region; and it did so through the settlement of its worthy representative, Rev. John Scott, of precious memory. There is a pleasing coincidence, furthermore, in the fact that this first settlement of a Presbyterian minister, within the bounds of the present Pembina Presbytery, was upon the very spot on which the first Protestant services were held by our missionaries in the summer and autumn of 1851, nearly a quarter of a century previously.

"'Father Scott,' as he was afterwards affectionately called, having come to Manitoba a year previous, went to Pembina with an 'international' commission; for there was a special agreement between the American and Canadian churches in regard to his services and support.

"Our Methodist friends had indeed begun work there as early as the summer of 1873, which was continued with more or less vigor during 1874-5. Very little appears to have been accomplished there by them, however; and an effort, which must have seemed hopeless from the first, was abandoned before the close of the latter year.

"But Father Scott possessed in a remarkable degree the heroic qualities of patience and perseverance; and while continuing in charge of his field in Manitoba, he resolutely entered upon the work at Pembina, where others had already failed and where still others were also destined to fail.

"Arriving at Pembina in the summer of 1876, his reception was at first exceedingly discouraging; some of the citizens of the "baser sort" even threatened to drive him from the place. But

1. Rev. J. F. Berry in a letter to Rev. Jas. P. Schell.

he found a few influential friends and gathered a little company in a small log schoolhouse to whom he preached the gospel. He was surrounded by saloons, something like a dozen of them. There was not a Presbyterian family in the place. The congregation ranged from six to ten persons all told. However a small Sabbath school was organized; and the following summer the country was explored as far west as St. Joseph (Walhalla), where occasional services were held; and in succeeding years also at "Smuggler's Point," near the present town of Neehe. And thus the work was gradually extended by him, not only in Dakota, but also in Minnesota, east of the Red river, as well.

"The spring of 1879 witnessed the almost simultaneous organization of three churches during the first week of April. These were Forest river, with twenty members; Turtle river, with twenty-one members; and the church of Grand Forks, with twenty-nine (?) members, all organized by the same committee of the old St. Paul Presbytery, and consisting of Revs. F. W. Iddings, O. H. Elmer, C. B. Stevens and the venerable synodical missionary, Rev. David C. Lyon, D. D., of St. Paul.

"During the summer of the same year, also, the international mission of Father Scott had grown from two to nine stations, covering a territory of twenty miles in extent on the Dakota side, and fifteen miles on the east side of the Red river in Manitoba and Minnesota.

"The close of the year (Dec. 1879) witnessed the dedication at Pembina of the first church of our denomination erected in Dakota north of Fargo and Bismarck. And the truly cosmopolitan spirit of the pastor was happily illustrated in his calling to his assistance on the interesting occasion, Rev. Dr. Black and Dr. Bryce of Winnipeg, the former having preached the first Protestant sermon to English speaking people at Pembina, in 1851, and Rev. C. B. Stevens of Fargo.

"But if Pembina thus secured the first church building in this northern section of the Territory, Grand Forks was not far behind in erecting the second. The locomotive crossed the Red river at that point in the spring of 1880, and the impetus given thereby to the young town, as well as to the settlement of the surrounding districts, prompted the people to arise and build another edifice for the worship of God. Beginning the year with the conception of the enterprise, it closed upon its actual realization, and the first Presbyterian church of Grand Forks was completed at a cost of about \$5,000.

"Having thus secured some actual footing in these three principal gateways west of the Red river, our denomination was now in better position to receive and care for the incoming tide of immigrants already sweeping over the newly opened country."¹

1. From a letter by Rev. J. F. Berry to Rev. Jas. P. Schell.

[The work as thus far narrated, was performed under the jurisdiction of the old St. Paul Presbytery. But at the meeting of the Synod of Minnesota, in October, 1879, the original Presbytery of Red River was formed out of the northern portion of the old St. Paul, and for some years thereafter our Dakota work was prosecuted in connection with it.]

STORY OF PRESBYTERIAL AND SYNODICAL GENESIS.

In 1855 the Presbytery of St. Paul formed a part of the Synod of Iowa. In 1860 the same Presbytery was divided into three new Presbyteries, known as Mankato, Winona and St. Paul, and together made to form the new Synod of Minnesota.

The last of the above mentioned presbyteries, St. Paul, became later the mother of the old Red River Presbytery, and also of the two synods of North and South Dakota.

The old St. Paul Presbytery has become the fruitful mother of a numerous offspring, numbering no less than seventeen large and healthy children, represented by the three northern presbyteries of Minnesota and those now connected with the two stalwart synods of North and South Dakota.

Before parting with this large area, in 1879, the older Presbytery of St. Paul included all of Minnesota lying north of an east and west line forty miles south of St. Paul, together with the still vaster territory of the two Dakotas. The actual area thus covered, was equal to more than 200,000 square miles, or nearly one-sixteenth of all the vast region controlled by the Federal Government at that time. The three churches in northern Minnesota, Fergus Falls, Western, and Moorhead on the banks of the Red river, together with Fargo and the lonely outpost at Bismarck on the Missouri, five in all, were the only northern representatives of the old St. Paul Presbytery, prior to 1879. The first of the new presbyteries to be segregated from the old St. Paul was formed by the Synod of Minnesota in session at Albert Lea, Minn., Oct. 11, 1879, and named the Presbytery of Red River. The designated boundaries of this new presbytery included the six northwestern counties of Minnesota, and also the area of the present Synod of North Dakota. The first meeting was held at Fergus Falls, November 12, 1880, with Rev. Oscar H. Elmer as the first moderator.

The fourteen churches, with 320 communicants, enrolled in the new presbytery at that time, were those of Moorhead, Fergus Falls and Western Minnesota; while on the Dakota side of the Red River were those of Fargo, Casselton, Wheatland, Jamestown and Bismarck, all on the line of the Northern Pacific railway. Also, lying north of Fargo, and on the same side of the river, were the churches of Elm River (Quincy), Elm Grove (Kelso),

Grand Forks, Pembina, and the two inland congregations of Forest and Turtle rivers, the latter long since disbanded.

The names of the eight ministers enrolled at the same time, according to seniority of age, were James H. Baldwin, E. J. Thompson, Cicero B. Stevens, Oliver W. Winchester (in transit), Joseph K. Burgster, Oscar H. Elmer, Francis W. Iddings, William C. Stevens, and William Cobleigh (licentiate). Two additional field workers were found in John Irwin, presbyterial missionary, and U. C. Campbell, colporteur. It is proper to add here, also, that the church at Euclid, Minnesota, was organized by Revs. Lyon, Schell and Irwin, only a fortnight later (Oct. 24, 1880), and consequently not enrolled until the following spring. Schell, although having entered shortly before upon his work at Euclid and regions beyond, was not enrolled at this first meeting of the new presbytery on account of irregularity in the transmission of the mail. Rev. R. N. Adams, late field secretary for Minnesota and Dakota, located at Fergus Falls, Minnesota at about the same time.

After referring to the immense area of the field, the committee on Home Missions adds: "The immigration to the western portion of our synod has been almost without precedent in the history of the Northwest. Especially is this true in regard to the Red River valley and the portion of Dakota lying between Fargo and the Missouri river. The population occupying this large and fertile district is composed very largely of Presbyterians from Canada, together with a smaller element direct from Scotland. The work of planting churches among these people evidently belongs to us, and it is earnestly hoped that we may be enabled to accomplish it."

The actual condition and state of advancement of the work in connection with the Presbytery of Red River at this time (Oct. 1880) is so fully and vividly sketched by the veteran synodical missionary, Dr. D. C. Lyon, in his final report to the synod that year, that we think it worth giving almost in full in this connection, and which is as follows: "The attention and labors of your missionary during the past synodical year, have been directed largely to the extreme western and northern portions of the territory embraced within the bounds of our Synod, for the very good reason that the bulk of the incoming population has been largely in those directions. This is especially true of Dakota and the valley lying on either side of the Red River of the North. That valley comprises a very important mission field, and one that strongly invites the occupancy of our denomination. Many home-seekers from Ontario and other Canadian provinces, and from Manitoba as well, have been lured by our government's more favorable terms to settlers, to claim a share of our broad, unoccupied and fertile acres; and by this means there have come to

us from the other side, an industrious, thrifty class of people, largely Presbyterian in their education and preferences. And it is this class very largely that increases the demand upon us for a vigorous occupancy of the Red River valley, and which demand we are trying our best to meet. Beginning at Fargo, on the Northern Pacific railway, we find already a vigorous and growing church, with the best house of worship in northern Dakota, well filled on all ordinary occasions, and without a dollar of debt. Following down the course of the Red river northward, and a little distance west of the same, Rev. J. K. Burgster has charge of a field embracing two churches, Elm River and Elm Grove, (now Kelso and Quincy), in a region fast filling up. Grand Forks, eighty miles down the river from Fargo, is a growing town at the junction of the Red and Red Lake rivers. It had a population of 1,700 at the time the census was taken the present season; and when the United States Land Office was opened there last spring, over 600 claims were at one time pressing for registry, and two whole days were consumed in relieving the crowd. This shows us unmistakably the enormous rush now on in that part of the Territory. Our own work commenced there at a most auspicious juncture. After repeated visits by Elmer, Rev. F. W. Iddings was providentially obtained for that region at a most important period. His labors soon resulted in the organization of a church at the Forks, and also of two farther north on the Turtle and Forest rivers. Of course one man could give comparatively little attention to each of these points, where each seemed to require the undivided efforts of a whole man, and a pretty vigorous one at that. We have accordingly secured the services of two other brethren for this wide field, Mr. Johnson, late of Auburn Seminary, and Wm. Cobleigh, a licentiate of the Presbytery of Red River. Another brother, J. P. Schell, from Iowa Presbytery, has just gone up into that region. His location had not been definitely decided upon, though his objective point was Grafton post-office in the Park river district. Following the Red river still northward, the next point occupied by us is Pembina, where the Red river crosses the boundary line which separates us from the Queen's dominions. Here we have a good congregation, in possession of a good house of worship, largely the result of the labors of Rev. John Scott, of the Presbytery of Manitoba. Rev. Evans, of South Bend, Ind., has been invited to Fisher's Landing, on the Red Lake river, in Minn., and is already on the ground. Euclid and one or two other points in northern Minn., on the line of the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba railroad, are also asking attention from us; but it is not yet determined what we may be able to do for them. Brother Stevens, whose successful work at Fargo has been referred to, occupies in that city the principal gateway to Dakota. Passing westward

from there, along the line of the Northern Pacific railway, we come first to Mapleton, one of brother Elmer's pet out-stations, where we organized ten days ago, with fourteen members and three elders. Eight miles farther on, we have Casselton, where we organized last winter. These two points (Mapleton and Casselton) Prof. E. J. Thompson, late of our State University, has chosen as his field of labor. With him is associated one of his proteges in the University, Evan D. Pritchard, who will seek to cover points within a radius of 35 miles or so from Casselton. The next three places, going west, are Wheatland, New Buffalo, and Tower City, 25, 35, and 45 miles distant, respectively, from Fargo. These comprise the chosen field of brother James H. Baldwin, who, like your synodical missionary, has passed the noon of active life. His third organization on his present field was effected within the past two weeks at New Buffalo. He has also given some attention to Valley City and Sanborn, distant from Fargo about 55 and 65 miles respectively.

The next point we occupy, going on still, is Jamestown, midway between Fargo and Bismarek. The population in this beautiful valley of the James River, has been largely increased of late, and our little church there, organized last winter, is likely to receive from it a valuable addition to her membership. They are about to undertake a church-building enterprise; and hope to have their house built and under cover before winter fairly overtakes them. They have secured Rev. Fanning as their minister, who is now on the ground and about to receive his family.

From Jamestown we pass on to Bismarek for our next station. This place, the most of our brethren are familiar with as being located on the hither bank of what is familiarly known as the Big Muddy. You will also remember it in connection with the labors of our esteemed brother, I. O. Sloan. A monument to Sloan is seen there in the comfortable house of worship he secured for the place; while a more enduring one, and more to be prized is the warm affection and esteem with which he will long continue to be cherished in the hearts of the people, irrespective of class or condition or religious belief. Rev. Sloan having been called east by reason of friends who were dependent upon him, especially of an aged mother, our young brother, Rev. W. C. Stevens, son of the Fargo pastor, was fortunately secured, just when there was most need of him, at Bismarek. But brother Sloan could not content himself away from us very long; and last spring he put in an appearance again, just as we who knew him best felt sure he would. But his old field being now otherwise provided for, he pushed on across the 'Big Muddy' and planted himself down at Mandan, not, however, to sit idly down there, but simply to have his shanty and old clothes there, while he is taking the whole line of the Northern Pacific to the end of the

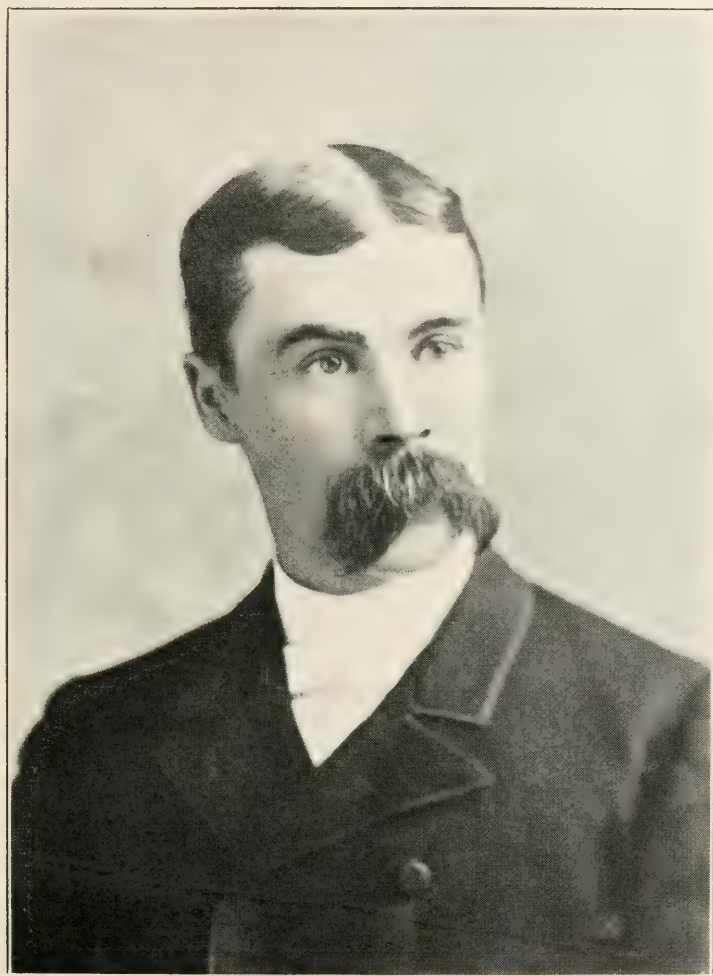
track, moving on as it pushes out. Of course, he finds out there numbers of his old friends, the Bismarckers, who hail him as 'brother Sloan,' and are always ready to carry him on their shoulders, even as he has carried them on his heart!" This last survey and report of our first synodical missionary, covered, if we include the churches of Fergus Falls and two or three others in northern Minnesota, practically all the churches and stations thus far occupied by our denomination in the Red River Presbytery in the autumn of 1880.

One year later, October, 1881, the narrative presented to the Synod, from Fargo, D. T., states: "Our work is moving forward with encouraging significance. Our bounds present a field as large as the entire State of Minnesota. Immigration is unprecedented. Settlement has pushed out beyond the government survey; and wherever the railroad lines have been built, and even along the preliminary surveys, towns and villages have sprung up with amazing rapidity. Thus the demand upon ministerial effort has increased far beyond our ability to supply. In order to meet this demand, a presbyterial missionary, John Irwin, has been in the active service of the Home Board of Missions within our bounds during the past year.¹ Seven ministers and three licentiates have been added to our corps of workers, and seven churches have been organized, with an aggregate membership of 86. Our increase in laborers has been from 14 to 21; in churches, from 17 to 24."

The rapid growth and administrative demands of the new Presbytery, soon called for a division and readjustment of its boundaries and forces; and an overture was accordingly addressed to the Synod of Minnesota, Oct. 12, 1882, which was favorably acted upon, and resulted in the division of the Red River Presbytery into three new ones, namely, Pembina, Grand Forks, and Red River. These divisions were made, not in accordance with legislative or natural boundaries, but simply for the supposed convenience of travel and assemblage for presbyterial functions.

The first of these new presbyteries, Pembina, included all that part of the parent Presbytery lying between the forty-eighth parallel of latitude and the inter-national boundary on the forty-ninth. The second of these, designated as the Presbytery of

1. Rev. John Irwin was born August 19, 1848 and died at Atlantic City, N. J., June 6, 1890. He was the son of Rev. Leslie Irwin, for thirty-four years pastor of the Allen Township Presbyterian church, Northampton county, Pa. In 1868, Rev. John Irwin removed to Quincy, Ill., where he both taught and engaged in mercantile business. In 1878, he forsook the secular life and entered the ministry and was licensed to preach by the Presbytery of Schuyler in 1879. Rev. Irwin was ordained an evangelist in 1880, laboring in Dakota, his residence being Moorhead, Minn. The Presbytery of Red River elected him their missionary. In 1884 his labors were enlarged by his appointment of synodical missionary by the Synod of Minnesota. In 1885, Rev. Irwin was called to become Assistant Secretary of the Board of Church Erection in New York. In February, 1890, because of failing health, he retired to Atlantic City, where he died in June.



Rev. John Irwin



Grand Forks, covered the adjoining degree of latitude lying between the forty-seventh and forty-eighth parallels, traversed by the proposed Great Northern Railway. And the third, which inherited the ancestral name of Red River, retained the remaining portion of the divided inheritance, namely, all that lay between the forty-sixth and forty-seventh parallels, with the Northern Pacific Railway for its principal highway. However, when the churches and ministers came to be regularly enrolled, it was found that the General Assembly had to be memorialized in some cases where pastors and their flocks were afterwards discovered to be on different sides of the imaginary lines of latitude.

This was a period of phenomenal growth for the young presbyteries, and a single year sufficed for the newly devised patterns. The following autumn (October 13, 1883) the Synod of Minnesota, in session at Duluth, ordered new measurements for the growing children. This time a more natural and reasonable fashion prevailed. And while the number of the new presbyteries remained the same, the rejuvenated Presbytery of Red River was now confined to her original nucleus in Minnesota, namely, the six northwestern counties; while the remaining portion of her eminent domain, lying west of the Red river, was divided into the two re-adjusted Presbyteries of Pembina and Northern Pacific. The two later shared about equally in the ancestral patrimony that comprised the area of North Dakota, the dividing line being in the main based on the eleventh standard parallel, running east and west some thirty miles north of Fargo.

But the synodical consciousness was rapidly approaching the point of self-assertion; and only a year later, October 11, 1884, the Synod of Minnesota listened to the appeal of the Dakota presbyteries and welcomed a third, and joined in an overture to the General Assembly for the erection of the Synod of North Dakota. This action was taken at the session of the Assembly held in Cincinnati, May 26, 1885.

The names given to the three Dakota presbyteries which constituted the new Synod, were (1) Pembina, comprising all the northern portion of the present state of North Dakota, north of the eleventh parallel (very nearly); (2) the Presbytery of Northern Pacific, covering the south half of the state, as far west as to the east lines of Emmons, Burleigh and McLean counties, about forty miles east of Bismarck; (3) the new Presbytery of Bismarck, taking in all the other unclaimed, and largely unexplored, portion of the emergent state of North Dakota, to be admitted four years later into the sisterhood of sovereign states. The Synod itself was formally constituted at Fargo, October 12, 1885; Rev. Francis M. Wood, of Franklin, Ohio, opened the meeting with prayer and was chosen to preside as its first moderator.

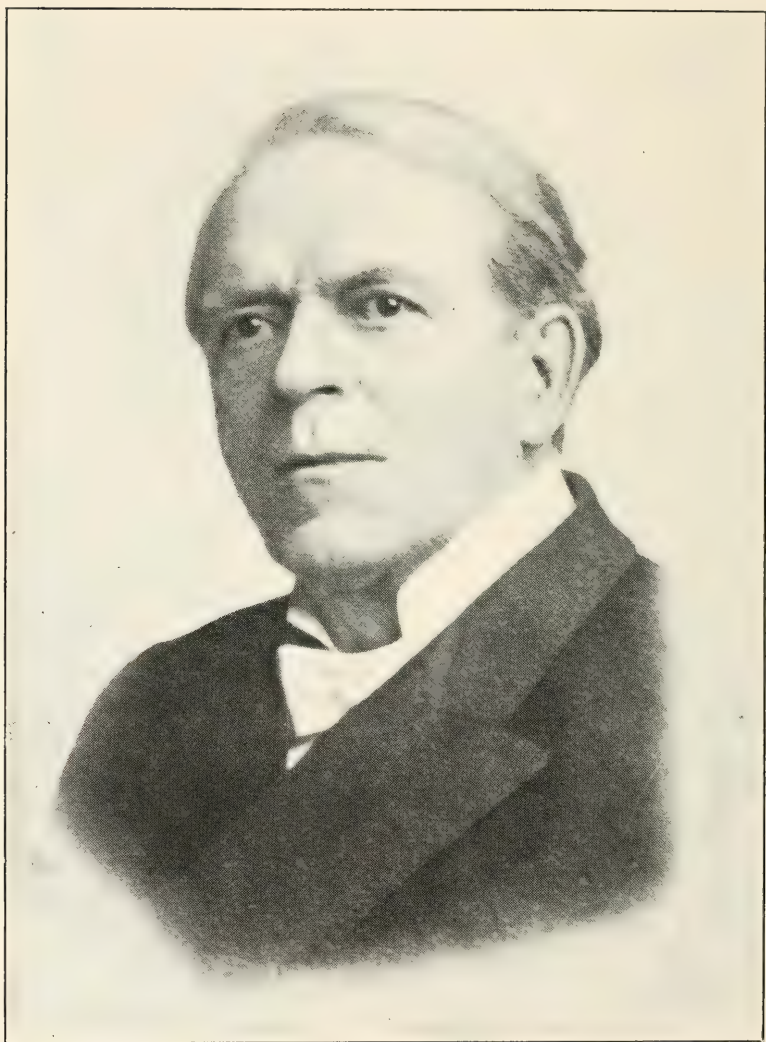
At the time set for the assembling of the new Synod at Fargo, members of the recently dismembered presbytery in Minnesota, then also in session in Moorhead, came over to share the common interest attending the occasion.

THE PEMBINA PRESBYTERY, 1879-1885.¹

We have already presented, in the preceding chapter, the Synodical missionary's review of the field of the old Red River Presbytery in the autumn of 1880, the first year of its organization. Confining our attention now to the northern section of her territory, or to what was afterwards embraced in the Presbytery of Pembina, we find that it included in the autumn of 1879, the churches of Grand Forks, and of Forest and Turtle rivers, Pembina not having been organized until in the spring of 1881, and the only Protestant minister in all this region, apart from Father Scott, who was still enrolled in the Presbytery of Manitoba, was the Rev. F. W. Iddings, who had been located at Grand Forks only a short time previously. But during the summer of the following year, 1880, Wilbur Johnson, a licentiate of the Presbytery of Cayuga, N. Y., supplied the churches of Forest river and Turtle river for several months. He was succeeded at Turtle river by Wm. Cobleigh, a licentiate of the Presbytery; while the church of Forest river remained vacant until the following spring. There were, however, occasional services held there by Revs. Iddings and Cobleigh, during the interim; and about the same time the latter extended his field of labor as far north as Grafton P. O., on the Park river.

It was also in the spring, or early summer, of this year that John Irwin, who was until then in the employ of the American Sunday School Union, became our efficient field worker, and organized a Sunday school at Meckinock, thus preparing the way for a church organization somewhat later. Rev. Cobleigh also extended his labors farther down the valley; and October brought us our fourth church, that of Greenwood on the west bank of the Red river, organized by Rev. F. W. Iddings, assisted by J. Irwin and W. Cobleigh. A month later, our fifth church, Meckinock, was organized with eight members, by Rev. F. W. Iddings. Meanwhile, in the early part of October of the same year, Rev. J. P. Schell, of the Presbytery of Iowa City, having previously visited the field, arrived at Grand Forks, commissioned by the Home Mission Board for new work in the Park and Forest river districts with headquarters at Grafton postoffice. But being unable to secure a house for his family in the new district to which he had been previously appointed, and urged at the same time to lo-

1. The following sketch was first prepared by Rev. J. F. Berry and was afterward put into its present form by Rev. J. P. Schell.



Rev. R. J. Creswell

cate at the new town of Euclid, Minnesota, he was transferred to that point. As a result of his efforts, at the end of two weeks a church of eleven members was organized there by the Synodical missionary, Rev. D. C. Lyon, assisted by Messrs. Schell and Irwin, on October 24, 1880, and the erection of a church building was begun early the following spring. Rev. Schell remained on the Minnesota side, in the old Red River Presbytery, some five or six years longer, before passing over into Dakota. His labors, while in Minnesota, resulted in the organization of the greater portion of the churches in the northern part of the valley, between Crookston and St. Vincent.

The spring of 1881 brought with it to our work four additional laborers; and their services were needed, for a great wave of immigration had reached this region, and a number of new towns were destined to spring up before the close of the year along the fifty or sixty miles of new railway being constructed west and north of Grand Forks. In March, Rev. J. A. Brown, father of our late Synodical missionary, came to us from the Presbytery of Washington, Pa., and located at Meckinock, including also in his field the town of Ojata (then the railroad terminus), and the vicinity of the Orange schoolhouse, near the present town of Arvilla. In May, Rev. D. G. McKay, from the Presbytery of Huron, Ont., settled at Kensington on the Park river, including in his field also, both Crystal and Sweden. The latter point, however, was soon afterward dropped, and Cavalier and Tyner were added instead. During the same month, also, Rev. J. F. Berry, of Alton, Ill., located at Forest River, supplying that church and Minto every Sabbath during the summer months, and also Inkster during the fall and winter. He afterwards did considerable pioneer work in other portions of the country. He afterward, at the request of the Presbytery of Pembina, collated and prepared a very complete narrative of the early workers and churches within its bounds, the greater portion of which is embraced in the present account.

A long-delayed church organization was effected at Pembina in April of this year, by the Synodical missionary, Rev. D. C. Lyon, the result of the patient labors of Father Scott. In the following June, Rev. R. J. Creswell, from the Presbytery of Allegheny, settled there with his family, taking up aggressively the work relinquished by his faithful predecessor, who now confined himself to that part of his original field which lay within the province of Manitoba. Rev. Creswell proved to be a very energetic worker; and his bishopric soon included considerable portions of the territory previously explored and worked over by the tireless Father Scott. He also enjoyed the honor of becoming the first regularly installed Presbyterian pastor of any church within the boundaries of the present Synod of North Dakota. The call

of the Pembina church for his services, having been presented to the Presbytery of Red River, at its fall meeting in Fargo, Oct. 1881, the installation took place some weeks later, Nov. 13th, the committee on installation consisting of Revs. J. A. Brown and J. P. Schell. This service was followed, only two weeks later, Nov. 27th, by the installation of the pioneer, Rev. O. H. Elmer, at Moorhead, in which Revs. Stevens, Thompson and Schell officiated.

Rev. Creswell's really able and aggressive activities, in the trail of his worthy predecessor, resulted early in November in the organization of a church at Earnest, in the vicinity of the old frontier town of Walhalla. This organization consisting of some thirty-five members, mostly Canadian people, being located very close to the forty-ninth parallel, was given the name of the Boundary church. This was the mother church of what afterwards became divided up into no less than five organizations, namely, Neche, Hyde Park, Bay Center, Tyner and Walhalla. About the same time, Rev. Wm. Cobleigh, who had been recently ordained, removed from Turtle river to the new town of Grafton, anticipating the entrance of the railway locomotive, and being the first minister on the ground. Rev. F. W. Iddings, having been compelled by failure of health, to give up his work at Grand Forks, was succeeded in December by Rev. Rockwood McQuesten, of the Presbytery of St. Paul.

Very early in January, 1882, Rev. U. C. Campbell, our first missionary colporteur in this region, reported to Revs. Creswell and Schell, while conducting a series of special meetings in Pembina, that he had discovered as many as sixty-five Presbyterian families in a district bordering the Tongue river, some fifteen to twenty miles westward from Pembina. Nearly all were from the province of Ontario, and had never yet been visited by any minister of the gospel since their arrival in the country. Rev. Creswell afterwards visited the field and held occasional services at the home of one of the settlers, D. McIntosh, and in the following March he organized the Sutton Memorial church. This name was changed later to Hamilton, when, with the advent of the new railroad, a town sprang up in that vicinity, bearing that name. In the same month, Rev. D. G. McKay organized a church at Kensington, afterwards changed to Park River, when the new town by that name was located on the new railroad, at the crossing of the Park river. It should also be noted that in the preceding month, February, 1882, Rev. J. A. Brown organized the first Women's Foreign Missionary Society, at Meckinock. In the spring of 1882 Rev. Brown visited Larimore, and having secured promises from Col. O. M. Towner, and Messrs. Stevens, Walcott and others, that they would support a Presbyterian church, measures were at once taken to occupy the ground. In May Rev. A. K. Caswell arrived

from the Presbytery of Toronto, and took for his field the large out-lying region of which the Boundary church at Earnest was the center. Rev. Caswell was an earnest and untiring worker, who attempted to cover regularly the entire field, until relieved of Neche and Tyner by the arrival of the Rev. Wm. Mullins from Manitoba, a few years later.

In June the Grafton church was organized by Revs. Iddings and Cobleigh, making the tenth on our roll. In this month, also, came Rev. H. H. Brownlee, from the United Presbyterian Church, who took the place of Rev. R. McQuesten at Grand Forks; and Rev. Jas. Cherryholmes of the Presbytery of Springfield, who settled at the new railroad terminus at Larimore. In July, Rev. J. F. Berry, under peculiarly adverse circumstances, began work in the western part of Walsh county, holding services regularly at Garfield and in the vicinity of Edinburgh. About the same time Rev. Daniel Williams arrived at Bathgate, a day or so ahead of the railroad locomotive, having driven through from Grand Rapids, and preached the first sermon at that new point, on August 6th, 1882. His wife was a most enthusiastic worker for Foreign Missions, and with the aid of Mrs. C. O. VanCleve of Minneapolis, organized the second Foreign Mission Society in this new region. In July, also, the Larimore church was organized by Revs. Irwin and Cherryholmes.

As stated in a previous chapter, in accordance with the action taken at the last meeting of the old Red River Presbytery, held at Casselton, in October, 1882, the original Presbytery was divided by the Synod into three: namely, Pembina, Grand Forks, and Red River. The first meeting of the new Presbytery of Pembina (considerably modified later, until confined as to its jurisdiction to practically the northern half of the new State of North Dakota), was held at the town of Pembina in November of the above-mentioned year. In our review of the work, therefore, it is viewed from that early stand-point as covering the northern half of the present state, but with its western boundary practically undefined.

The year 1883 opened very auspiciously for our work; in February Rev. N. W. Carey, from the Presbytery of St. Paul, took the place of Rev. H. H. Brownlee at Grand Forks. The latter preferred to go to Devils Lake, to which place the railroad was now about to be extended, our church having first been represented in that region by licentiate E. W. Day, who had been located at Harrisburg for a few months. In the same month also, were organized the two churches of Minto and Ardoch by Rev. John Irwin and Rev. A. G. Forbes. The latter had lately come from the Presbytery of Bruce, Ont., and settled upon that field, which included Forest river and Greenwood, the church of Turtle river having been previously dissolved. In March, Rev. A. K. Caswell

began holding regular services at Neche, a small chapel having been built there soon afterwards. About the same time, also, Rev. J. A. Brown began regular work at Arvilla, by organizing a Sabbath school, although occasional services had been held there for a year previous. A Sabbath school was also organized at Tyner, which became the nucleus of a church.

Having now reached the commencement of the ecclesiastical year in which the present organization of this presbytery was effected, we judge it proper to present some statistics of growth, not only to show what had been already accomplished prior to that time, but also to serve as a basis of comparison in the future. By April 1st, 1883, we had 12 churches, with an aggregate membership of 575; while the amount raised for congregational purposes was \$6,476. We may also add that we had three church edifices, estimated to be worth in all about \$7,000.

Another venerable and most efficient missionary, Rev. Ransom Waite, came from the Presbytery of Mankato in 1883 and settled at Beaulieu. He also supplied Walhalla, thus relieving Rev. Caswell, whose work had now embraced a large portion of the country on both sides of the Pembina river. In the same month, April, Rev. D. G. McKay resigned his charge of Kensington and was succeeded in June by student Wykoff, who took up the work for the summer months. In July a very promising church was organized at Beaulieu by Revs. Creswell, Waite and Travis. This latter minister, from eastern Pennsylvania, was engaged in teaching at Pembina, but was also taking an active interest in our work, engaging wholly therein soon after. Rev. Creswell had at this time begun the erection of a parsonage at Pembina, which was completed before the close of the year at a cost of \$1,400. In August the churches of Hyde Park and Neche were also organized by Revs. Creswell and Caswell, the latter having gathered these congregations. In the same month, also, Rev. Alexander Burr arrived from the Presbytery of London, Ont., and entered upon the work at Kensington and Mount View. September was not without its fruit, even in North Dakota. The Westminster church at Devils Lake was organized in September by Revs. Irwin and Brownlee. In October the church of Bathgate was organized by Rev. D. Williams, and a church at Niagara by Rev. Brown. It was also in this month, Oct. 1883, that Rev. J. F. Berry began his work in Cavalier County at Milton, (Elgin) and Alma, and continued it under much difficulty and privation.

At the last meeting of the "Grand Forks" Presbytery (merged into Pembina) which took place at this time, Rev. Cherryholmes, owing to failing health, was dismissed to the Presbytery of Omaha, while Rev. W. A. Smith was received from the Presbytery of Chillicothe and took up work at New Rockford and Minnewaukon. Concerted measures were taken at the fall

meetings of the three presbyteries erected the year before for petitioning the Synod of Minnesota to reconsider their previous action, and to create a division more in accordance with geographical boundaries and with the existing lines of travel. The Synod acted accordingly while in session at Duluth, in October, 1883; and the bounds of this presbytery were declared to be the Red river on the east, the Dominion of Canada on the north, Montana on the west, and a line extending along the south side of Trail, Steele and Griggs counties, and thence along the eleventh standard parallel to the Montana border, on the south.

The same enabling act also declared this presbytery to be the legal successor of the original Presbytery of Pembina, and also of that of Grand Forks, the history of which is accordingly included in this sketch. The new Presbytery of Pembina, as now constituted, contained some thirty-three counties. Still further modifications would yet be found to be necessary; but not such as to require a re-organization.

In accordance with the action of the Synod of Minnesota, the new presbytery was called to meet at Grafton on November 7, 1883, for the purpose of completing its organization, by Rev. Wm. Cobleigh, and was opened with a sermon by Rev. N. W. Cary. Rev. J. A. Brown was elected moderator, and N. W. Cary stated clerk. The pastoral relation between Rev. R. J. Creswell and the church at Pembina was dissolved, and Rev. Creswell was dismissed to the Presbytery of St. Paul. Rev. W. A. Smith was appointed to work at Minnewaukon. Rev. John Irwin presented a request from the Presbytery of Northern Pacific (Fargo), desiring the co-operation of this presbytery in the effort to establish a Presbyterian college in northern Dakota. The matter was referred to a committee of three to prepare resolutions, as follows: Resolved, that the Presbytery of Pembina hereby expresses its desire to co-operate with the other presbyteries of North Dakota, and also recommend the appointing of Rev. F. W. Iddings, Rev. C. S. Converse, and elder D. W. Luke as commissioners to meet those appointed by the other presbyteries. The necessity of disseminating a Christian literature among the incoming settlers was also felt by presbytery, and elder J. R. Crum was recommended to the Board of Publication as colporteur for this region. The appointment of J. R. Crum had been preceded by the employment, in 1881-2, of U. C. Campbell, in the same region, by the old Red River Presbytery. Mr. Campbell was accustomed to make his long toilsome journeys on foot, both summer and winter, calling upon the settlers in their isolation, supplying them with copies of tracts and other literature, and reporting their spiritual needs to the neighboring ministers. One such journey at least, he made in mid-winter down the Red river, drawing his load of books and tracts on a hand sled over the snow and ice,

and visiting the homes and lonely shacks found along the sheltered banks of that stream.

Nor was the great importance of woman's co-operation overlooked at this first meeting. On the contrary, it was duly recognized in a resolution of the presbytery, requesting Mesdames J. A. Brown, Wm. Travis, D. Williams, Wm. Cobleigh, V. M. Kenney, A. G. Forbes, D. W. Luke, J. F. Berry, A. K. Caswell, W. J. Shumway, Roger Allin, R. J. Creswell, and Miss Sadie Lanterman, of Hillsboro, to meet at Grand Forks and organize a Woman's Missionary Society. How ready the women were to respond to this request is attested by the fact that within a week thereafter, a second local missionary society was formed by Mrs. D. Williams at Bathgate, and also by the following report of the Women's Foreign Missionary committee to the presbytery the following April: "The committee appointed by the Presbytery of Pembina at Grafton, Nov. 7, 1883, met as requested at the Mansard House in Grand Forks, November 15, 1883; and after due deliberation, agreed to divide the territory of said presbytery into districts, and appoint ladies to visit or communicate with the various churches and organize auxiliaries in them, as far as possible, with the view of forming a Woman's Presbyterian Missionary Society, to be held the last week in June, 1884, at Grafton. During their stay in Grand Forks, they organized a Society in that place, which has since increased in membership and interest. This Society has already contributed \$11 to Foreign missions. At Larimore there has been organized a Mission Band and a Home Society, composed of most of the women of the church, has resolved to give a percentage to Foreign Mission work. Creel City, (Devils Lake) has organized a Woman's Missionary Society, which, judging from the efficiency of its officers, will do well. Meckinock, Bathgate, Grafton, Pembina and Hillsboro have organized Societies, or bands, and some of them have both. These Societies meet once a month. The Committee have sent copies of the Constitution and other printed matter to most of the churches in the presbytery. The Committee would ask the continued co-operation of presbytery, that we may have a Woman's Missionary Society in every church.

Mrs. J. A. Brown,

March 31, 1884.

On behalf of the Committee."

It was also in November of this year, 1883, that Rev. H. G. Mendenhall arrived from the Presbytery of Chester, Pennsylvania, and entered upon work at Larimore, where he remained until the following June. The winter of 1883-4 was one of the most severe ever known in this country. In March, 1884, the church of Arvilla, in the vicinity of Meckinock was organized by Rev. J. A. Brown; and also the church of Alma, some miles from Milton,

organized by Rev. J. F. Berry. This brings us to the close of another ecclesiastical year, April 1, 1884. Our roll of churches contained twenty-five names, the number having more than doubled within the twelve months. Our communicants numbered 580, a gain of 45 per cent. Our Sunday School membership was 753, a gain of nearly 41 per cent.

In April, 1884, the spring meeting of presbytery was held at Neche, and Rev. J. F. Berry was elected moderator. Four new preachers were received: namely, Rev. C. S. Converse, who had been at work at Devils Lake and Grand Forks for some time, and who was from the Presbytery of Boulder; Rev. J. W. Cathcart, who had settled at Pembina, from the Presbytery of Red River; Rev. William Mullins, of Manitoba, who was about to occupy Neche and West Lynn; and our old friend, whose name appears in the earlier part of our history, and who had returned to take up the work at Walhalla, Earnest and Hyde Park, Rev. John Scott, from the Presbytery of Manitoba. But Rev. A. Glendenning went to the Presbytery of Palmyra; and Rev. A. K. Caswell was dismissed to the Presbytery of Manitoba in exchange for Father Scott. A third was also soon to leave us; at this meeting of the presbytery, the pastoral relation between Rev. N. W. Cary and the church at Grand Forks was severed.

At this meeting also, the presbytery for the first time elected Commissioners to the General Assembly, Rev. Wm. Cobleigh, of Grafton, and elder V. M. Kenney, of Larimore. The presbytery at the same time overtured the General Assembly to erect the Synod of North Dakota, it being felt by all that the development of the work in this part of the Territory both warranted and called for such action, but the Assembly refused to grant this request.

This month (April) witnessed the dedication of a church edifice at Bathgate, costing \$1,200. Others were also to be completed this year; one at Larimore, costing \$1,800; and another by Rev. Williams at Hamilton, at a total cost of \$1,800. In May the church of Minnewaukon was organized by Rev. F. M. Wood; while in the same month, Rev. J. F. Berry began regular work in the vicinity of Osnabrock. In June the churches of Mona and Elkwood were organized by Revs. John Scott, J. F. Berry, and Ransom Waite; the Bethel church at Tyner, organized by Revs. Cathcart, Williams, and Mullins. The ladies of the various churches were also busy, a missionary society having been organized at Arvilla by Mrs. Brown, and another at Alma by Mrs. Berry. In June Rev. Mr. Mendenhall removed from Larimore to Grand Forks, to which church he shortly afterwards received a call to become its pastor. In the summer of the same year, 1884, a Sabbath school was organized at Gilby by colporteur Crum, assisted by the session of the church at Meekinoek, and thus work was started which eventually developed into another church.

At this time a line of railway was being constructed northward from Larimore, which was to contribute to the development of two of our fields, Inkster, at which place an organization was effected in September by Rev. F. M. Wood, was placed in charge of Rev. D. McGregor, who had come from the Presbytery of Manitoba, and Park River, the terminus of the new line, where work was immediately begun by Rev. Alex. Burr of the Kensington church. In October the presbytery met at Larimore, Rev. C. S. Converse being elected moderator. Rev. W. A. Smith was dismissed to the Presbytery of Ft. Dodge. Rev. Wm. Travis, to the Presbytery of Red River, while Rev. Wm. M. Blackburn, D. D., the first Chancellor of the University of North Dakota, was received from the Presbytery of Cincinnati. Rev. F. M. Wood was recommended to the Board of Home Missions for appointment as our presbyterial missionary, in the place of Rev. John Irwin, who had recently resigned to accept a position with the Board of Church Erection in New York. Rev. D. G. McKay was assigned work at Mount View, Lampton and the vicinity of Edinburgh, relieving Rev. Alexander Burr, who was instructed to devote himself to the needs of our work at Park River. The following overture was adopted, concurrent with one before the Northern Pacific (Fargo) Presbytery: "Whereas it is highly necessary for the interests of Presbyterianism and the cause of Christ, that North Dakota be formed into a Synod; and whereas it is necessary thereunto to have a division of the existing presbyteries, therefore the Presbytery of Pembina respectfully overtures the Synod of Minnesota, first, to divide Northern Pacific and Pembina Presbyteries on the following lines, and erect them into three presbyteries, to be known as Pembina, Northern Pacific and Bismarck. The first of these to embrace all that part of the Territory of Dakota lying between Montana on the west, the provinces of Canada on the north, the Red river on the east, and the north line of Trail, Steele and Griggs counties, due west to the Missouri river, and then along its course to the Montana border, on the south. The Synod acted accordingly at its next meeting, and in consequence of that action there were six counties taken from our jurisdiction; while Rev. E. P. Forsman, with the churches of Hillsboro, Elm River and Elm Grove, were transferred to the Presbytery of Northern Pacific, or Fargo, to which its name had now been changed.

By this time work had been begun in the Turtle mountain region; and October, 1884, gave to us the two churches of Bottineau and Dunseith, organized by Rev. F. M. Wood. In November the church at Osnabrock was organized by Revs. D. G. McKay and J. F. Berry; while in December, the church at Elkmont was organized by Rev. F. M. Wood and Rev. D. McGregor, the latter having supplied this point along with Inkster.

THE PEMBINA PRESBYTERY, 1885-88.

We had now thirty-one churches within our bounds, with an aggregate membership of 777, a gain of nearly 34 per cent; while our Sunday School membership was 967, a gain of over 28 per cent.

The spring meeting of the presbytery was held at Grand Forks, April, 1885, Rev. D. Williams being chosen moderator. The original boundary church at Earnest was dissolved, its membership having been absorbed by the neighboring churches of Walhalla, Bay Center, Tyner and others. Rev. N. W. Cary resigned as stated clerk and treasurer, and was dismissed to the Presbytery of Fargo; while Rev. F. W. Iddings was elected as his successor to these offices. Rev. Alex. Burr resigned his field at Park River and went to the Turtle mountain district, where he took up work at Bottineau, Amity and other stations. Rev. J. A. Brown was elected commissioner to the Assembly; and presbytery overtured the Assembly again in regard to the erection of the Synod of North Dakota, and also instructed the commissioner to press the importance of the matter upon the Assembly.

About this time, also, the field previously occupied by Rev. J. A. Brown was divided; he confined his labors to Arvilla and vicinity, while Meckinock and Gilby were supplied during the summer by student Harris. In April of this year the church at Walhalla was organized by Rev. F. M. Wood, absorbing the membership of the church formerly at Earnest. In June Rev. Howard Wallace, from the Presbytery of Bismarck, entered upon the work at Larimore, while Rev. J. H. Kerr, from the Presbytery of Kittanning, settled at Park River, but unfortunately was compelled to leave that field at the end of six months, by reason of ill health. In June, also, the church of Fairview (now Rolla), another out-post on the east side of the Turtle mountain district, was organized by Rev. F. M. Wood. In July a pro re nata meeting was held in Grand Forks, at which Rev. Wm. M. Blackburn, D. D., was dismissed at his own request, to the Presbytery of Central Dakota.

In October the regular fall meeting of the presbytery was held at Devils Lake, Rev. Wm. Mullins being elected moderator; at this meeting the church at Niagara was finally dissolved. In the same month, also, Rev. D. McGregor left Inkster and vicinity, and began supplying West Park and Mount View, where he remained during the ensuing six months. In the following month, November, churches were organized at both those places by Revs. F. M. Wood and D. G. McKay, while at the same time a church building was completed at Ardoch, at a cost of \$1,800. In this year, also, a church was begun and partly completed at Devils Lake, at a cost of about \$2,000. In January, 1886, Rev. D. G.

McKay began work at Inkster and Elkmont, while Rev. A. G. Forbes began a term of three months work at Meckinock and Gilby. In February a church building was completed at Inkster, costing about \$2,000.

There were now thirty-two churches to report, with a membership of 875, a gain of over 12 per cent. We had a Sunday School membership of 961, which was a slight decrease from that of the previous year.

The presbytery held its regular spring meeting at Bathgate, April, 1886, Rev. H. G. Mendenhall was chosen moderator. Rev. H. H. Brownlee was dismissed to the Presbytery of Neosho, while Rev. Wm. H. Hunter, who had entered the work at Minto and Forest River, was received from the Presbytery of Washington, Pennsylvania. Rev. Daniel Williams, of Bathgate, and elder Ludden, of Grafton, were chosen as commissioners to the General Assembly. A call was presented from the church at Grafton for the formation of the pastoral relation with Rev. Wm. Cobleigh. Recommendations were also made for the appointment of Rev. A. G. Forbes to the new field of Lincoln and St. Andrews, afterwards Drayton, and of Rev. Z. B. Taylor, who had recently arrived from the Presbytery of Clarion, to Minnewaukon.

In May, 1886, Rev. D. Williams left for Iowa, being afterwards dismissed to the Presbytery of Ft. Dodge. This proved to be a prosperous year in church building; one being completed at Park River, costing \$3,500, and another at Arvilla, costing \$3,000. Three parsonages were also erected; one at Larimore, costing about \$1,200, one at Walhalla, with a glebe of 20 acres, at a cost of about \$1,000, and another at Inkster, worth about \$800, and built on an acre of land donated by Mr. McGilvrey of that place. A church was also completed at Sweet Water lake (Webster chapel) some twelve miles north of Devils Lake, as the direct result of work done by Rev. C. S. Converse, the building being worth about \$1,000. In June Rev. R. H. Fulton came from the Presbytery of St. Paul, and entered upon the work at Park River, remaining there one year. At the same time Rev. J. A. Baldrige came from the Presbytery of Zanesville, and settled at Larimore, while Alexander Duan began to supply the field at Meckinock and Gilby. He is mentioned among our workers for the reason that he was instrumental in gathering together the church at the latter place, it being organized in the following August by Rev. F. M. Wood. In July the church at St. Andrews was also organized by the Synodical missionary, Rev. F. M. Wood. The fall meeting of the presbytery was held at Grafton, Rev. W. H. Hunter being chosen moderator; at this time a call was presented from the Larimore church for the pastoral services of Rev. J. A. Baldrige; and which being favorably acted upon, the installation took place the following month. In October Rev. Wm. Travis returned to this

presbytery, and entered upon work at Meckinock, Emerado and Gilby; while Rev. J. F. Berry came to Ardoch and Greenwood for six months. In November Rev. J. P. Schell, one of the pioneer missionaries in the old Red River Presbytery, came from Euclid, in that presbytery, and entered upon the work at Bathgate and Hamilton. In the early part of the year 1887 Rev. L. E. Danks, from the Presbytery of Bismarck, came to Devils Lake to take the place of C. S. Converse, who had left the previous summer on account of sickness in his family. In the month of March another church, that of Minot, was organized in the remote western portion of the presbytery, a region that had been opened up the preceding fall by the extension of the railway from Devils Lake. Thus the year of 1886-7 closes with a roll of thirty-four churches and an aggregate membership of 943, being a gain of nearly 8 per cent. There was also a Sunday School membership of 1,249, which represented a gain of over 32 per cent.

In April, 1887, the presbytery held its regular spring meeting at Arvilla, Rev. Ransom Waite being chosen moderator. Rev. C. S. Converse was dismissed to the Presbytery of Elizabeth. A call was presented from the churches of Bathgate and Hamilton for the formation of the pastoral relation between them and Rev. J. P. Schell; but, in view of the probable division of the field in the near future, Rev. Schell saw fit to decline. Rev. J. F. Berry and elder J. M. Smith of Meckinock were elected commissioners to the Assembly. It was found that two of our most important churches, Grafton and Park River, as well as some others, were about to become vacant; this was viewed as the more serious by reason of the urgent need of ministers in other places then opening.

The unparalleled work of railroad construction, begun the preceding year, was also to be carried on in 1887, thus contributing to the development of several of our out-lying fields, namely, Edinburgh, Milton, Osnabrock, Langdon, Meckinock, Gilby, Johnstown, Forest River, as well as those of Lincoln (Drayton) on the bank of the Red river, and Bottineau at the western limit of the Turtle Mountain district. In this time of stress, the call of our synodical missionary resulted in securing four additional pastors, Rev. Jonathan Osmond, a veteran foundation builder from Des Moines Presbytery, for Bottineau and vicinity; Wm. T. Parsons, a licentiate from the Presbytery of New Castle, for Fairview (Rolla) and Mount Pleasant; Rev. Chas. F. McLean, from the Presbytery of Dubuque, for Pembina; Alexander McLeod, a student from the Presbytery of Winnipeg, for West Park and Mount View (near Crystal). Rev. J. F. Berry also returned to his former field in Cavalier county, in the spring, while Rev. D. G. McKay began work at Johnstown in the latter part of the summer. A church building and parsonage were also completed at Neche.

at a cost of \$1,500, the exclusive work of the Ladies' Aid Society there. Another church had been completed at Emerado, at a cost of about \$2,000. This gave us by the first of October, 1887, sixteen church buildings and six parsonages, worth in all about \$42,000, exclusive of the ground on which they had been erected.

The fall meeting of the presbytery this year was held at Ardoch, Rev. Wm. Travis being elected moderator. The most important action, apart from the regular routine, was the ordination of W. T. Parsons, as an evangelist. Formal action was also taken with reference to the matter of temperance, the presbytery having been addressed by Mrs. Barker, president of the W. C. T. U. in Dakota. An adjourned meeting of the presbytery was appointed to be held in connection with the meeting of the Synod at Grand Forks, at which time Rev. L. E. Danks was formally received from the Presbytery of Bismarck, and the pastoral relation between Rev. Wm. Cobleigh and the Grafton church was dissolved. In the fall of 1887, there were added three churches to our roll, namely, Webster Chapel in September, and Glasston and Milton in October, all organized by Rev. F. M. Wood, assisted in the case of the Glasston church by Rev. J. P. Schell, of whose field this congregation had formed a part. The church of Bottineau erected a church building, costing \$1,800, while those of Larimore and Bathgate had taken steps toward the erection or purchase of parsonages. There was a greater dearth of ministers than usual within our bounds during this season, and in consequence some of our more important fields were vacant during the greater portion of the year, namely, Grafton, Park River, Ardoch, Pembina, Bottineau, and Lincoln (Drayton). Ardoch was, however, supplied after December by Rev. W. T. Parsons.

The winter of 1887-8 was one of more than ordinary severity. A general call was extended to all Christian workers for a conference, held at Minto in January, 1888, for the purpose of preparing the way for united evangelistic work, the first attempt of the kind in the history of the presbytery. In connection with the conference at Minto, the presbytery held a *pro re nata* meeting to consider the matter of dividing the Bathgate and Hamilton field on account of the removal of the minister from Hamilton to Bathgate. This was accomplished later, and Bathgate was connected with the Tyner congregation under the care of Rev. J. P. Schell. The presbytery also received Rev. Robert Goudy from one of the Canadian presbyteries; and acted on an application of the Grafton church for the services of Rev. H. H. Brownlee. Rev. Goudy took up work for a brief period at Langdon, a new terminus of the Great Northern railroad, where Rev. F. M. Wood had already organized a church in the early part of the winter.

The regular spring meeting of the presbytery was held at Inkster, April 3, 1888, Rev. J. P. Schell being chosen moderator.

A pleasant feature of the occasion was the very encouraging report concerning the Academy at Arvilla, presided over by Rev. J. A. Brown in connection with his ministerial work, and which had been officially endorsed by the presbytery one year previously. Rev. H. G. Mendenhall and elder John Montgomery, M. D., of Ardoch, were elected commissioners to the General Assembly. A call was presented by the Minot church for the pastoral services of Rev. Jas. Quinn, of Emerson, Manitoba. The Alma church was formally dissolved, its membership having been merged with the new organization at Milton. Our churches now numbered thirty-six, with a total membership of 1,057, which was an increase of nearly 11 per cent over the previous year. Our Sunday School membership was 1,275, being an increase of about 2 per cent.

An adjourned meeting of the presbytery was held at Grand Forks, May 1, 1888, for the purpose of acting on the call of the Minot church to Rev. J. Quinn, and also on that of the Pembina church to Rev. Chas. McLean.

June opened with the organization of the Elora church (near Crystal) by the synodical missionary, Rev. F. M. Wood. And on the 21st day of the same month, a very interesting Memorial Service was held at Walhalla, under the direction of a committee of the Synod, of which Rev. J. P. Schell was chairman, and representatives of the Woman's Synodical Missionary Society. The Woman's Board of the Northwest was also represented by Mrs. C. O. VanCleve, Mrs. Oliver, and others. The occasion was marked by the erection of monuments to the memory of our martyred missionaries, Mrs. Spencer and Mrs. Barnard, whose precious remains, after lying some thirty-five years in the vicinity of Walhalla, in unmarked graves, had recently been exhumed and removed to the beautiful cemetery on the hillside back of the village. Rev. Alonzo Barnard, the aged survivor of the early Mission, Mrs. VanCleve, Hon. Chas. Cavileer, and other pioneers, were among the speakers on the interesting occasion.

In August the church at Conway was organized by the synodical missionary, and in September two others, Drayton and Hope. In October the church of Edinburgh was also organized by the synodical missionary.

The fall meeting of the presbytery was held at Grand Forks, Oct. 9, 1888, Rev. D. G. McKay being chosen moderator. Rev. Wm. Travis was dismissed to the Presbytery of Oregon; after having done very effective service at Emerald and Gilby. The most important work of the presbytery at this time was the licensure of P. Ahern, who had been preaching very acceptably during the summer to the new congregation at Drayton; and also the examination for ordination of Alexander McLeod, who had returned to his former field at Mount View and vicinity. A special meeting was held at Mount View on Nov. 1st to ordain Alexander Mc-

Leod. A further meeting was appointed for Ardoch two weeks later, for the purpose of installing Rev. W. T. Parsons as pastor over that church and the congregation at Greenwood, the call having been presented at the regular meeting of the presbytery.

Notwithstanding the very unfavorable character of the season in respect to crops, the work of church building was not overlooked, an edifice having been undertaken at Gilby at a cost of about \$1,800, one at Elkwood at a cost of about \$1,000, one at Beaulieu at a cost of about \$2,000, one at Drayton at a cost of about \$1,500, and one at Langdon, costing about the same amount. The latter enterprise was beset with special difficulties, and its success was largely due to the strenuous efforts of Rev. Jonathan Osmond, who had been induced to return to this presbytery to meet this emergency. The dedication of this church took place on Sunday, December, 1888. Several parsonages were also completed this year. Rev. Thos. Douglass entered upon the work at Gilby, Johnstown and Forest River, the latter church having been separated from Minto, with which it had been connected during some seven or eight years previously.

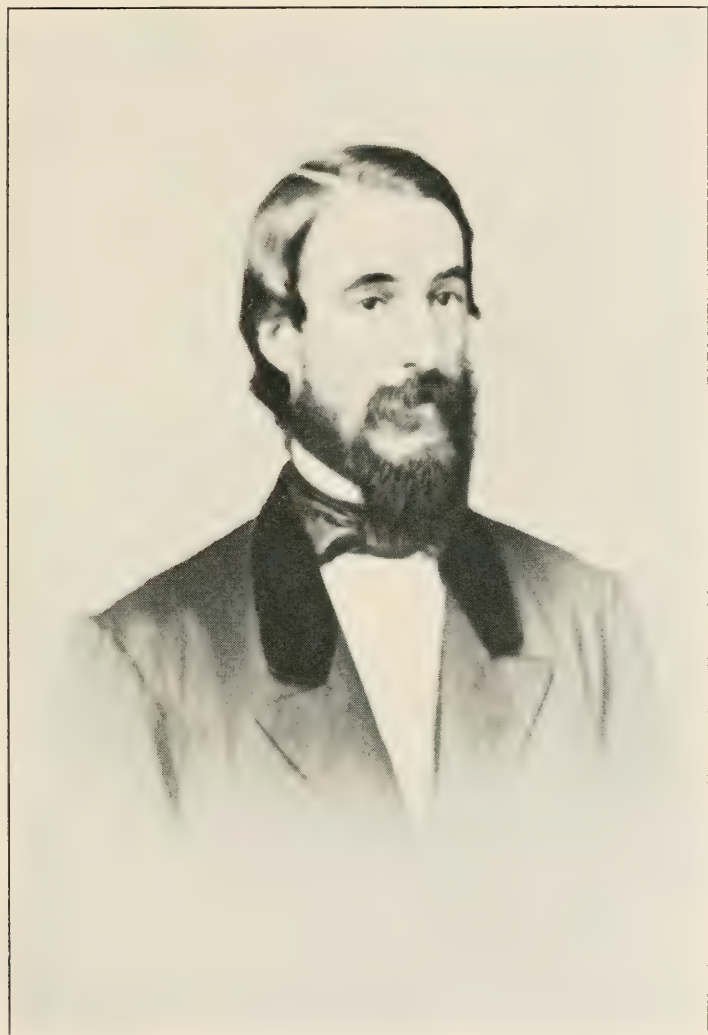
THE FARGO PRESBYTERY, 1877-1900.¹

Fargo:

Fargo church has the place of honor in the history of this presbytery; the church having been organized on December 30th, 1877. This, however, was not the beginning of our work in Fargo, as regular services had been held there for six years before this later date. Rev. E. W. Day says:—"From December, 1871, regular missionary work, in connection with the work in Moorhead, Minnesota, was performed in this place by Rev. O. H. Elmer, until the autumn of 1876, with an occasional service afterwards."

In October, 1877, Rev. C. B. Stevens visited this region and preached his first sermon in Fargo, November 11, 1877. A careful canvass made by him with a view to organizing a church, disclosed the fact that at this time there was in Fargo a population of between seven and eight hundred people. Circumstances at the time all seemed favorable to planting a Presbyterian church in the young city, especially as the attention of the public was beginning to be directed to the Red River valley by the successful opening of the great wheat farm, known as the Dalrymple Farm, and the influx of new-comers in the autumn of 1877 was largely increased thereby. The organization of the Fargo church, as stated above, occurred December 30, 1877, at which time Rev. O. H. Elmer presided, and F. J. Burnham was chosen secretary. Nine persons, whose names follow, were constituted the original

1. Compiled by Rev. S. Stone and by Rev. W. H. Hunter.



Rev. C. B. Stevens

church membership: Mr. and Mrs. G. W. Fish, C. W. Rossiter, O. W. Francis, Mr. and Mrs. S. G. Roberts, Mrs. W. L. Stevens, Mrs. P. P. Goodman, Jennie Wilson.

The first elders elected were C. W. Rossiter, S. G. Roberts, and O. W. Francis. The church has had six pastors as follows:

Rev. C. B. Stevens, from December, 1877 to March, 1882; Henry B. Newell, from July, 1882 to July 1884; Daniel E. Bierce, from October, 1884 to September, 1887; Granville R. Pike, from October, 1888 to October, 1893; Edgar W. Day, from February, 1894, to 1904; Chas. Ryan Adams, from 1905 to 1911.

Revs. Stevens and Bierce are dead. Rev. H. A. Newell is a pastor in Los Angeles, Cal.; and G. R. Pike is in Chicago.

Elm River:

The second church to be organized within our present bounds was the church of Elm River, this occurred in June, 1879. An appeal was made to the Synod of Minnesota, which sent Revs. O. H. Elmer and C. B. Stevens, by whom the church was organized, and Rev. J. K. Burgster was inducted as their minister.¹ The number of members at its organization was sixteen. Two elders, Robert McCradie and John Falconer, were then elected. Rev. J. K. Burgster removed from the field in 1881. In 1882 Rev. A. Glendenning was sent by the Presbytery of Red River to work in this field along with Grandin. In December of that year James McAndrew was elected as a third ruling elder. In the winter of 1882-3 the first manse was built, at a cost to the congregation of Elm River of \$1,000. Rev. Glendenning removed from the field late in the year. In the spring of 1884 Rev. C. W. McCarthy was appointed to this field and that of Hendrum, Minnesota, the church at Grandin being left without supply. In 1887 John Falconer withdrew from the church, and soon after from the state. In 1888 the manse was destroyed by fire; the insurance on which was \$400, and a new manse was erected at a cost of \$600. In 1889 William Black and Stuart McCradie were elected elders of the Elm River church; but Mr. Black soon afterward removed to Minnesota and joined the church at Hendrum. Rev. McCarthy removed to New York state in October, 1890. Rev. R. Waite was in charge of this field and of Hendrum from the autumn of 1890 until the following fall. In the beginning of 1892 Rev. T. E. Douglass came as minister to this place and Hendrum. In the summer of 1892 the first Presbyterian church at Elm River was built at a cost of \$1,500, and was dedicated, August 7th, 1892. Previous to this time the congregation held its services in the schoolhouse at Quincy. Rev. Douglass removed at the end of the year 1894. In this month, December, 1894, the church was

1. Written by Rev. W. H. Hunter.

burned, the insurance being \$1,000. In the spring of 1895, Rev. Thos. Hickling became minister of this field and of Hendrum. In the summer of 1896, a new and more commodious church was built, costing nearly \$1,900. Rev. Hickling left this field in October, 1897. At this time the officers of this church, together with those of the church at Hendrum, conferred with the officers of the church at Grandin, when it was resolved to unite the three churches of Grandin, Hendrum and Quincy into one self-supporting field.

Rev. A. Lang was chosen as minister in October, 1897, and remained till October, 1899. In March, 1900, Rev. T. D. Whittles became minister of these churches.

Grandin:

During the year 1882, a few Presbyterians of Grandin made an effort to secure the organization of a church, and on September 3rd, Rev. J. Irwin effected the same, with twelve members. For about one year services were held regularly by Rev. A. Glendenning who acted as pastor, then the church was disbanded because of insufficient support.

The records of this early attempt have been lost, and the only information obtainable is from the memory of the early members.

On August 16, 1896, with five of the original members, and twelve others, this church was re-organized by Rev. F. M. Wood. On January 5th, 1899, the new church was dedicated, a beautiful building, attractive and commodious, seating over 200 and valued at \$4,000. This church is served in connection with the Elm River (Kelso) and Hendrum churches by Rev. T. D. Whittles.¹

Jamestown:

In the summer of 1878, six years after the founding of Jamestown, Rev. C. B. Stevens, pastor of the Presbyterian church of Fargo, visited and preached on several occasions at points along the line of the N. P. railroad between Fargo and Bismarek. Rev. D. C. Lyon, D. D., had already preached here as early as June, 1873. As a result of these tentative missionary excursions, on the 1st of January, 1879, Rev. J. H. Baldwin was commissioned to explore and preach and otherwise labor along the line of road between Fargo and Jamestown. In carrying out his commission Rev. Baldwin preached at Jamestown every third Sabbath from January 1, 1879 until the following December.

About this time, or shortly previous to this, a petition containing the names of ten of the principal Christian workers of the rapidly growing town, was presented to the Red River Presby-

1. Written by Rev. S. Stone.

tery, asking that the said petitioners, and others uniting with them, be organized into a church under the name of the First Presbyterian Church of Jamestown. In compliance with this petition, on the 5th day of December, 1879, in the court house at Jamestown, a meeting of those interested was held, the church was duly organized, and its first staff of officers elected.

The organization proceedings were conducted by a commission of Red River Presbytery, composed of Rev. J. H. Baldwin and the Synodical missionary, Rev. D. C. Lyon, D. D., of St. Paul. The original elders, elected and ordained at this time, were John Bell and Mathew Bennett. The first mentioned was a sturdy Scotchman who had immigrated with his family from Canada, and in whose veins flowed the bluest of Presbyterian blood, inherited from many generations of staunch defenders of the faith. The latter was equally sturdy, but holding to the faith of the Wesleys and the traditions of the great Methodist church. The congregation was incorporated, August 12, 1880; the trustees were Jerome J. Flint, Edward P. Wells, Henry M. Tabor, and Lewis Lyman. In 1881 the new congregation erected a handsome and commodious house of worship, at a cost of \$6,500; the building erected at that time being still in use by the present congregation. Since its organization the church has had six pastors in the following order: Rev. J. H. Baldwin, December 5th, 1879 to October 1880; Rev. N. D. Fanning, November 1st, 1883 to September 15, 1889; Rev. G. S. Baskerville for some months; Wm. Gibb, October 6th, 1890 to June, 1893; Rev. E. W. Thompson, October 30th, 1893 to January, 1896; Rev. W. P. Price, October 1896 to September, 1897; Rev. H. G. Gunn, March, 1898 to 1900. Of these six pastors only Revs. Fanning, Thompson, and Price were regularly installed; the others serving as stated supplies. Financially, the church of Jamestown is one of the strongest in the synod. On their own motion they became self-supporting in 1882, only three years after organization, and they have maintained that standard up to the present time.¹

Casselton:

The church at Casselton was organized in December, 1879. In January of that year Rev. J. H. Baldwin began to preach at various points along the line of the Northern Pacific, from Fargo to Jamestown. He preached two Sabbaths out of every three at Casselton until December 6th, when a petition was presented to the Red River Presbytery, signed by twelve persons, namely, Mr. and Mrs. Hackett, Mr. and Mrs. H. P. Bannerd, Mr. and Mrs. A. F. Norrish, Mrs. Minnie Lawrence, H. W. Rowe, Wm. McIntyre, Robert Morrison, J. W. Malette, and N. C. Winchester, asking to

1. Written by Rev. H. G. Gunn.

be formed into a church under the name of the First Presbyterian Church of Casselton. In accordance with the request, Rev. O. H. Elmer and Rev. J. H. Baldwin, of the Red River Presbytery, and Rev. D. C. Lyon, Synodical missionary for Minnesota and Dakota, met at Knight's hall, December 7th, 1879, when the church was regularly constituted. At the same time, E. Hackett, H. W. Rowe, and H. F. Bannerd were elected ruling elders, and were ordained and installed by Rev. Elmer. Rev. E. J. Thompson, the first pastor, entered upon his work as stated supply in 1880, and remained until 1884.¹ During his ministry in 1881, a church was built at a cost of \$4,000, and a manse the following year at a cost of \$2,000. He was followed by Rev. H. M. Dyckman, from 1884-1887; Rev. J. H. Stewart succeeded him in 1887, but how long he remained is not stated. Then there were several supplies, one of whom was Rev. G. S. Baskerville, December, 1889 to October, 1892. Rev. G. H. Whiteman then took charge of the church and remained about one year, when the church was again pastorless. Rev. G. A. Hutchinson took charge in March, 1895, and remained until January, 1896. Then came Rev. E. D. Gallagher in May, 1896, who remained until July 1st, 1900.

Wheatland:

The Wheatland church was organized about the same time as the church at Casselton, December 7th, 1879, by a committee of the Red River Presbytery, consisting of Revs. O. H. Elmer, and J. H. Baldwin, and the synodical missionary, Rev. D. C. Lyon of St. Paul. Three elders were elected at the same time, and two of them duly ordained and installed. The church was constituted with a membership of seventeen, and they appear to have been cared for by Rev. J. H. Baldwin until July, 1881. In 1882 mention is made of the sacrament being administered by Rev. E. J. Thompson, and in the following year Rev. T. C. Clark appears to have supplied the church for a short time. The name of Rev. H. M. Dyckman appears as moderator of the session under date of October 20, 1884, and that of April 5, 1885. Mention is made of the fact that Rev. M. Rutherford preached the first sermon in the new church, May 31, 1885. The building was dedicated the same year, August 30th, Rev. H. M. Dyckman preaching the sermon.

Under date of October 4th, 1885, appears a record of a call

1. Rev. E. J. Thompson was born in Middlebury, Vermont, October 7, 1834 and died at Albany, Oregon. He was educated in New England and in the normal school at Albany, New York, and he taught for some ten years in the University of Minnesota. In 1881, Rev. Thompson entered the Presbyterian ministry at Casselton, N. D. From there he removed to Oregon. He served Salem two years; then was made president of Albany College. In 1885, he was called to the pastorate at Corvallis, where he remained until 1901. He served Independence for five years, then retired to take up work in the home mission field at Turner. He was stated clerk of Williamette Presbytery from its organization until his death, which occurred Jan. 23, 1907.



Rev. E. J. Thompson

being voted for the pastoral services of Rev. G. S. Baskerville, but no further mention of his name appears. On July 4th, 1886, occurs the name of Rev. J. C. McKee as moderator of the session; and the record shows that he continued to serve the church as stated supply for nearly if not quite four years, the last record containing his name being dated November 2, 1889. On July 12, 1891, is a record of a session meeting, in which Rev. Samuel Andrews was moderator; followed by another, July 2, 1893, with W. C. Hunter as moderator. The last record containing his name is June 28, 1896. Rev. Bucher moderated the session, October 22, 1898, and continued as stated supply for two years.

Tower City:

The First Presbyterian Church of Tower City was organized June 10th, 1880. Rev. J. H. Baldwin was the first pastor and served from its organization until May, 1883, when he was succeeded by Rev. G. S. Baskerville, who served the church until October 1st, 1889. He was succeeded by Rev. J. T. Killen, who served till April, 1890. Several ministers and students served the church as stated supplies for short terms after Rev. Killen; among these were Revs. Creswell, Parsons, Sangree, Hartman, Woodruff, Rutherford, Blue, Byers, and Hibbard. Rev. F. J. Hibbard began to serve the church as stated supply in May, 1897, and remained for the summer months, when he returned to Princeton to complete his course. During the winter the pulpit was vacant, but in June, 1898, Rev. Hibbard returned as stated supply again, in which capacity he served until March, 1900, when he was installed pastor.

Buffalo:

The Buffalo church, which is connected with Tower City, was organized in October, 1880. Rev. J. H. Baldwin was the first pastor, and was followed by Revs. G. S. Baskerville, J. C. McKee, J. T. Killen, J. H. Blue, W. J. Byers, and seven or eight students. Rev. F. J. Hibbard became stated supply in May, 1897, and continued as such until March, 1900, when he was installed as pastor.

Mapleton:

The Mapleton church was organized in October, 1880, by Revs. O. H. Elmer, J. H. Baldwin, and the Synodical missionary, Rev. D. C. Lyon. The church has been served by several students and a number of stated supplies, with the inevitable result that there has been but little growth, the church having barely held its own.

Lisbon:

Sometime during the summer of 1881 Rev. Daniel Williams came from Grand Rapids, and held one or two services in Lisbon, the first Presbyterian services held in the town or county. In the fall of 1881 Rev. J. H. Pollock arrived from Wisconsin, and, upon the advice of the Home Mission's committee of the Red River Presbytery, went down into Ransom county to see what could be done for the many immigrants going in there. He preached in Sheldon and Jacksonville on the first Sabbath of November, 1881. On the following Sabbath he came to Lisbon, but as the Methodist people were having regular services there, he met with no encouragement. He, however, continued his services in Sheldon and Jacksonville on every second Sabbath, spending the alternate Sabbaths wherever he could gather a body of listeners. He came back to Lisbon and preached there on Christmas day, 1881. He was then invited to come again on the following Sabbath by Rev. LaCell, a local Methodist minister, who from that time yielded every alternate Sabbath for the holding of a Presbyterian service. This service, alternating with those at Sheldon, was kept up by Rev. Pollock until the fall of 1882. Services were held during the winter of 1881-2 in Colton's hotel, at the corner of Main and Second streets. During the summer of 1882 the services were held in a tent at the corner of Main and First streets. In the latter part of September, 1882, Rev. E. W. Day, late of Allegheny Seminary, came as Rev. Pollock's successor, and commenced work on October 1st, preaching at Lisbon and Sheldon on alternate Sabbaths until November 15, 1883.

At the fall meeting of the presbytery, 1882, held at Casselton, Revs. E. W. Day and J. H. Baldwin were appointed a committee to organize the church at Lisbon. November 12, 1882, was named as the date for effecting the organization, but Rev. Baldwin being unable to be present, the date was postponed until the 26th of November. Rev. Baldwin being then still unable to attend, Rev. Day proceeded with a partial organization, there being no male members whom it was deemed wise to elect as elders. At this time five persons were received on profession of their faith, and four by letter. These nine persons, thus received, were thereupon declared by the officiating minister, Rev. Day, to be the incipient organization of a church to be thereafter known as the First Presbyterian Church of Lisbon, Dakota Territory, under the care of the Presbytery of Red River.

During the fall of 1883 and the spring of 1884, a chapel was erected at a cost of \$1,500. On October 19, 1884, the first elder, A. F. Morton, was elected and installed. Rev. Day finished his pastorate in the spring of 1894, and on May 27, of the same year, Rev. J. M. Waddle, D. D., having accepted the call tendered him,

entered upon his duties as minister in this church. On Sabbath, June 12, Rev. Waddle tendered his resignation. During the summer of 1898, services were held Sunday mornings by Mr. Leech, a student of Princeton Seminary, and aside from this the church was without a minister for more than a year. On August 27, 1899, Rev. C. W. Harris entered upon his duties as stated supply, and he was installed, April 2, 1900.

Hillsboro :

The Presbyterian church of Hillsboro was organized in the fall of 1882 by Rev. W. d'Argent and the Presbyterian missionary, Rev. John Irwin, with a membership of sixteen. In the fall of 1882 the Presbytery directed Rev. G. S. Baskerville to supply the church in connection with Buxton. In May, 1883, Rev. E. P. Forsman took charge of the field, comprised of Hillsboro and Kelso (Elm River), which were thereafter grouped together as one field. The church was erected in 1884, and was dedicated in 1885; the present membership is twenty-four.

Monango :

The First Presbyterian Church of Keystone (now Monango) was organized September 3, 1882, by Rev. W. S. Peterson, Presbyterian missionary for South Dakota. Previous to the organization, a student, H. H. Sangree, held services here for three months on alternate Sabbaths. The following ministers have served the Monango church: Revs. Brackett, S. A. Barnes, J. C. Grey, J. W. Dickey, J. E. Vance, Wm. Snyder, Wm. Sangree, and J. B. Hobart. All of these men were simply stated supplies, as the church has never had a pastor. The church has had no regularly ordained minister since Mr. Hobart left in 1894. Since that date students have had the field for three months each year in the summer, Messrs. Green, Mitchel, Zeigler, Stitt, and Burrell.

Ellendale :

The church at Ellendale was organized October 6th, 1882, by Rev. W. S. Peterson, of Huron, South Dakota. Rev. J. H. Clark was the first pastor, serving the church from May, 1883 to October, 1885. After that the church was vacant for a year, when Rev. W. E. Voss took charge, and served the church one year, after which for a year the church was without a pastor. Rev. J. W. Winder served another year. After another interim of a year, Rev. John McCoy took up the work and remained three years. He was followed by Rev. Robert Bradley, who served one year. Next the church was served for a year by Rev. A. Streimer. Rev. N. C. Shirey served the church for two years, and Rev. D. H. Dever one year. The last pastor, Rev. F. E. McGillivray, took

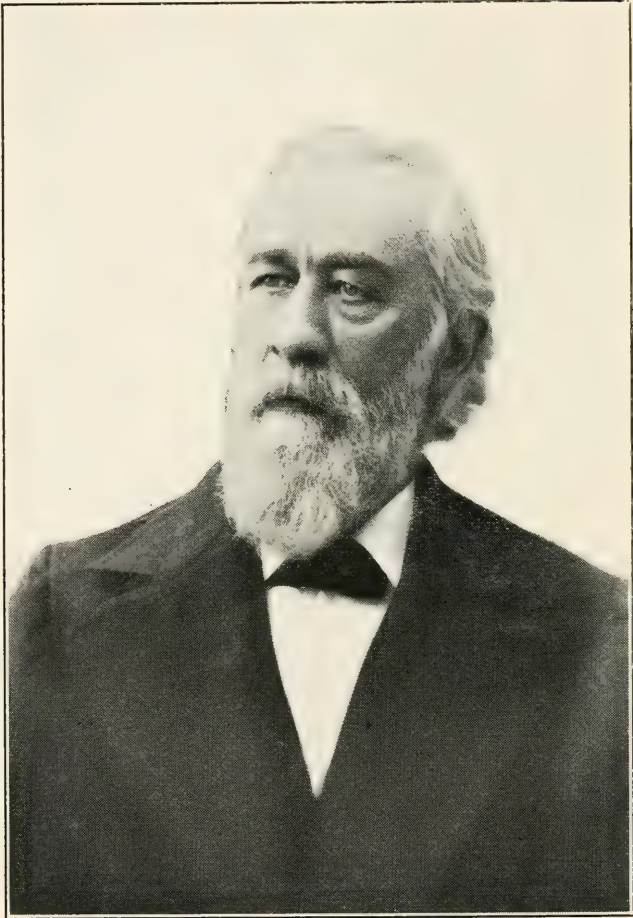
charge of the church in 1899, and remained until his death, on the 3rd of June, 1900. All of these pastors were stated supplies.

Sheldon:

Presbyterian ministers began work in the vicinity of Sheldon in 1882, preaching first in the schoolhouse at Jenksville, and later on in the schoolhouse in Sheldon. The church building was erected in 1885, and dedicated in 1886. The church has been served thus far by numerous supplies, Rev. J. H. Baldwin, E. W. Day, Remington, Forbes, Vance, Chalfant, Bellville, Craighead, Kerr, Clatworthy, Ryder, Brown, and Harrison. Only one of these, Rev. Joseph Brown, was installed as pastor.

Hunter:

On the 14th day of May, 1882, Rev. E. R. Prichard visited Hunter, and held the first religious service in the new town. From that time until December of the same year, he preached there every three weeks. In December he took up his residence in Hunter, and in the following June he began to hold service every Sabbath. In the July following, a petition was presented to the Red River Presbytery, signed by seventeen persons, asking to be organized into a church. In compliance with this request, Rev. E. J. Thompson and Rev. E. R. Prichard were authorized by the presbytery to organize the church. This was done in the schoolhouse at Hunter on July 29th, 1883. Three ruling elders were elected and ordained at the same time and place, Rev. E. J. Thompson officiating. Rev. E. R. Prichard was the first stated supply of the church, and Robert Morrison, Walter Muir, and Henry Ruthruff were the first elders. How long Mr. Prichard remained with the church is not known, as there is no record of any meeting between October 7, 1883 and March 28, 1886. At this last named date a meeting of the session was moderated by Rev. Q. L. Young, who appears to have taken charge of the church in 1885, and to have served it about two years. From April, 1887 to February, 1889, the records are again blank. Then they speak of a session being moderated by the Synodical missionary, Rev. F. M. Wood, Rev. George Furniss being also present. At this meeting it was voted to receive Mrs. Furniss into the church, and doubtless Rev. Geo. Furniss entered upon his work with the church about this time. He remained as stated supply until the summer of 1891. His successor was Rev. Samuel Andrews, whose term of service lasted about two years. Rev. L. E. Danks followed Rev. Andrews, taking charge of the work in April, 1894. In July, 1886, there is a record of a meeting presided over by Rev. S. G. Tyndall, who appears to have taken charge of the work a short time before. He supplied the church for about two years,



Rev. Francis M. Wood

and was followed by Rev. S. Stone, who entered upon his work November 1st, 1898, and was installed pastor December 1st of the same year.

Blanchard:

The Blanchard church, which is a part of the Hunter field, was organized June 5, 1887, by Rev. F. M. Wood and Rev. Q. L. Young, with six members, D. S. Colley being elected and ordained as a ruling elder. The church has been served by the same pastors as have served the Hunter church.

LaMoure:

Rev. F. M. Wood, having visited the James River Valley in the fall of 1882, preached at Grand Rapids (eight miles north of the present town of LaMoure), and was urged during the following winter to have in view the settlement of Grand Rapids, and also the prospective settlement of LaMoure, in the early spring of 1883.¹

Rev. Wood was in the field and began preaching at Grand Rapids in April, 1883. The town of LaMoure was not yet organized and the 20th day of May of that same year was set for the first meeting in LaMoure. On the 20th day of May a meeting was held in Mr. Matheson's boarding-house at LaMoure, and there were about 20 persons present. Services were continued here for several successive Sabbaths with varying attendance. About the first of June a Sunday School was organized by F. M. Kinter, who was one of the chief workers in the organization of the church. The school was conducted as a single class, with Mr. Kinter as superintendent and teacher. As the audiences increased, the Merchant's Hotel was secured for a Sabbath or two. This was given up for a single room over a new store building. The pulpit was a dry goods box, the seats were constructed of bundles of shingles and nail kegs, surmounted with boards. This, however, was but temporary, as chairs, lamps, table, and pulpit stand were soon secured by subscription from the towns-people. On the 7th of October, 1883, Rev. F. M. Wood, a member of the Red River Presbytery, organized the First Presbyterian Church of LaMoure, with a membership of six persons.² F. M. Kinter was elected

1. See p. 166, Early work at Grand Rapids by D. Williams.

2. Rev. Francis Marion Wood was born at Fairton, Cumberland County, New Jersey, June 23, 1834, and died April 11, 1911 in Carlisle, Ohio. As a young man, Rev. Wood engaged in business in Galveston, Texas. He graduated from Princeton College in 1858; from the Seminary in 1861 and was married to Martha G. Van Tuyl, of Carlisle, Ohio, in 1862. Rev. Wood became pastor of the New Jersey church at Carlisle, O. in 1862. He served churches in Clifton, O., Marshall, Mich., San Francisco, Cal., Oxford and Xenia, O., from 1870 to 1883. He went to North Dakota in 1883, supplying churches of LaMoure and Grand Rapids. In 1884, he was made Presbyterial missionary, and from 1885 to 1897 was synodical missionary of North Dakota. Rev. Wood then relinquished his pioneer work in North Dakota, going to Willington, Cape Colony, Africa. Here he was engaged as assistant-superintendent of the Mission Institute of Dr. Andrew Murray and also acted in the capacity of stated supply of the church. In 1904, he returned to America and did not engage further in regular ministerial work.

and installed as a ruling elder in the church. A board of trustees was also elected at this meeting. Rev. F. M. Wood acted as stated supply for the church, until April, 1884, when he was called to enter upon his work as Superintendent of Home Mission work in North Dakota.

The next month, May, 1884, Frank Fish, a student from Allegheny Seminary, conducted services until September. From September, 1884, until May, 1885, there were no regular preaching services. The erection of a church building had been begun during the month of August, and was continued during the fall and winter, and the church was dedicated on the 10th of May, 1885. This was also the date of the beginning of the labors of Rev. R. W. Ely in the LaMoure and Grand Rapids churches. It was not until the year following, however, that Rev. Ely was duly installed as the pastor of those churches. It was during Rev. Ely's pastorate in 1887, that a storm of wind totally demolished the church building so recently occupied. With characteristic western pluck, however, the people rallied and proceeded to erect a new building. After serving the churches of LaMoure and Grand Rapids three years and five months, Rev. Ely accepted a call to a church in Missouri, and closed his labors in this field, October 1st, 1888. For the next six months Rev. J. J. Thompson acted as stated supply. Rev. J. S. Boyd came as stated supply in November, 1889. He was followed in 1894 by Rev. A. A. Zabriskie, who was installed as pastor on April 10th of that year. He resigned in December following to accept a call in the east.

Nine months later Rev. Sidney Stone was called as pastor and served the church until May, 1897. The church was without regular preaching thereafter from May, 1897 until July, 1898, when Rev. Willard Crosby Lyon came into the field. He was installed as pastor October 31st, 1898, and is serving the church at the present year, 1900.

Ayr:

The church at Elgin (now Ayr) was organized on September 9, 1883, by Rev. J. H. Baldwin, who had previously explored the field and forwarded to the Red River Presbytery a petition signed by the heads of four of the leading families, namely, Peter Beattie and wife, J. P. Riddle and wife, Peter Aitcheson and wife, and James Dunlop and wife, eight in all.¹

At the same meeting held at the home of the Dunlops on the Park Farm, Peter Beattie and Peter Aitcheson were elected and ordained ruling elders. The church was served by Rev. Baldwin as its stated supply from the date of its organization, until the year 1888, when it was supplied for a year, October 1, 1888 to October 1, 1889, by Rev. J. T. Killen. At a meeting of the trus-

1. In 1882-3 Rev. J. H. Baldwin secured the organization of churches at Ayr, Page City, Colgate, Broadlawn, Galesburg and Erie.

tees held in the postoffice at Ayr, July 26, 1888, it was agreed that the Board meet on Saturday afternoon at the lumber yard to make benches for the church, and it was further agreed that Levi Johnson make a desk for the minister's books as soon as possible. The church was built some years later during the incumbency of Rev. J. N. B. Smith, 1904-5.

Milnor :

The church at Milnor was organized May 13th, 1884, by Rev. F. M. Wood, the Synodical missionary, assisted by Rev. E. W. Day, of Lisbon. The church consisted of six members and John Shuman and J. H. Vail were elected and installed as ruling elders. The church building was erected in 1893, at a cost of \$2,000, and was dedicated on November 1st, of that year. The first minister was Rev. J. E. Vance, who preached about six months, his work ending in April, 1886. Then Rev. D. A. Wilson from Missouri, former pastor of elder J. H. Vail, and associated with him on the Union side in the skirmish at Camp Jackson, near St. Louis, spent six months with the church, from June to November of the same year. Through the summer of 1887 the church was served by John Hobart, a student. Soon after this Rev. D. J. McKenzie began work in the field, and remained with the church three years. E. S. Miller, a student, came for the summer of 1890. Then there appears to have been no service until the summer of 1892, when Rev. G. H. Fallers supplied the church for the summer months. From October, 1892 until October, 1893 the church was served by Rev. W. T. Gibson. Then for three years the church was without a minister. C. W. Berg, a student, supplied through the summer of 1896 and he was followed in September of the same year by Rev. Geo. Gerrie, who remained until March, 1898. J. C. Leech, a student, filled the pulpit for the two succeeding summers. Rev. John Fernie is the present pastor, and has had charge of the church since January, 1900.

Lucca :

On Saturday, June 16, 1883, a congregation assembled in the schoolhouse, called at that time, Kibby schoolhouse, for the purpose of presenting letters and deciding as to the possibility of a church organization. At this time nine names were presented; three trustees were elected, but elders were not chosen for lack of proper material. The action was reported to the Red River Presbytery and the Lucca church was placed on the roll. For the first two years Rev. J. E. Vance preached regularly, and the Sabbath School was maintained both summer and winter. For about three years this incomplete organization was reported to the Presbytery, but as no progress was made, the stated clerk ceased to

call the name of the church. During the summer of 1885 there was no preaching, but through the summer of 1886, Rev. G. S. Baskerville preached three Sabbaths out of the month. During the winter only occasional Bible reading services were held in addition to the Sunday School, but the next April Rev. W. M. Spoor commenced his services. On May 15th, 1887, Rev. F. M. Wood, the Synodical missionary, visited the field to find out the condition of things, and at this time five names were added to the list of members. On May 22nd, of the same year, Rev. G. S. Baskerville preached, and at the close of the sermon, two ruling elders were elected and ordained, and the organization of the church, thus long deferred, was completed. At this time Rev. J. E. Vance began to serve the church for the second time, and his services were continued until June, 1892, when Mr. Hilton, from Princeton Seminary, spent four months with the church. In May, 1893, the work was taken up by W. L. Oliver, a student from Allegheny; he also stayed four months, and preached at More's schoolhouse, six miles south of Lucca, in connection with the latter church. The next summer Robert Hartman, from McCormick, spent four months in the field, and in April, 1895, Rev. J. E. Vance began preaching again, supplying the church until the following December, when Wilson Stitt, of Canada, took up the work. On January 26, 1896, the service at More's schoolhouse was transferred to Enderlin. In May, 1896, Rev. M. J. Doak took charge of the two churches of Lucca and Enderlin, and he served until March, 1899. During the early summer of that year, Rev. W. Harrison supplied the church four Sabbaths, when he accepted an appointment as a missionary to Alaska. Services were kept up during the summer and fall, sermons being read, and occasionally there was preaching. In November, Wm. F. Doty, of Princeton, took up the work, remaining until April, 1900.

Enderlin:

The first religious service in the vicinity of Enderlin, held under Presbyterian auspices, was conducted in More's schoolhouse, situated about four miles from that town. These services were started, and for a period were maintained by Rev. J. E. Vance. In fact it is largely due to his efforts that religious services have been maintained at all in this region, including Lucca and vicinity. Later, Rev. E. W. Day, who was stationed at Lisbon, preached frequently at the same schoolhouse; and later still Mr. Hilton labored for a time in the same field. Mr. Hilton was followed by Mr. Oliver, a student, who spent a summer in this region and met with great success. As a result of the labors of these devoted men, a church was organized, and called the Oliver church, in honor of Mr. Oliver who had labored so faithfully for its establishment. It was in the summer of 1892 that this church

was organized, with a membership of eighteen. This little church never had a regular pastor, but was served chiefly by seminary students, who only remained through the summer months. After Mr. Oliver's departure, the services were continued at intervals through the efforts of Rev. Vance. Meanwhile, the town of Enderlin was founded and growing rapidly; and several earnest Christian people decided that a Presbyterian church ought to be organized and a house of worship erected in the new town. Accordingly the Fargo Presbytery was petitioned to organize such a church. The petition was granted at the spring meeting in 1896, and a committee, consisting of Revs. F. M. Wood, Joseph Brown, and J. M. Waddle, D. D., was appointed to visit the town, and, if advisable, to proceed with the organization. The committee met at Enderlin on May 3rd, and the Enderlin Presbyterian Church was organized. The number of members is not stated, but W. Gilbraith and H. Morton were elected and ordained as ruling elders. To this church, thus organized, the members of the Oliver church transferred their membership. Thus in large measure, the Enderlin church is the outgrowth of the Oliver church. The members and friends of the new enterprise, both in town and country, though few in numbers, were energetic and determined. They began at once to raise funds for the building of a suitable house of worship, and were so successful that the building was started in March, 1897, and completed that same fall. In the meantime Rev. M. J. Doak had been called to supply the church. He took up the work in May, 1896, and remained about three years. After an interval of six months the work of the church was continued by W. F. Doty. Mr. Doty, however, remained only six months, resigning in April, 1900, in order to accept a government position in Alaska. Since Mr. Doty's departure, many of the members and best supporters of the church have moved away from the town and vicinity, so that the church has been left in a greatly weakened condition.

Sanborn:

The Presbyterian church at Sanborn was organized January 23rd, 1887, by Rev. F. M. Wood, with seven members. The pulpit was supplied by persons secured by the session for a time, and in November, 1888, Rev. Samuel Andrews took charge of the church and remained until August of the following year. In June, 1890, Rev. Wm. Sangree began work as their pastor, and continued with them until April, 1893. Previous to his coming the number of members had increased from seven to eighteen, and during his term of service seventeen more names were added, making a total to date of thirty-five. During the summer of 1894 the pulpit was supplied by a student named Mitchel; and soon after this Rev. D. J. Sykes took up the work, and continued about

two years. He was followed by Rev. J. H. Blue, who stayed in the field only three months, leaving in the fall of 1896, after which the church remained closed until October 1st, 1897. Rev. I. G. Smith then took up the work, and in October of the following year was finally installed pastor of the church. He continued to act as pastor until September 1st, 1900, when he resigned.

Galesburg:

The organization of the Presbyterian church in Galesburg was the result of the work and preaching of Rev. J. H. Baldwin and the Synodical missionary, Rev. F. M. Wood. A petition for church organization was presented and acted upon favorably by the Fargo Presbytery. The organization was completed August 24th, 1887, by Rev. F. M. Wood and by Rev. J. H. Baldwin, who from that time became the acting pastor. The number of original members was seventeen.

Broadlawn:

The church of Broadlawn, eight miles west of Galesburg, was organized November 3, 1889. Before this organization was effected, the members were a part of the Presbyterian church at Colgate, ministered to by Rev. J. H. Baldwin and Rev. W. C. Whisnand. During the winter and spring of 1889, special meetings were held, in which many persons were added to the Colgate church. This and the distance of one congregation from the other, led to the desire on the part of the Broadlawn people for a separate organization. Such desire being expressed in due form to the fall meeting of the Presbytery of Fargo, a committee, consisting of Revs. J. H. Baldwin and W. C. Whisnand, was appointed with authority to effect the organization. The chairman of the committee invited Rev. F. M. Wood to be present and assist in the organization, which was accomplished on November 3rd, 1889. The number of original members was forty-eight, and the number of members at the present time, 1900, is twenty-seven.

Erie:

The Erie church was first organized by Revs. F. M. Wood and B. W. Coe, June 30, 1889. Rev. Coe had been in the field some time before this date, and the organization was the result of his preparatory labors. He resided at Galesburg, and included that field in his ministrations. In 1891 Rev. Hoyt took charge, followed in 1893, by Rev. Moore. In 1896 F. J. Hibbard began preaching here. Galesburg had already been dropped from the Erie circuit, and the Ayr field included. During Mr. Hibbard's ministry the church records were lost. This necessitated a re-organization, which was effected by Rev. F. M. Wood, in 1896. Mr. Hibbard was followed by Rev. Eakins in 1898; then followed

Rev. Weatherstone in 1899, and Rev. J. M. Smith, returned missionary from China, in November of the same year.

Courtenay:

The Presbyterian church of Corinne was organized August 12, 1888, with 23 members. The name was subsequently changed to the Presbyterian Church of Courtenay. A church building was erected in 1896-97, costing \$2,000, and a manse was built at the same time at a cost of \$650. The church was served by students from seminaries until 1896, except a short time by licentiate James Hoyt, in 1891. The following stated supplies have served the church: Rev. J. S. Corky, 1896-98, and Rev. J. F. Cheesman, 1898 to 1900. The present membership, 1900, is 44.

Oakes.

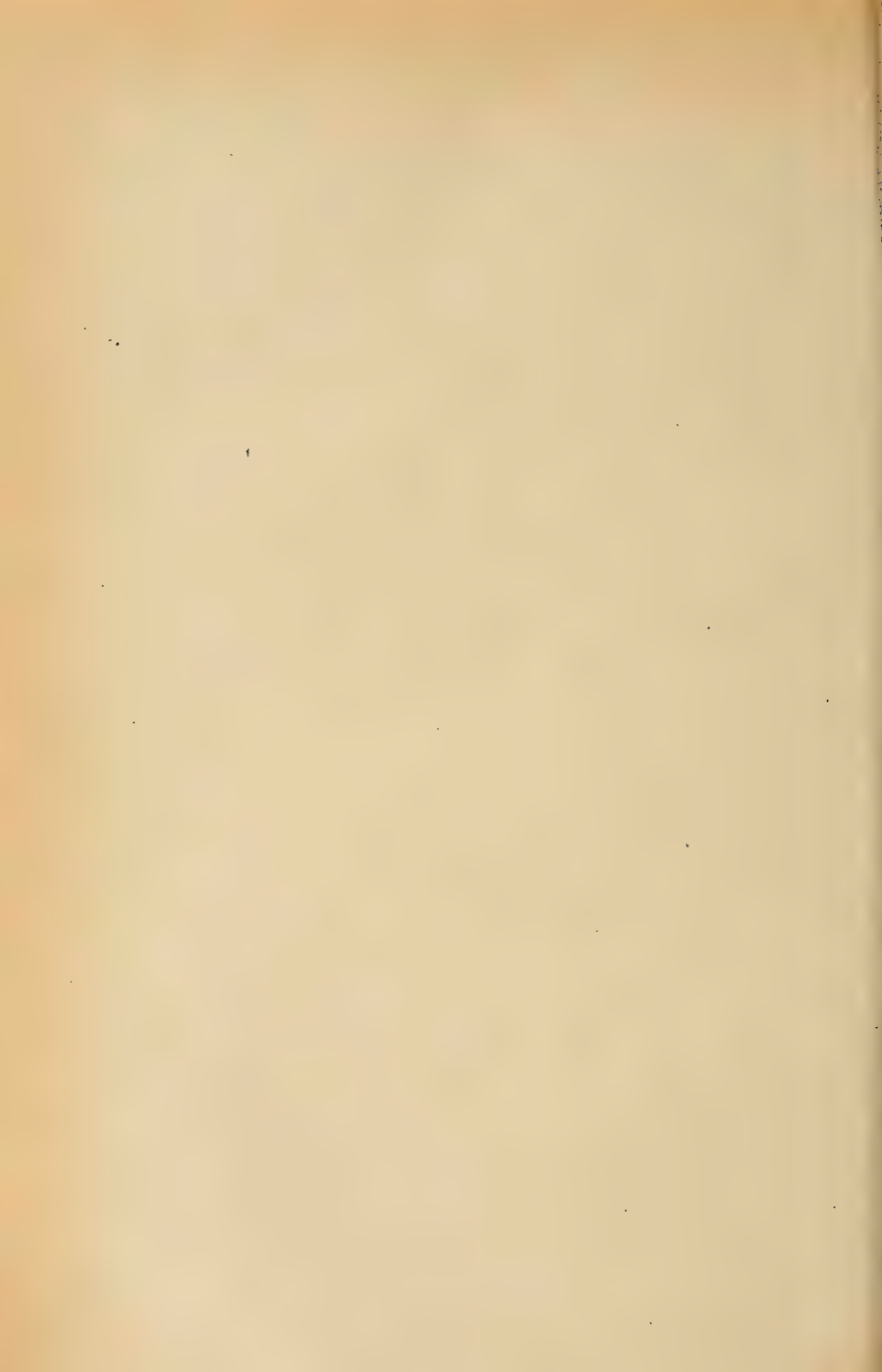
On August 27, 1887, Rev. R. H. Hook, assisted by Rev. F. M. Wood, of the Fargo Presbytery, organized the First Presbyterian Church of Oakes, with eleven members. Services were held in the schoolhouse until the new church was completed. This was dedicated on the 27th day of January, 1889, and cost about \$2,200.¹

Chaffee:

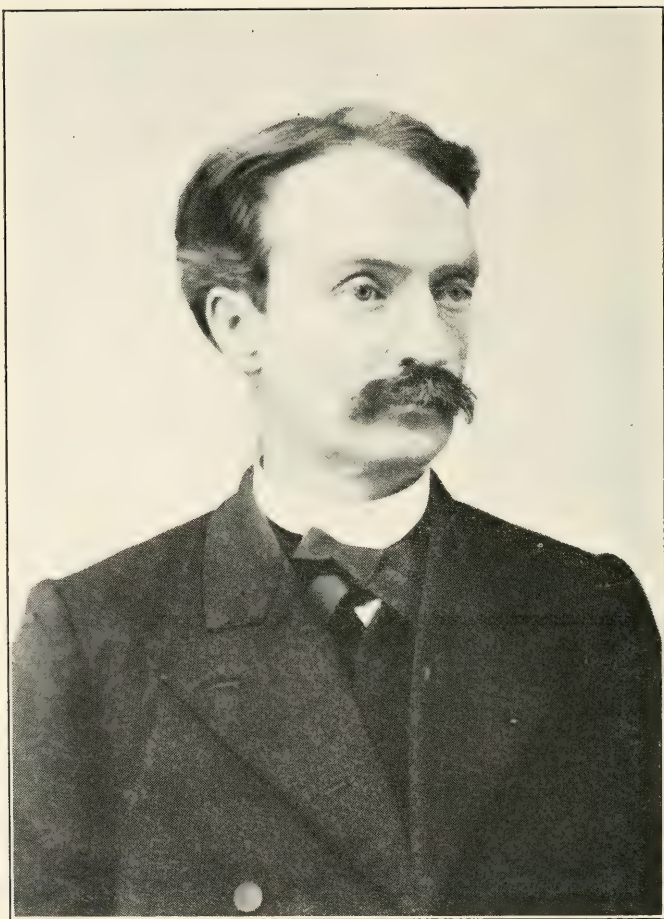
The First Presbyterian Church of Chaffee originated in the organization of a Sunday school by Mr. Bigler, a Sunday school missionary, in the Watson schoolhouse, in the year 1887. This led to the coming of a minister from Sheldon to preach occasionally. These meetings continued with varying regularity, sometimes being held in the private homes in the neighborhood. In the year 1889, the home of the Sunday school was moved to the hall over the store of the Hunter Mercantile Company in the village of Chaffee. Rev. G. H. Booker, then pastor of the Wheatland charge, began preaching here and organized the Chaffee church. The following year the store was destroyed by fire and services were held in the Chaffee Hall. Here they continued until the new church building was occupied, December 22nd, 1907. Among those who preached to the Chaffee congregation before the organization, were, B. B. Bigler, Revs. Joseph Brown and N. B. Harrison.

The first members were Andrew Watt and family, Mrs. Finney, and T. R. Peart and wife.

1. Report of Alfred Brownson, clerk.



Appendix



Rev. O. H. Elmer

No. 1.

Reminiscences by the Pioneers.

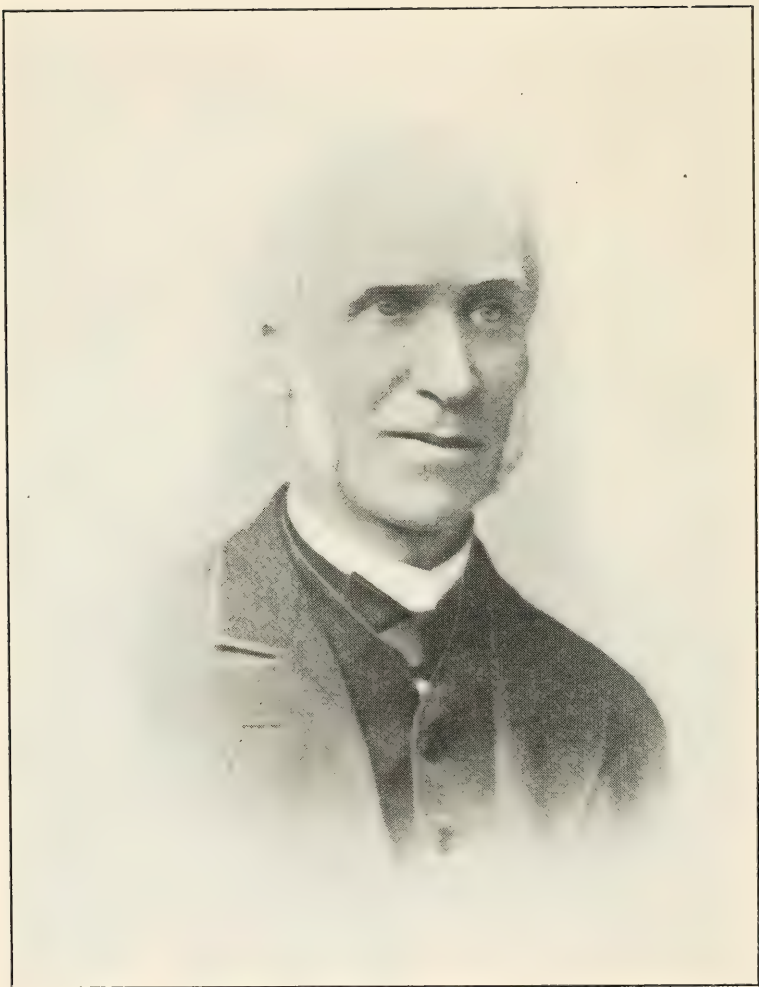
Rev. O. H. Elmer

"Saturday, November 19th, 1880, the mercury marked seventeen degrees below zero, at Moorhead, Minnesota, and a stiff breeze from the northwest made the fireside of one's own home a most desirable place.

However, answering a ring at the door, I found a young man, dressed in fur cap and buffalo coat, who had come 2,000 miles, all the way from Washington, D. C., to be married to a young lady who had preceded him by several weeks to an imaginary city lying about fifty-five miles to the southwest. The only conveyance at that time was the team, and no other Presbyterian minister was available from any point nearer by. So the groom started out on his cold ride, with the understanding that the parson would follow on the ensuing Wednesday. The young man in quest of a bride proved to be one of the government experts in arranging and cataloguing the National Library at Washington, had a collegiate and theological education, and, though still young, had been previously associated in important work for publication with the Harpers of New York City. The lady was a graduate of Vassar College, had travelled and studied in Switzerland and Germany, and had already attained some distinction in Washington, where she had spent some years. But why should this interesting couple come from the heart of civilization and comfort, cross the borders of Minnesota, and be married in the land of the Dakotas, in the yet unorganized county of Ransom? Away out upon the Sheyenne river dwelt the parents of the bride. The father, a robust man in his sixties, had once been a professor of Greek in an eastern college. He was a man of staunch, New England type; and varying fortunes had led him to a delightful spot in the summer time, among the sheltering hills through which

Thirty years or so ago most of our western synods and presbyteries were of vast extent. The synod of Minnesota embraced within its jurisdiction, not only the state from which it took its name, but the two western wings of the Dakotas as well. And the northern division of the old St. Paul presbytery, which was afterwards (1879) erected into the presbytery of Red River including all northern Minnesota north of St. Cloud, together with the northern half of the original Dakota Territory known now as North Dakota. But notwithstanding the large area over which the early presbytery extended its sway, all its churches, with the solitary exception of Bismarck on the Missouri river, were to be found at first in the Red river valley. Then as new and more remote districts were opened up for settlement, there would come at times to the already overworked missionaries, for every pastor was a missionary in those days, a call to preach the gospel, to officiate at a marriage, or to bury the dead. To answer these calls would sometimes involve a journey of one or even two hundred miles, sometimes in the dead of winter. More than one such journey with horse and "jumper" was made by the pioneer Elmer, from Moorhead to Grand Forks and beyond, before the community was able to command the services of any Protestant minister nearer at hand. Of one of these expeditions to the original settlement of Lisbon some fifty miles southwest of Fargo, at the constraining call of a young couple desirous of marriage, he has left us the following interesting account. (Rev. J. P. Schell.)

flowed the little stream of the Sheyenne. The wife, noble compeer in culture and courage, was now his only companion. The home was a pioneer log cabin showing various evidences of thorough culture and refinement. The location selected was both romantic and practical, near the house was a spring of water pleasantly impregnated with iron, and also constitutionally proof against freezing in the coldest weather. The location was favorably mentioned as a suitable town site for the county seat of a district rapidly opening to settlement, and as being especially suitable for the crossing of the railroad which was being surveyed from Fargo southwest to the James river. Hither had come the daughter for a brief visit with the parents whom she had not seen for years before; and hither followed her suitor, each making a wagon journey abounding in trial and adventure which we cannot now relate. Leaving Moorhead early on Wednesday morning, the day before Thanksgiving, we reached the sand hills at noon; where the only eating station was a log cabin built into the hill and familiarly known as a "dug out." This, however, we missed, and came to another where the driver and myself could not be served with dinner, but lunched on crackers and cheese prudently provided for such emergencies. The evening brought us to a better settlement, where a farmer of but one year's residence had a good start, and kept travellers merely for accommodation, making the most trifling charges. Twelve of us ate and slept in the only two rooms of the house. Thanksgiving morning dawned bright and cold, but not so severely so as the day before. Following my host out to the stables, I looked over some really fine stock, and also used the occasion to reprove the owner for his habitual profanity in the house. He treated the matter lightly and good-naturedly, and returning to the house told his wife in the presence of us all, how the preacher had reproved him for swearing. The wife heartily indorsed the preacher, and shortly after went to a chest, took out a large Bible, and asked him to read for them. Singing and reading were followed by an exhortation and prayer; and in that little wayside inn was held a Thanksgiving service, so evidently enjoyed by the family and the strangers far from their homes, that I felt compensated for being away from my own little family on that day. At ten o'clock we were on the road again; but in driving down across the Sheyenne, we found some open water, and in getting upon the ice on the farther side, the horses broke the whifletrees leaving the wagon in the stream. An hour was lost in making repairs, and another hour brought us to the end of our journey. The afternoon was spent in making the acquaintance of the family and of an excellent dinner. At six o'clock the neighbors who had helped the family during the day, departed to their own home a mile or so away. At eight o'clock, the bride



Rev. I. O. Sloan

and groom, both faultlessly arrayed, presented themselves for the important ceremony, at which only the minister and the parents of the bride were witnesses. The various lines of history converging in that little pioneer home among the frozen Dakota hills gave interest and solemnity to the occasion; and the scene gathered sacredness when the parents and these, their two children, stood in a group apart, as if a little world unto themselves, while the father, holding a hand of each, spoke words of sacrifice, trust and encouragement. And thus ended a memorable Thanksgiving day, recording one of the real romances sometimes enacted, even in the isolated places of our rapidly growing frontier."¹

Rev. I. O. Sloan.

"In reply to your request for some account of my labors and experiences in the Home Mission work in Dakota, chiefly along the Missouri river, I may say that one scarcely knows where to begin after so many years engaged in the work. And to give a sketch that would afford any degree of interest, one would have to make it too long. I look upon brother Elmer as the pioneer minister of the Northwest. Well do I remember my first visit to Moorhead where he had settled, and the first time I set foot on Dakota soil. That was in May, 1872. I came in company with the Rev. D. C. Lyon, whose memory is cherished by all the early ministers of Minnesota and Dakota. Brother Elmer had the peculiar tact of winning the confidence of the people and gaining an influence over that rougher element always to be found gathered at the opening of a new town on the frontier. He held the first religious services in Moorhead, and Breckinridge, in Minnesota; and in Grand Forks, Fargo, and other points in Dakota. He made a journey of eighty miles to Grand Forks in the winter time in a rough jumper made by himself, and drawn by little black Jim, as noble a little animal as ever trod the prairie. I wonder where he is now? Jim has a warm place in my heart for he carried me, in company with brother Elmer, many a mile down the Red river and along the Red Lake river as far as the present site of Crookston, where we held the first religious service June 1, 1872. Brother Elmer has his own story to tell, but my memory contains a nest of little incidents connected with that trip which might be fraught with interest to those who might care to hear of those early days. The next year, 1873, I came to Bismarek, in company with Rev. D. C. Lyon, soon after

1. Rev. O. H. Elmer after leaving Moorhead, about 1884-5, was installed as pastor of the Presbyterian church at Crookston. Here he remained until about 1890, when he received a call to the Presbyterian church at Hamlin, Minneapolis. He died there some twelve years later, having been previously disabled by a stroke of paralysis.

the railroad reached that place. We came in on Friday just before dark. A long row of shanties and tents on the street facing the track, met our view. The most of these were saloons and resorts for gambling. We heard profanity on every hand, and there was little to be seen or heard that would encourage a minister to remain and labor there, where Pandemonium seemed to reign. Our sleeping quarters that first night were over a large railroad section-house room, having a dozen or more cots. Men were coming in at all hours of the night, and generally quiet. The next day we mingled with the people, and talked with them about a minister settling among them and the building of a church. All seemed pleased, and said they would help towards the erection of a church. The next day we preached in a large tent just erected on the front street, to be used as a saloon. It was filled with people. In the afternoon we rode over to Fort Lincoln and held services there. Gen Custer had not come to the Fort then, there was only the infantry post then on the hill. While the services were going on, the hostile Indians made an attack, but were soon driven off. We returned to Bismarek and preached in the evening to a full tent. At this meeting a vote was taken for a minister, and, quite unexpectedly to myself, they voted unanimously for me to settle among them. The next day, Monday, trustees were appointed and a church of four members organized. Lots, also, were procured, and arrangements made for a building. I returned with Rev. Lyon to my church in Minnesota. I did not think of going back to Bismarek, but in the following August I went out again, and then concluded to remain for awhile. I found the frame work of the church already up, but no roof on. Much was to be done, and, worst of all, no money to do it with. The failure of Jay Cooke and the Northern Pacific Railway Co. had left us in a bad way. Jay Cooke sent us \$100, but it came too late to be available. We needed \$500 immediately, and we were not far enough advanced with the building to get anything from the Church Erection Board. Not to weary you with a long story, let me tell you how that money was secured. I went down to St. Paul, hoping to borrow that amount there. But the financial crisis (1874) prevented any borrowing from bank or friends. I met one day a member of the Lackawana Presbytery, Pa., and as we talked together I told him my errand to St. Paul. He kindly said, 'I will let you have the money; make a note with some good signers, and you shall have it.' I had no difficulty in getting the note endorsed by some of the best merchants in St. Paul, got the money, and came back to Bismarek. I then paid the carpenters and hurried up the work, so that we had the house ready to occupy about the middle of December, and had our first Christmas in it. We also had a bazaar, realizing nearly \$400. As no trains ran as far as Bismarek for two

winters, we were exposed to hostile Indians, but we believe no one lost his scalp. There were many good people at that time in Bismarek, although it had the name of being a very rough town. But I never was afraid of what they call rough people. Some of the warmest and most kindly and unselfish hearts I found among those who were called rough men in Bismarek and towns beyond the Missouri in those early days. A man called to me one day out of his saloon, as I was walking along the street, in a town further west. He said, "Elder, come in; I want to show you something." I went in and he took down from a shelf a beautiful, large, illustrated Bible; it was up among some bottles. I looked it over carefully, and asked him if he ever read it. He said, "Oh, yes; I believe the Bible. I always went to Sunday school when I was a boy; and I know I'm in a bad business." "Well," I said, "you ought to get out of the business, and do what the good Book tells you to do. This is a beautiful copy of the Bible; but it is in very bad company, surrounded by those bottles up there!" He apologized by saying it was up there to keep the fellows from handling it.

I held the first religious services at Sims and Glendive. The road was not completed to Glendive at this time, and it was with great difficulty I reached there. I stopped and visited at Sentinel Butte, a collection of tents and shacks occupied as saloons and resorts of wickedness. I talked to the people, and all were respectful. One man gave me two dollars for my church, and said that it was all he had. I refused to take his last dollar, but he said, "Oh, take it; I wish it was ten times as much more, I'm a hard case; but I respect anybody who is trying to do us good."

As I journeyed on I found a man going to Glendive with a load of oats, who said he would take me there. It was near night-fall, and I climbed up on his load. It was quite dark when we got to Glendive creek, and as we attempted to cross it, we got into the quicksand, and then the horses sunk, sinking deeper and deeper. I got out and waded across thru deep water, after which I walked a mile and a half to a grader's camp, and there found help for the man. As we had many miles to go before reaching Glendive, I waded back thru the creek again, to find the camp of a man at whose marriage I had officiated a few weeks before. I found both him and his wife, and after getting something to eat, I hung myself up to dry. The next morning was the Sabbath, and starting out very early, I reached Glendive about eleven o'clock. I had a cordial welcome from the saloon men, and took dinner, like the Master, with a publican and sinner. Preached in the afternoon at a saloon, and had a good attendance, good singing, and a respectful attention. There was the usual "wind up," after the benediction, when one of the "boys" arose and passed around the hat, with the remark, "Come, boys, chip in and help pay the preacher."

Later I accompanied Dr. Roberts, the Secretary of the Home Mission Board, on his way west to the coast, as far as to Miles City, and then with a brother whom I had succeeded in securing for Miles City, went seven miles further out to preach at a mining camp. We found some Christian men there, and had a good meeting. But had to stay there all night, and a bed was made for me on the floor. We organized, about seven years ago, a church of 12 members at Stanton, 50 miles above Mandan, and also a good Sabbath school, both of which, by reason of removals and lack of sufficient care, have since died out. But I will close by saying that the church at Glencoe, some ten miles south of Bismarek, will be dedicated on the 15th. We have a beautiful church, well attended, and a good Sunday school."

Rev. John H. Baldwin.

"For many years it has been my privilege to be connected, for the most of my time, with the work of Home Missions in several of our western states; and in the winter of 1878-9, after correspondence with Rev. Mr. Stevens, pastor of the Fargo church, and by his strong solicitation, I came from Wisconsin to Dakota to engage in missionary work along the line of the Northern Pacific Railroad. I received at the same time from our Home Mission Board a commission as an exploring and organizing missionary between Fargo and Jamestown. There was no one preaching in the English language in this field at the time, except a Methodist student, who preached for a few months at Casselton. At that time all was wild, uncultivated prairie, with the exception of a few small villages, Mapleton, Casselton, Wheatland, Valley City, and Jamestown, and their immediate vicinity. Jamestown was at that time little but an old dilapidated shanty and whiskey town. It was the terminus of the railroad for a time, and a station from which Fort Totten received its supplies. A regiment of soldiers had also been stationed there, creating a special demand for whiskey. When the road was extended, and the soldiers were removed, there being very few farms yet opened in the neighborhood, most of the small business of the place also moved on. As yet there was no boom, and that beautiful natural site for a town was quiet and dull. I commenced holding services once every three weeks at Mapleton, Wheatland and Jamestown on the Sabbath, and on week-day evenings at Valley City. My first appointment was at Jamestown. The railroad company had kindly furnished me with a free pass, which was continued for two or three years subsequently. On my first visit to Jamestown I secured the use of a small, tar-paper-covered shanty, belonging to a young man who was teaching what they called a 'subscription school' (for they had no public school house) to hold my first

service in, on condition of furnishing my own fuel and lights. So I hired a boy to draw some wood on his sled to the shanty, and borrowed some lamps of my neighbors. On Sunday morning I had eight hearers, in the evening thirteen. On the following evening, while I was preaching in Valley City, a telegram was laid on my desk, requesting me to come back to Jamestown to conduct the funeral services of the only man who had as yet shown any interest in my work. I had left him that morning attending to business in his store. In the afternoon he felt unwell, lay down on his bed, and in a few moments expired. He was one of the most prominent men of the village. Most of the people turned out to his funeral, which afforded me a favorable introduction to them and secured for me a better attendance for my later services. We held our next service in the depot, and afterwards in a small room, vacant for the winter. In the spring we were obliged to occupy a small building, just sheeted up, with not even the cracks battened. Here we organized the first Sunday school, which has never been suspended, and afterwards it became the Sunday school of the first Presbyterian church of Jamestown. During the latter part of the summer, as we were holding our services in the unfinished building above mentioned, a circumstance occurred which many have not forgotten, and which is often referred to when I meet them. We had, on that particular Sabbath, rather an unusual number of strangers present, among them two bankers, the Lloyds, from Pennsylvania. Such visitors were becoming more common, men seeking investments and locations. These things had served to awaken a little ambition and village pride. On the occasion referred to, we had gathered for the evening service, having more than our usual attendance. The weather was hot and sultry, and we were obliged to open all the windows; which proved also an open and welcome invitation to our very familiar neighbors, an innumerable multitude of mosquitoes, from the near bush and low wet, bottom lands of the Jim river. We found their response so general that we were likely to be completely overwhelmed with their attentions, and before the preliminary portions of the service were half thru, I determined to shift the responsibility of holding my congregation for what seemed likely to be a fruitless attempt to listen to a sermon, which, even were it a success on my part, must in the nature of things be of no avail in the midst of this bloody onslaught. So I explained (what was already so apparent) and put the matter to a vote; but the congregation, some of them evidently bent on mischief, unanimously held me to my herculean task. Then to aggravate my affliction, I had no sooner announced my text than all the tallow candle lights which I had at my own expense placed in the wooden blocks I had nailed up around the walls, went out, with the single exception of one be-

hind the desk. And this, while insufficient to answer my purpose, was quite sufficient to turn the tide of mosquitoes and concentrate the whole force of the attack upon the preacher, as the numerous wounds upon his bald head all too plainly witnessed for many days thereafter. The effect of the mosquitoes and of the extinguishment of the lights was not, perhaps, anticipated; but everybody appeared to look upon it as a good joke, except myself. But there is no loss without some gain, and it was seen at once how much we were in need of a suitable house of worship. The next morning was seized upon as a good time to start a subscription paper, something like one hundred and twenty-five dollars being subscribed by our visitors. Some thought the attempt a little premature in view of our otherwise small beginning, nevertheless we kept the ball rolling, and tho it cost us a struggle, it was a final success.

In the latter part of my first year (1879) a list of fourteen names had been secured for a church organization at Jamestown, and about the same number, also, for organizations at the same time at Casselton and Wheatland; and the St. Paul Presbytery, with which we were then connected, had appointed old father Lyon, synodical missionary for Minnesota and the Dakotas, with Rev. Stevens, of Fargo, and myself, a committee to organize the new congregations. Father Lyon came two weeks before we had expected him, and I was obliged to hurry up to Jamestown the day before the organization, to notify and rally the people. In doing so I found it necessary to go out into the country some five miles. So I started out on foot just before sundown, the snow was about six inches deep. When it grew dark I lost my way and wandered around for at least ten miles, sitting down occasionally, and thinking I should be obliged to wait for daylight. Once I stepped through the thin ice on Pipestone creek, but scrambled out so quick I did not get much wet, tho from that time on my trouser legs clattered against my boots like pieces of stovepipe. I started once more, as I thot, for a last effort, and had not proceeded far before I saw a light in some lone settler's shack in the distance. The next day, Saturday, we organized a little church. From such small beginnings has already grown to its present proportions the Presbyterian church of Jamestown. On the next morning, which was the Sabbath, we organized a church at Wheatland, where I had been laboring one Sabbath in three during the same time. There we found a Scotch and Scotch-Irish element from Canada. They had not all gotten so far along in the temperance reform as total abstinence. The subject was laid before the committee, who, after a brief consultation, decided not to invite any to come forward who had not settled that question in favor of total abstinence, altho otherwise exemplary people. And while this kept some out, it saved the

church from controversy and discipline, and gave it a moral character and influence it would not have had otherwise. In the evening of the same day, December 7, 1879, the committee organized the church at Casselton. When I came upon this field, Rev. Stevens informed me of the fact that a young Methodist student was preaching there, and that there might be no call for me to occupy that place. But I could find no room on the whole field where I could set up my library, save in a small story-and-a-half temperance hotel in Casselton, I had not yet brot my family into the field. Soon after establishing my headquarters at Casselton, the Methodist brother being indisposed, invited me to fill his appointment on Sabbath evening; which I consented to do, telling the congregation that I was only filling the brother's place for the time, and that having so many other appointments, I did not intend taking Casselton into my field. The next morning, however, a lady called at my boarding house for milk, I was introduced to her; and she at once inquired if I was not going to organize a church in Casselton. I replied that I had not yet learned how to organize something out of nothing. She then told me that she was a Presbyterian, and that she knew of others there who were also, and that her husband, tho formerly an Episcopalian, had told her he would go with her into a Presbyterian church, if one should be organized there. A few hours after, her husband, a druggist, placed a note in my hand, which I found to be a request, signed by all the business men of the place, that I would make a regular appointment there. I consented to do so; and thus introduced, I began at once, preaching at Mapleton in the morning and walking eight miles to Casselton and preaching there in the afternoon. On the following Sabbath I would preach at Wheatland in the morning, and walk seven miles to Casselton for an afternoon service there again. Then every third Sabbath I preached at Jamestown, following it with a service on Monday evening at Valley City. We also organized Sunday schools at once in all these places. When services were required all the time at Casselton and Mapleton, Prof. E. J. Thompson was secured to take charge of them, and Rev. Fanning was also secured for Jamestown. Then I commenced work at Tower City and New Buffalo. At both these places churches and Sunday schools were organized, and at Tower City was completed an ample and tasty church under my ministry. Later, under the ministry of Rev. G. S. Baskerville, who succeeded me on that field, a fine house of worship was built at Buffalo.

After stated supplies and pastors were secured for our churches along the Northern Pacific, I turned my attention to the fields along the branches of the Great Northern railroad. There I broke ground and secured the organization of churches at Ayr, Page City, Colgate, Broadlawn, Galesburg and Erie, and finally

at Goose lake, 1882-3, where I am now laboring one half my time. Since coming to this field I have travelled something over 50,000 miles, most of it on wheels and runners, and have not failed in a score of appointments during the twelve years by reason of inclement weather. I have on several occasions travelled from twenty-five to thirty miles to find not a solitary hearer, owing to the severity of the weather, at the usual place of meeting. Once I lost my way in a severe snow storm, and wandered around until near dark, when in the providence of God, I fetched up at a house, where I found the door unlocked and a base burner all aglow, tho there were no inmates. Here I found the most comfortable quarters for myself and horse, and left in the morning before the family arrived, they having started for home the previous day, but were obliged to stop on their way and remain over night on account of the storm. It was Sunday morning, and on my way to meet my appointment some five or six miles away, I met an old member of my congregation on a mission to see how it had fared with a neighbor in the storm, and not at first recognizing me, all bundled up as I was, in the storm, he came near, and pulling up my cap front and recognizing me, he broke out with the exclamation, 'Good old Abraham! Why! Where are you going?' I replied, 'To meet my appointment. Are you not going to the meeting?' 'Why, no!' he replied, 'no one will go.' And I found his prediction true."

Rev. J. F. Berry.

"At the close of two years' pastorate at Edwardsville, in the Presbytery of Alton, Ill., I happened, in the spring of 1881, to fall upon a magazine article descriptive of the Red River Valley. Such interest did this awaken that a correspondence was soon opened with Rev. D. C. Lyon, of St. Paul, whose supervision then extended over the almost limitless Presbytery of Red River. So urgent were his letters to me to come at once, as there was plenty of work and the Board had need of men, that in the month of May of the above year, I set out for St. Paul and the far north, with only about \$100 in cash to my name.

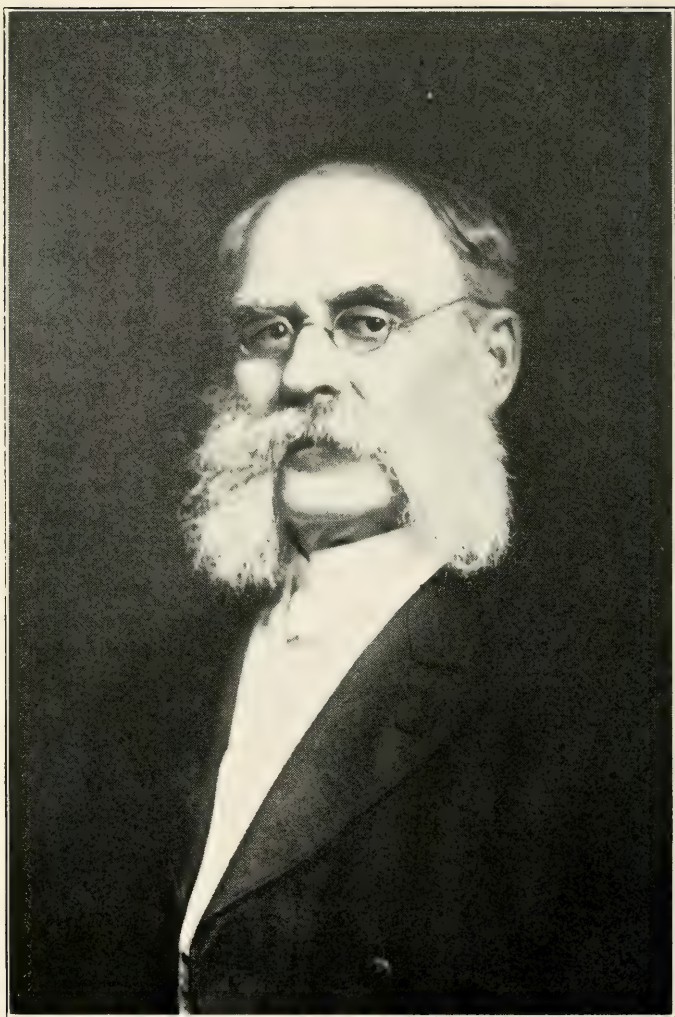
On arriving at St. Paul I learned that my correspondent was out somewhere in his immense diocese and would not return for three days. So there was perforce another delay, which one was not, however, altogether unpleasant, as it permitted me to look over a city that was considerably fresher than it is now; and also to make the acquaintance of the worthy pastor of the House of Hope church, whose kindly encouragement I have not forgotten. Tho reminded by Mrs. Lyon that there was plenty of work in Minnesota, I still determined to see that wonderful valley west of the Red River. And at length the veteran superintendent came

in with his robust enthusiasm to tell me of Pembina and Hillsboro, and to provide for my further transportation to Grand Forks. After another halt at a small town called Crookston, where I left the main line of the St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Manitoba road, I took the 'dinky' for Grand Forks, and soon beheld that combination, for the most part, of pine boards and tar paper. Having been directed to the committee man, Rev. F. W. Iddings, I found in him another sample of northwestern fervency, in fact an imagination that was actually 'red hot.' It is certain, too, that it was in fine contrast with the mud and water which appeared to be omnipresent.. Three days were spent in Grand Forks while Bro. Iddings and I considered the problem of my ability to get farther. To find the driest route I finally went out to the terminus of the railroad, some twelve miles west of the town, then by following the trail which was never without a home-seeker in sight, and by plunging blindly thro several 'coulees,' I at length gained higher ground on which I followed the surveyors' stakes for twenty miles directly north, and thus reached the nucleus of the later village known as Forest River. This settlement, with that about Minto, nine miles east, and that about Inkster eleven miles to the west, constituted my first field in Dakota, altho before the end of the year there was added to it Ardoch, because of the extension in the fall of the railroad northward from Grand Forks to Grafton. Being unfamiliar with the procedure of Home Missions, I failed to receive any salary until cold weather, and thus compelled to run a store bill for necessities, which mortified me not a little, as I had always been accustomed to pay my way. Another trouble was the matter of residence. On the promise of a young man that I could have the use of his house, I sent for my wife and child, and discovered when too late that while the house was comparatively commodious, the walls were unchinked and the trifling matter of a roof had not yet materialized, another instance of the too fervid imagination! The upshot was that several contributions of logs were delivered to the little saw mill near by, and that I received boards of varying thickness and heavy with sap, out of which, with a day's help from a carpenter, elder Morrison and myself constructed a dwelling, the first of four architectural projects of my own brain and hands, as I moved from place to place in that region during the succeeding eight years. All this, however, not only took time which a missionary might have spent more appropriately, but also failed to be any distinct help to one's preaching ability. By the end of the year I was ready to move. But I had 'caught on' to the western gait and had become naturalized in a peculiar sense. I had been told to go out and make my own field. So out I went, not only beyond any other man's foundation work, but also beyond the farthest line of the surveyor. Henceforth the

wilderness, as with Moses, was to be my home. The very first day out I had a genuine taste of it, for in a journey of some forty miles to the northwest, I had to unload and reload my wagon five times on account of the wheels cutting thro the sod. But at length I was on the virgin prairie beyond every semblance of human habitation. What matter, the congregation would soon follow, and is it not well for the minister to be an example of promptness? Follow it did; for in three months' time I had an invitation to hold a regular service only a few miles in the rear, while soon afterwards every Sunday was being spent with my three appointments in the western part of Walsh county, the first one near to where the town of Edinburg now is, the second at the then promising, but long since deserted village of Garfield nine miles west of Park River, and the third near the present town of Adams. This work was carried on in connection with some farming operations and without any expense to the Board of Home Missions. The next fall, however, I was authorized by the Presbytery to explore the country farther, the result being that the work was extended into what is now Cavalier county, in the neighborhoods of Elgin P. O., now Milton, and Alma P. O. At this place a church of seventeen members was organized in the following spring, while another resulted from my work at Osna-broek in the summer of 1885, and the Milton church, on the rise of that town with the advent of the railroad in 1887. Still other appointments were at Rosa Lake and at Easby P. O., where regular services were held in connection with the work of Rev. Ransom Waite of blessed memory, the only co-laborer I had in all that region for a long time. Besides this principal mission of my life, I supplied the following churches in Pembina Presbytery; Ardoch for six months, Sutton Memorial (Hamilton) and Ramsey's Grove for ten months, and Gilby and Johnstown for two years."

Rev. A. K. Caswell.

"I wish I could tell you something that would be interesting and helpful. I often recall the time of my leaving the Seminary with my wife and three babies, and going to that far and unknown land of winter frost and snow, 1,500 miles from our former home. It was in the spring of 1882, and we were laid up on the way out by the prevailing floods of that notable year of high water. And after doing our utmost to reach Pembina for the meeting of the Presbytery, we were four days too late. We were rowed across the Red River in a small boat; and from that we stepped into the door of the house in which dwelt 'bishop' Creswell and his family. I was immediately assigned by that dignitary to the outlying field of Earnest and Hyde Park, where two small churches had



Rev. Daniel Williams

been organized the winter before. Having purchased a horse, which wore out in two months and was traded off for a cow, I rode out to Earnest, the town being composed of a very small store and a school house about a mile away, with a few small farm houses scattered over the prairie in the distance. It was some time before we could find a place in which to live, and then it was in a granary of one room, which did not need dusting, for it was lined and loaded with dust and cobwebs. It took six weeks to arrange matters and get my family in. This house we occupied from May until harvest time, when we had to give way for the grain, it being more important just then than ministers or bairns. But we found another granary where the man had no crop to put into it that year, this being a two-room mansion. Unfortunately for us the man who built this granary did not know much about building, or did not know how cold the weather got to be in that country, for he built it double boarded, but crossed the boards so that we could look out at a hundred peep holes, while the frost could come in without peeping. Here my poor wife and babies spent our first winter, tho I could hardly be said to have done so, as so much of my time had to be spent on the road or among the people scattered so widely over the prairie. In each of these houses my wife had little occasion to quarrel with her neighbors, the nearest being a mile away, but neither was it much comfort for a lonely woman, during some of those wild Dakota blizzards, to know that the nearest human being was so far away, tho well aware that a band of roving Indian half-breeds might pass that way at any time. The next spring the town of Neche was started, and we built a one-room mansion in that new railroad terminus, and moved into the city, after being thirty miles from any such avenue of egress to the outside world. The next fall we raised the roof of our little shack and added another room. This building the Ladies' Aid generously took off our hands when we returned to the east. During our stay on the field, we maintained preaching stations at Walhalla, Tyner, Neche, Gretna (in Manitoba), and Bay Center, and built churches at Hyde Park and Neche. The membership more than trebled; and yet neither the people nor myself were satisfied."

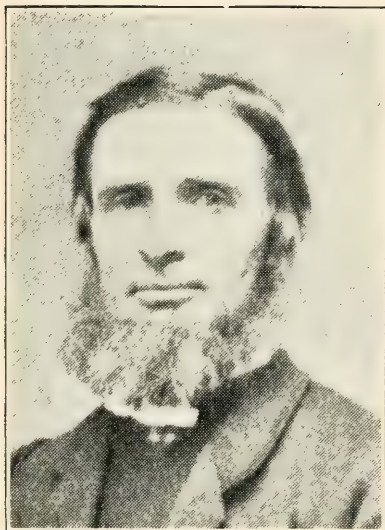
Rev Daniel Williams.

"It was in mid-summer, 1881, when I went to the new northwest. The leading minister, taking age and experience into account, was Rev. C. B. Stevens. He preached his first sermon in Fargo, December 11, 1877. The church was organized December 30th; and the church building was dedicated about the latter part of the next October. 'Mr. Stevens,' it was stated at his funeral, 'saw the number of our churches within the bounds of

the old Red River presbytery, including at first all of northern Dakota, increase from one to twenty-six.' He was a loyal Presbyterian, and the development of our churches in this region was ever near his heart. He was ably assisted, however, by his predecessor and colleague, Rev. O. H. Elmer, of Moorhead, and at this time, also, by the presbyterial missionary, Rev. John Irwin. There were also other brave men in 1881, holding important points, Prof. E. J. Thompson was at Casselton, Rev. F. W. Iddings was at Grand Forks, Rev. R. J. Creswell had recently gone to Pembina; Rev. Fanning was at Jamestown, Father Baldwin at Tower City, Cobleigh at Grafton, and Rev. Schell at Euclid, Minnesota.

I arrived at Fargo, June 21, 1881, the longest of the summer days, and the summer days are remarkably long in that northern latitude. The committee, after consultation, requested me to go to Grand Rapids, about forty-five miles down the James river from Jamestown. Getting off the train at Jamestown, I found that a stage would soon start for Grand Rapids, and found also, to my dismay, that a Mr. Wirt, a Congregational minister, from Chicago, had started that afternoon for the same place. This was my first taste of denominational rivalry, and I did not like it. The following Sabbath, June 26, at Grand Rapids, Mr. Wirt preached in the morning, and I in the evening. When the question finally came up between Presbyterianism and Congregationalism, it was found that there was only one man leaning toward the latter, and his leaning was hardly perceptible, while there were several with a decided preference for the Presbyterian church. The leader of these was J. R. Crum, who had been an elder for twenty years or more in Ohio. He was quite faithful, and did more than any one else for our church in that county.

Here then I was, dropped down from an eastern Seminary into this lonely spot in the Jim river valley, forty miles from Jamestown and eighty miles from Aberdeen. It has occurred to me since I began to write, that I was then the only minister of our denomination within the present bounds of the synod, south of the Northern Pacific railroad. My friend and college classmate, E. R. Prichard, now of Puyallup, Washington, preached during the same summer at some point in the vicinity of Casselton, and that dear old missionary, I. O. Sloan, was no doubt preaching the gospel in the vicinity of Bismarck and beyond. Father Baldwin, also, still made occasional trips into the south country, but with these few possible exceptions, I suppose I was the only minister of our order that year in all that region of country. Our meetings started out hopefully at Grand Rapids, but the room which we were using at the hotel was divided up later into bedrooms, so we had no suitable place for our meetings until the court house was built early in December. The county was



Rev. and Mrs. John Scott

organized that summer, and named LaMoure, in honor of the well-known politician of Pembina. In my diary I find this entry: 'Yesterday, October 27, 1881, was an important day for Grand Rapids. The county commissioners met and elected officers. They decided to build a bridge across the river, and erect a court house 16x24 feet.' This court house was used by us for our services from that time until the following spring, and in that room, April 16, 1882, a church was organized. It was composed of six members, with two elders, J. R. Crum and F. M. Kinter. From there I made two trips to Lisbon in Ransom county. Rev. LaCell, the Methodist minister, and myself after some correspondence, had arranged to exchange pulpits, tho neither of us had a pulpit, or even a church to exchange. The diary reads, 'Saturday, August 27, I went to Lisbon, four miles north and thirty-two miles east of here, and preached on Sunday, A. M., and also in the evening.' I went over again for Sunday, October 30, and preached morning and evening, this time not in the school house as previously, but in the hall. Rev. LaCell failed to get to Grand Rapids both times. If I remember aright he was not at this time entirely free from worldly cares and avocations, and these probably interfered with his part of the agreement. The only worldly care I had was the pony on which I rode. 'I started,' says the diary, at 7 A. M. and stopped at Bear creek to eat my lunch and let the 'pony graze around me.' I found Lisbon an easy place to preach in, and had crowds both Sundays. The church of Grand Rapids has since disappeared from the roll, and I presume it has been merged into the church of LaMoure. I see by the last minutes that the two churches of Lisbon and LaMoure are now rivals, each having the same number of members, seventy-one. They are also the strongest churches in the Presbytery, with three exceptions: Casselton, seventy-two; Jamestown, eighty-three; and Fargo, one hundred forty-three. These were all well cared for in early days. My successor at Grand Rapids was Rev. F. M. Wood, for many years the Synodical missionary, and the faithful pastor of Lisbon for a number of years was Rev. Edgar W. Day."

Recollections of Rev. John Scott of Walhalla by Rev D. Williams.

"A week or so ago I saw in the North and West a notice of the death of Rev. John Scott of Walhalla. His mental powers, it appears, had for some time been impaired, so he ended his days at the hospital at Jamestown. Twenty years ago, Father Scott, as he was called even then, was one of the most interesting ministerial characters in North Dakota, just as 'brother Sloan' of Bismarek was, in the Territorial days of Dakota, in the '70s. I knew him quite intimately during the four years I spent at Bath-

gate from 1882-1886; and when I read of his death a flood of reminiscences came to my mind. North Dakota began to open up in earnest about 1880. I arrived at Fargo in June, 1881; and after a year of labor and new experiences at Grand Rapids and vicinity, I was ordained and transferred, at my own expense and conveyance, to Bathgate on the northern border of the territory, some fifteen miles to the southwest of Pembina. I arrived there a few days in advance of the railroad, early in July, 1882. At that time Rev. R. J. Creswell was pastor at Pembina; and Rev. A. K. Caswell was doing strenuous work about 20 or 30 miles west of that point along the Pembina river. A church had been organized out there, and called the Boundary Church, as it was so near the boundary line between the United States and Canada. The region then covered by the Boundary Church now includes the churches of Walhalla, Bay Center, Hyde Park, Neche, Tyner, and possibly others. Two or three miles down the Red River from Pembina, not far from Emerson on the Manitoba side, was the sheltered farm home of Father Scott. Altho an indefatigable missionary, he was an expert gardener and botanist, and delighted to employ his early morning hours in delving in the soil and tending his numerous beds of flowers as well as other more useful plants. He had been in this region since 1875, and was the pioneer missionary in that part of the country, at least so far as the Protestant missions, subsequent to the days of the Walhalla martyrdoms, are concerned. I believe he did some work among the Indians in the vicinity of Emerson and Pembina, or at least attempted to do something of the sort, for he told us once at a meeting of the Presbytery how he purchased a box of crackers for the Indian children to encourage them to come to his Sunday school. He said they came faithfully as long as the crackers lasted, but when the box of crackers failed, their enthusiasm for the Sunday school soon failed likewise. When a young man he had a great desire to go to Africa as a foreign missionary, and went over to England to offer himself as a candidate for one of their fields. He told me that he was examined by John Brown, M. D., author of 'Rab and his Friends,' and that the medical examiner decided that he was not strong enough physically to endure the African climate.

He was well known all over the country; and was so genial, so kindly, and so full of sunshine, that he was warmly welcomed in every home. The children would soon be gathered around him, and he would always entertain them in a most edifying manner. He was perfectly familiar also with the language of plants; and was always ready with the full botanical name and properties of any plant that met his eyes. Indeed his knowledge was encyclopedic, in the estimation of most of his parishioners and also of

many of his fellow presbyters. About 1884 he removed from his farm at Emerson to Walhalla, and took charge of the congregations at Walhalla, Bay Center and Hyde Park. Not long after this he took up a rather strange idea: He wanted the church or churches, to purchase a forty acre tract of land on the sloping hillside back of Walhalla, for church, a parsonage and a cemetery. The site was beautiful, but what possibly suggested the appropriateness of such a scheme to his mind was the fact that Presbyterian and Baptist missionaries who had been sent to the Indians and half-breeds of that region in the early times had been killed and were buried in that vicinity. The cemetery scheme, we understand, developed afterwards in his mind into a great international hospital, and numerous other accessories, which he believed would minister greatly to the needs of suffering humanity all thro the United States and Canada. This vast project took such hold upon his kindly and enthusiastic temper that his mind was finally overpowered by it, and thus his closing days came to be spent in the state hospital at Jamestown. Father Scott, like Zaccheus, was small of stature; at the same time, when I knew him, his shoulders were stooped and his hair was white, giving him quite a venerable appearance. He had a lively, bright disposition, a pleasant countenance, and a very kindly expression."

No. 2.

STATISTICAL REPORT

April, 1880.

Presbytery of Red River (all northern Minnesota and Dakota)

Ministers, Licentiates and Candidates	Churches	Number of Com- municants	Membership in Sunday School
James H. Baldwin.....	Jamestown	14	30
	Wheatland	20	25
E. J. Thompson.....	Casselon	10	
Cicero B. Stevens.....	Fargo	34	100
Oliver W. Winchester..	Fergus Falls, Minn.....	32	75
	Western	21	60
Joseph K. Burgster.....	Elm River	24	50
	Elm Grove	7	
Oscar H. Elmer.....	Moorhead, Minn., ...	32	65
Francis W. Iddings.....	Grand Forks	34	50
William Coit Stevens...	Bismarck	42	85
	Pembina	10	40
Licentiate	Forest River	20	
William Cobleigh	Turtle River	21	
		321	580

April, 1881

Presbytery of Red River.

Charles A. Evans.....	Fisher's, Minn.....	35	
Isaac Oliver Sloan.....	Mandan		
James H. Baldwin.....	Tower City	25	40
	New Buffalo	13	40
	Wheatland	20	35
Cicero B. Stevens.....	Fargo	51	100
Edwin J. Thompson.....	Casselon	30	55
	Mapleton	22	46
Robert N. Adams.....	Fergus Falls, Minn.....	41	100
	Western	20	36
Joseph K. Burgster.....	Quincy	28	30
	Elm Grove.....	11	
Newville D. Fanning...	Jamestown	28	100
Oscar H. Elmer.....	Moorhead, Minn.....	34	60
Francis W. Iddings.....	Grand Forks.....	49	45
James P. Schell.....	Euclid, Minn.	11	
William C. Stevens.....	Bismarck	46	90
Daniel Williams	Grand Rapids		

STATISTICAL REPORT (continued).

Ministers, Licentiates and Candidates	Churches	Number of Com- municants	Membership in Sunday School
Licentiates			
William Cobleigh	Turtle River	23	20
	Greenwood	7	20
Evan R. Prichard	Barrie	18	50
John Irwin	Moorhead, Minn.		
	Pembina	24	80
	Meckinock	8	26
	Forest River	20	
		564	973

April, 1882.

Presbytery of Red River (northern Minnesota and Dakota)

I. O. Sloan.....	Mandan	10	30
James H. Baldwin.....	Tower City	51	50
	New Buffalo	14	40
John A. Brown.....	Meckinock	16	50
H. A. Newell.....	Fargo	86	104
R. J. Creswell.....	Pembina	31	113
	St. Vincent, Minn.....	27	
O. H. Elmer	Moorhead, Minn.	54	70
R. N. Adams.....	Fergus Falls, Minn....	76	100
	Western	30	30
N. D. Fanning.....	Jamestown	59	121
A. H. Holloway.....	Sabin, Minn.		
A. Glendenning	Grandin		
	Quincy	18	60
	Elm Grove	7	
F. W. Iddings.....	Grand Forks		
E. J. Thompson	Casseltown	61	85
	Mapleton	31	55
J. P. Schell.....	Euclid, Minn.	11	30
	Angus	9	40
J. H. Berry.....	Garfield		
J. W. Catheart.....	Fisher's, Minn.	40	75
J. K. Burgster.....			
H. H. Brownlee.....	Grand Forks	62	75
H. C. Baskerville.....	Crookston, Minn.	15	
D. G. McKay.....	Kensington	27	
W. C. Stevens.....	Oberlin, Ohio		
	Bismarck	50	80
D. Williams	Bathgate	61	
W. E. D'Argent.....	Hillsboro		

STATISTICAL REPORT (continued).

Ministers, Licentiates and Candidates	Churches	Number of Com- municants	Membership in Sunday School
J. H. Pollock.....	Sheldon		
John Irwin	Moorhead, Minn.		
Wm. Cobleigh	Grafton	11	40
E. W. Day	Lisbon	23	
J. H. Cherryholmes.....	Larimore	15	
A. K. Caswell.....	Earnest	35	40
Evan R. Prichard.....	Portland		
	Forest River	37	
	Warren	10	
	Northcott	13	
	Hallock	10	
	Wheatland	29	46
	Barrie	18	50
	Grand Rapids	15	30
	Greenwood	7	20
	Steele	10	
	Keystone	14	
		1093	1434

Oct. 15, 1883.

(1) Red River Presbytery

I. O. Sloan.....	Mandan	24	
J. H. Baldwin.....	Page City	24	
	Elgin	14	
H. A. Newell.....	Fargo	130	130
O. H. Elmer.....	Moorhead, Minn.	56	70
N. D. Fanning.....	Jamestown	121	246
R. N. Adams.....	Fergus Falls, Minn.	101	100
E. J. Thompson.....	Casseltown	116	125
	Mapleton	37	65
J. K. Burgster	Saratoga		
W. C. Stevens.....	Winona, Minn.		
J. H. Pollock.....	(In transitu)		
John Irwin	Moorhead, Minn.		
E. W. Day	Lisbon	24	70
	Sheldon	24	45
E. R. Prichard.....	Hunter	17	60
J. E. Vance.....	Kibby		55
L. E. Hanna.....	Livingston, Mont.		
G. Sumner Baskerville.....	Tower City	35	65
	New Buffalo	16	

STATISTICAL REPORT (continued).

Ministers, Licentiates and Candidates	Churches	Number of Com- municants	Membership in Sunday School
F. M. Wood.....	LaMoure	6	15
	Grand Rapids	15	40
A. H. Holloway.....	Sabin, Minn.	8	30
	Scotland	20	25
C. W. Remington.....	Sims		50
	Sterling	13	40
Licentiate 1.	Keystone	21	50
	Western, Minn.		40
	Bismarck	65	120
Thomas C. Gay.....	Wheatland	34	
	Barrie	16	
	Steele	20	45
	Belfield	8	30
	Menoken	9	40
		974	1566

October 15, 1883.

(2) Pembina Presbytery.

R. J. Creswell.....	Pembina	57	106
	St. Vincent, Minn.	25	50
	Lincoln	13	
Daniel Williams	Bathgate	10	
	Sutton Memorial	30	
William Cobleigh	Grafton	24	75
A. K. Caswell	Boundary	48	60
	Park	18	30
	Neché	21	35
Ransom Waite	Beaulieu	36	30
A. Burr	Kensington	30	35
A. G. Forbes.....	Ardoch	16	35
	Knox	28	45
	Forest River	24	40
	Greenwood	7	
Wm. Travis	Prin. Pembina		
H. M. Dyckman.....	Warren, Minn.	23	36
J. P. Schell	Argyle, Minn.	8	35
	Hallock, Minn.	9	35
	Northcote, Minn.	13	40
	Davis, Minn.	20	40
	Tamarac, Minn.	13	25
	Angus, Minn.	15	40

STATISTICAL REPORT (continued).

Ministers, Licentiates and Candidates	Churches	Number of Com- municants	Membership in Sunday School
J. F. Berry.....	Garfield		50
W. A. Smith.....	Pembina		50
Donald G. McKay.....	Kensington		
		488	892

(3) Grand Forks Presbytery (Afterwards merged with

Pembina 1/&c.)

John A. Brown.....	Meckinock	36	23
Robert L. Adams.....	Crookston	18	35
J. W. Cathcart.....	Fisher		
James P. Schell	Euclid	11	35
N. W. Cary.....	Grand Forks	6	50
E. P. Forsman.....	Hillsboro	8	
	Norton	13	
	Elm Grove	7	
A. Glendenning	Elm River	30	65
	Grandin	10	
F. W. Iddings.....	Grand Forks		
R. H. Fulton.....	Knox	44	50
H. H. Brownlee.....	Westminister		
	Devils Lake	22	
W. C. Beebe	Red Lake Falls	9	
	Red Lake River	5	
J. C. Cherryholmes	Larimore	21	33
	Hunter	17	60
	Niagara	13	
W. E. D'Argent.....			
		270	351

Oct. 13, 1884.

(1) Red River Presbytery (In Minnesota.)

A. H. Holloway.....	Sabin	7	
	Scotland	20	30
Robert H. Fulton.....	Fisher's Landing	35	50
Robert L. Adams.....	Crookston	22	57
O. H. Elmer.....	Moorhead, Minn.	63	70
Robt. N. Adams.....	Fergus Falls	98	142
George Johnson	Western	22	50
J. P. Schell.....	Angus	16	40
	Tamarac	19	40

STATISTICAL REPORT (continued).

Ministers, Licentiates and Candidates	Churches	Number of Com- municants	Membership in Sunday School
H. M. Dyckman.....	Warren	30	45
Wm. C. Beebe (in tr.)..	Euclid	11	35
	Hope	9	35
	Hallock	14	40
	Northcote	13	
	Davis	30	49
		398	683

(2) Pembina Presbytery (In Dakota Territory)

John Scott	Walhalla		
John A. Brown.....	Arvilla	8	
H. H. Brownlee (in tr.)	Meckinock	17	51
Adam G. Forbes	Minto, Knox	15	
W.E.D'Argent (in tr.)	Ardoch	11	
A. K. Caswell (in tr.)	Greenwood	6	
	Forest River	10	13
Ransom Waite	Beaulieu	37	37
Alex. Burr	Kensington	35	
J. W. Cathcart.....	Pembina	34	75
N. W. Cary.....	Grand Forks	77	100
E. P. Forsman	Hillsboro	9	36
	Elm Grove	7	
	Elm River	37	50
Chas. S. Converse.....	Devils Lake	19	30
F. W. Iddings.....	Grand Forks, Niagara...	11	
J. F. Berry.....	Alma	17	
Wm. Cobleigh	Grafton	40	90
Wm. A. Smith.....	Hannaford, Norton	13	
Daniel Williams	Bathgate	20	40
	Hamilton	19	30
D. G. McKay.....	Kensington, Lincoln	13	
W. M. Blackburn.....	Grand Forks, Park	21	25
Wm. Mullins	Neché	26	37
Dugald McGregor	Lock, Boundary	48	35
	Larimore	30	104
		580	753

Oct. 13, 1884.

(3) North Pacific Presbytery (In Dakota Territory)

Isaac O. Sloan.....	Mandan	45	55
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STATISTICAL REPORT (continued).

Ministers, Licentiates and Candidates	Churches	Number of Com- municants	Membership in Sunday School
Jas. H. Baldwin.....	Page City	28	
	Ayr	8	30
C. W. McCarthy.....	Quincy	30	65
R. S. Feagles.....	Menoken		
	Stirling		
F. M. Wood.....	Fargo		
N. D. Fanning.....	Jamestown	131	300
C. W. Remington.....	Sheldon	25	35
Jas. W. Dickey.....	Keystone	16	
Jas. E. Vance.....	Kibby		
John C. McKee.....	Sims	11	
Chas. B. Austin.....	Bismarck	70	60
Edgar W. Day.....	Lisbon	14	55
G. S. Baskerville.....	Tower City	51	70
	Buffalo	12	40
D. E. Bierce.....	Fargo	130	150
	Casselton	130	85
	Wheatland	27	30
	Mapleton	36	
	Grand Rapids	22	50
	LaMoure	10	30
Howard Wallace	Steele	15	59
	Belfield	9	
	Milnor	8	
		828	1114

April, 1885.

Presbytery of Red River (In Minnesota)

Alpheus H. Holloway.....	Sabin	10	20
	Scotland	20	30
William Travis	Fisher's L'd'g (Knox) ..	42	127
Oscar H. Elmer.....	Moorhead, Minn.	52	75
Robert N. Adams.....	Fergus Falls	115	50
George Johnson	Western	34	10
James P. Schell	Euclid	3	45
	Angus	20	30
A. H. Carver	Warren	44	53
	Tamarac	21	40
	Davis	25	39
J. C. DeBruyn Kops.....	Red Lake Falls	9	50
	St. Hilaire (R. L'ke Fls) ..	4	25

STATISTICAL REPORT (continued).

Ministers, Licentiates and Candidates	Churches	Number of Com- municants	Membership in Sunday School
	Hallock	14	40
	Northcote	10	
	Hope (St. Vincent)	9	
Licentiates	Crookston	17	75
J. Henry Long.....	Hallock		
J. R. Crum.....	Donaldson		
		449	709

April, 1885.

Presbytery of Pembina (In Dakota)

Ministers, Licentiates and Candidates	Addresses	Churches	Number of Com- municants	Membership in Sunday School
John Scott	Walhalla	Walhalla	13	
		Hyde Park	76	80
Wm. M. Blackburn.....	E. Pierre			
Adam G. Forbes.....	Minto			
Ransom Waite	Beaulieu	Beaulieu	47	50
John A. Brown.....	Arvilla	Arvilla	11	50
		Elkwood	27	
		Mona	20	30
Alex Burr	Park River..	Park River	36	31
John W. Cathcart.....				
Norman W. Cary.....	Fargo			
Charles S. Converse.....	Devils Lake..	Westminister ...	22	50
Francis W. Iddings.....	Gd. Forks			
Dugald McGregor.....	Inkster	Inkster	25	
	Belleville ..	Elkmont	26	
Hervey H. Brownlee....				
Donald G. McKay.....	Park River..			
James F. Berry.....	Alma	Alma	24	16
		Osnabrock	10	13
William Mullins	Necche	Necche	12	50
	Tyner	Bethel	31	45
William Cobleigh	Grafton	Grafton	45	117
Daniel Williams	Hamilton	Hamilton	19	30
		Bathgate	42	45
	Gd. Forks ...	Grand Forks ...	90	141
	Larimore	Larimore	32	100
	Arvilla	Meckinock	23	62
	Pembina	Pembina	34	

STATISTICAL REPORT (continued).

April, 1885.

Ministers, Licentiates and Candidates	Addresses	Churches	Number of Com- municants	Membership in Sunday School
	Bowesmont	Lincoln	13	
	Minto	Knox	17	15
	Ardoch	Ardoch	9	10
	Turtle River	Greenwood	8	20
	Forest River	Forest River	12	12
	Niagara	Niagara	11	
	Thompson	Norton	13	
	Minnew'kon	Minnewaukon	8	
	Bottineau	Bottineau	14	
	Dunseith	Dunseith	7	
			777	967

Presbytery of Northern Pacific (In Dakota)

James W. Dickey	Keystone	Keystone	25	30
J. H. Baldwin	Tower City	Page City	20	30
		Ayr	16	35
C. W. McCarthy	Quincy	Elm River	44	55
Francis M. Wood	Fargo			
Daniel E. Bierce	Fargo	Fargo	86	125
James E. Vance	Kibby	(Luca)		
C. W. Remington	Milnor	Milnor	9	50
E. P. Forsman	Hillsboro	Hillsboro	8	46
		Kelso	8	
N. B. Fanning	Jamestown	Jamestown	148	247
Edgar W. Day	Lisbon	Lisbon	36	60
G. S. Baskerville	Tower City	Tower City	51	75
H. M. Dyckman	Casselton	Casselton	58	62
		Buffalo	21	45
		LaMoure	13	40
		Wheatland	50	
		Sheldon	30	40
		Grand Rapids	18	50
		Mapleton	20	30
		Hunter	16	40
		Barrie		
			677	1062

THE LOCATION AND SURVEY OF THE NORTHERN INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY LINE

Ethel J. May.

For convenience of discussion, the northern international boundary line reaching from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, has been divided into three sections. The first, although the longest and most complicated because of the many waterways and islands involved in its location and survey, will be given merely in outline, with suggestions, only, of the many controversies that entered into its settlement. It extends from the Saint Croix river through the forests of northern New England and New York, through the Great Lakes and the smaller lakes and streams in northern Minnesota to the northwesternmost point of the Lake of the Woods.

The second division, the account of which forms the main part of this paper, begins at the above mentioned northwest point of the Lake of the Woods and extends westward to the summit of the Rocky Mountains.

The third and last part of the boundary line follows the 49th parallel of north latitude from the summit of the mountains westward to Fuca's Straits and down its channel to the Pacific Ocean.

I.

In the early colonial days of America, all boundaries were very indefinite. Perhaps the earliest line which later developed into an international boundary was the rather obscure one separating the territory of the English from that of the French and described as a line surrounding the "bay and streights of Hudson, together with all lands, seas, sea-coasts, rivers, and places situate in the said bay and streights, and which belong thereunto" as laid down by the tenth article of the treaty of Utrecht.¹ This line is reported never to have been surveyed but is practically the same as was used to limit the territory included in the charter granted to the Hudson's Bay Co. in 1670.

The treaty of Paris, 1763, which marked the close of the French and Indian War, defined the western limits of the British territory, but no northern boundary line was then necessary as all the land east of the Mississippi river was under the control of Great Britain. Later in the same year the Royal Proclamation, forming four districts for governmental purposes, viz: East and West Florida, Quebec, and Granada, was issued and the southern limits of the province of Quebec form the line which was later to become the northeastern boundary of the U. S.²

1. MacDonald, Documentary Source Book. New York, 1908, p. 93.

2. *Ib.*, 113.

The Quebec Act of 1774 retained the same line. It was but roughly stated and remained so until the treaty of 1783, when a more accurately defined boundary was required to separate the new United States from the possessions of Great Britain on the north.¹ It was intended however that the line following the highlands, mentioned in the treaty of 1763, be retained and that the words "Atlantic Ocean" be substituted for "the sea."

Because of a misunderstanding concerning the St. Croix river the fifth article of Jay's treaty of Nov., 1794 provided for the appointment of a joint commission to ascertain what river was truly intended under the name St. Croix. The work of these commissioners was completed and reported in 1798.

"To run and mark the remainder of the line, from the source of the St. Croix to the head of the Connecticut river," that is the line following the highlands indicated in article two of the treaty of 1783, "was as easy as to find the summit of Mount Washington."² The diplomats of Great Britain did not find this so simple, particularly since the words "the sea" had been changed to "Atlantic Ocean."

The treaty of Ghent, 1814, provided for commissioners to determine the boundary line which had been described, but had not yet been surveyed and marked; and Art. 4 of the same treaty specified to which country certain islands in the Bay of Fundy and of Passamaquoddy belonged.

The commissioners appointed according to Art. 5, to determine the boundary from the source of the St. Croix to the St. Lawrence river, met and disagreed.³ By the convention of 1827 the dispute was left to the decision of the King of the Netherlands who offered a compromise line which was not accepted by either government, and the boundary of the Maine highlands remained unsettled until the Webster-Ashburton treaty of 1842.⁴

The report of the commissioners, appointed under Art. 6 of the treaty of Ghent, to determine the line from the St. Lawrence river to the water communication between Lake Huron and Lake Superior, and to decide to which of the two countries the several islands within the said rivers, lakes, and water communications do respectively belong, was long but carefully and accurately done and still remains as determined by them. The latter part of the boundary, that extending from Lake Huron to the Lake of the Woods was not completed as the commissioners disagreed, and this too was left to be settled by the treaty of 1842.⁵

1. Treaties and Conventions concluded between United States and Other Powers since July 4, 1776, 48th Congress, 2nd Session, Executive Documents No. 47. Washington, 1889, p. 370.

2. Poor, *The First International Railway*. New York, 1892, p. 201.

3. Treaties, Conventions, International Acts, Protocols and Agreements, 1776-1909, 61st Cong., 2nd Sess., Sen. Doc. 357, Serial No. 5646, Washington, 1910, I. 620.

4. *Ib.*, I., 649.

5. *Ib.*, I., 624.

To return to the northeastern boundary, it was soon discovered by the British commissioners that the river St. John flowed into the Bay of Fundy instead of into the Atlantic Ocean. According to this interpretation the Highlands was a line drawn around the head waters of the Penobscot and Kennebec rivers instead of between the St. Lawrence and St. John rivers. This was the question which had been left to the King of the Netherlands, and which he had failed successfully to settle, and when the commissioners met in 1842 to frame that treaty there were many questions awaiting settlement. For this reason the Webster-Ashburton treaty is regarded as of great importance, and had it determined the Oregon boundary instead of ignoring it, the commissioners as well as the treaty would have received less criticism.

However, by this commission were settled the remaining parts of the eastern division of the boundary line. By Art. 1 the line following the highlands of Maine was carefully described. This was in part a compromise line, but ran along the lower rather than the upper highland, and England gained territory which according to the original interpretation of the treaty belonged to Maine. By Art. 2 was determined and described the line from Lake Superior westward to the northwest point of the Lake of the Woods.¹

In 1908 a treaty was ratified and proclaimed between the United States and Great Britain providing for the appointment of expert geographers and surveyors to serve as commissioners because the above mentioned countries were "desirous of providing for more complete definition and demarcation of the international boundary between the United States and the Dominion of Canada."²

A second treaty between the same two countries was signed Jan. 11, 1909, known as the Waterways Treaty, in accordance with which an International Joint Commission has been appointed to regulate the questions regarding the boundary waters between the United States and Canada.³

II.

The Central division of the northern boundary line, and perhaps the part of most interest to the Mississippi Valley, reaches from the northwesternmost point of the Lake of the Woods, westward along the 49th parallel of north latitude to the summit of the Rocky Mountains, and separates into a north and a south half the great western plains of North America.

1. Treaties, Conventions, etc., Serial No. I., 5646., 651.

2. *Ib.*, Ser. No. 5646, I., 815.

3. Members on part of U. S. appointed March 9, 1911. Members on part of Canada appointed. November 19, 1911. Meeting of Commission at Washington for organization, Jan. 10, 1912. Rules of Procedure of International Joint Commission, Washington, 1912, p. 2.

In the early history of this continent, when the value of the furs in the interior was discovered, the Hudson's Bay Company was formed. Its charter, granted in 1670, gave to it the monopoly of "trade and commerce of all those seas, straits, bays, rivers, lakes, creeks and sounds in whatsoever latitude they shall be, that lie within the entrance of the straits, commonly called Hudson's Straits, together with all the lands, and territories upon the countries coasts and confines of the seas, bays, lakes, rivers, creeks and sounds aforesaid, that are not actually possessed by or granted to any of our subjects, or possessed by the subjects of any other Christian prince or State."¹ Numerous interpretations have been given to the limits of this grant. In general it seems to have been held to include the present Red River Valley, but in the report on the Judicial Findings on the Hudson's Bay Company's charter is the quotation, "This particular portion (Manitoba) of the Northwest was not in possession of the Hudson's Bay Co. until long after the date of their charter, and in reality the authority of England over it was only established by the treaties of Utrecht 1713, and Paris 1763."² So little was then known of the interior, and so overlapping were the claims of the countries that had made discoveries on the continent that all of the earliest treaties were very obscure and usually the lines laid down by them would admit of more than one interpretation.

The whole Central Valley was claimed by France, and some of the early maps even represented New France as extending to and including Hudson's Bay. Perhaps more exactly what was considered New France and what Louisiana may be understood by the grant from Louis 14th to Antoine de Crozat, a rich merchant of Paris:—"We have resolved to grant the commerce of the country of Louisiana to sieur Crozat solely to carry on a trade in all the lands possessed by us, and bounded by New Mexico and by the lands of the English Carolina, the river of St. Lewis, heretofore called the Mississippi, from the edge of the sea, as far as Illinois, together with the river of St. Phillip, heretofore called the Missourys—with all the countries, territories, and lakes within land, and the rivers which fall directly or indirectly into that part of the river St. Lewis. Our pleasure is that all the aforesaid lands, streams, rivers and islands, be and remain comprised under the name of the government of Louisiana."³

The treaty of Utrecht, 1713, by which France gave up all of her claims in Canada to England, made another attempt to define the line of separation between that section and the part above mentioned as Louisiana. A provision was made in the same

1. Hudson's Bay Company. Return to an Address of the Honorable the House of Commons, Aug. 8, 1842, p. 6.

2. Martin, Hudson's Bay Company Land Tenures, London, 1898, appendix C, 183.

3. Hermann, The Louisiana Purchase, Washington, 1898, 14-15.

treaty for the appointment of a commission to determine within a year the limits between "the said Bay of Hudson and the places appertaining to the French."¹ Whether or not these commissioners ever were appointed, or ever performed the survey, remains still an unsettled question. Senator Benton, in his discussion of the Oregon problem in Congress said:—"I affirm that the line was established; that the commissioners met and did their work; and that what they did has been acquiesced in by all the powers interested from the year 1713 down to the present time."

On this question John H. Haswell, of the Department of State said:—"There is no evidence, either in French or in British archives of the appointment of a boundary commission under the Treaty of Utrecht. And in the memorial of the Hudson's Bay Co. marked as received Aug. 13, 1719, it is stated that 'the running of a line betwixt the English and French territories yet remained to be done.'"²

Greenhow in his history of Oregon and California writes:—"There is reason to believe that persons were commissioned for that object, but there is no evidence which can be admitted, as establishing the fact that a line running along the 49th parallel of north latitude, or any other line, was ever adopted or even proposed by those commissioners or by their governments, as the limit of any part of the French possessions on the north, and of the British Hudson's Bay territories on the south."³ Again from the Ontario Boundary Papers of 1882 is the statement:—"No official statement of the action of such commissioners is at present available for reference." The Attorney General adds in a footnote. "It has since appeared on official authority that no boundary was settled by the commissioners."⁴

The question of how the 49th parallel first came to be designated as a line of demarcation between the territories of England and France in America is not yet known, and although no mention of that line was made in any treaty or convention until 1818, it seems to have been generally accepted by both nations and was often mentioned in negotiations and official correspondence.

In the transfer of Louisiana to Spain in 1762 the phrase "all the country known under the name of Louisiana" was used meaning the same extent of territory as had in 1712 been granted to Crozat for trading purposes by Louis 14th.⁵

The treaty of 1763, at the close of the intercolonial wars did not affect this part of the boundary line, but was necessary to mark the western limits of the English territory, which limit was

1. MacDonald, Documentary Source Book of American History, 93.

2. Haswell, Notes upon the Foreign Treaties of the United States, p. 1324. Hermann, The Louisiana Purchase, Washington, 1898, p. 57.

3. Greenhow, History of Oregon and California, Boston, 1844, p. 281.

4. Correspondence, Papers and Documents relating to the Northerly and Westernly Boundaries of the Province of Ontario, Toronto, 1882, p. 14.

5. Treaties, Conventions, Etc., Ser. No. 5646, I. 587.

placed at the Mississippi river. The line through the Great Lakes it was not necessary to define because this was all English territory. After the thirteen colonies had won their freedom from Great Britain, by the Treaty of Paris it became necessary to define the boundaries of this new nation, hence Art. 2 of the Definitive Treaty of Peace 1783 reads:—

“The following are, and shall be their boundaries viz: From the northwest angle of Nova Scotia, viz. that angle which is formed by a line drawn due north from the source of the Saint Croix River to the Highlands; along the said Highlands which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the river St. Lawrence, from those that fall into the Atlantic Ocean, to the northwesternmost head of Connecticut River; thence down along the middle of that river to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude; from thence, by a line due west on said latitude, until it strikes the river Iroquois or Cataraquy; thence along the middle of said river into Lake Ontario, thru the middle of said lake until it strikes the communication by water between that lake and Lake Erie; thence, along the middle of said communication into Lake Erie, thru the middle of said lake until it arrives at the water communication between that lake and Lake Huron; thence along the middle of said water communication into the Lake Huron; thence through the middle of said lake to the water communication between that lake and Lake Superior; thence through Lake Superior northward of the Isles Royal and Phelipeaux, to the Long Lake; thence through the middle of said Long Lake, and the water communication between it and the Lake of the Woods, to the said Lake of the Woods; thence through the said lake to the most northwestern point thereof, and from thence on a due west course to the river Mississippi; thence by a line to be drawn along the middle of the said Mississippi.”¹

With this treaty we are first introduced to that peculiar northwesternmost point of the Lake of the Woods which is the starting place of the central section of the northern boundary line, and which after having been located as nearly as possible by the first surveyors, caused innumerable difficulties to subsequent commissioners, and, as will be shown later, may even yet be cause for a new convention and a new survey. Had the early treaty makers known the geography of this section better, much of the later trouble might have been avoided, but as has been already noted, no adequate maps of the region in question were available, as surveys had not yet been carefully done. The statement in this same treaty, that, from the said most northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods, the line was to run in a due west course to the river Mississippi, again shows clearly this lack of geograph-

1. Treaties, Conventions, Etc., Serial No. 5646, I., 587.

ical knowledge, as the source of the Mississippi river is many miles south of these two points and this resulted in an effort to correct the mistake, if it was a mistake, by the fourth Article of Jay's treaty of 1794. It reads as follows: "Whereas it is uncertain whether the river Mississippi extends so far to the northward as to be intersected by a line to be drawn due west from the Lake of the Woods.....it is agreed that measures shall be taken for making a joint survey of the said river, from one degree of latitude below the Falls of St. Anthony to the principal source or sources of the said river.....and that if, on the result of such survey, it should appear that the said river would not be intersected by such a line.....the two parties will thereupon proceed to regulate the boundary line in that quarter."¹

When in 1800 Louisiana was retroceded from Spain to France, the boundary lines were still undetermined and the treaty stated that the cession included "the colony of the province of Louisiana with the same extent that it now has in the hands of Spain and that it had when France possessed it." In 1803 when the same territory was purchased by the United States its extent could only be described by repeating the statements of the two preceding treaties, and we received the "whole territory known by the name of Louisiana with all its rights and appurtenances as fully and in the same manner as they had been acquired by the French Republic."

Only a decade later it became necessary to give to the newly acquired territory a definite northern boundary. The increased activity of the fur companies, for now the Northwest Co. was a keen competitor of the Hudson's Bay Co., was pushing the trade westward to the Pacific and southward into the Red River Valley and the Dakota plains. Lewis and Clark had made their voyage of exploration to the coast. The American Fur Co. had come into the field and the grant of Lord Selkirk, in all probability, was intended to include the valley of the Red River. This and the colony founded under his direction was sufficient evidence that the indefinite boundary laid down by the treaty of 1803 was no longer satisfactory, and clashes were bound to arise unless the lines of demarcation were more carefully drawn.

In 1807 a treaty had been drawn up by commissioners from the U. S. and Great Britain, which provided among other things for the establishment of a line westward from the Lake of the Woods along the 49th parallel, but the treaty was never ratified.¹ In 1814, the Treaty of Ghent was negotiated. It provided for the appointment of commissioners to determine "the latitude and longitude of the most northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods,"² but the line westward from that point was left unset-

1. Treaties, Conventions, Etc., Ser. No. 5646, I., 593.

2. Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, 1898, VIII., 198.

tled until the convention of 1818, when it was agreed "that a line drawn from the most northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods, along the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, or, if the said point shall not be in the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, then that a line drawn from the said point due north or south as the case may be, until the said line shall intersect the said parallel of north latitude, and from the point of such intersection due west along and with the said parallel shall be the line of demarcation between the territories of the United States and those of his Britannic Majesty."¹ The commissioners under the treaty of Ghent are reported to have met June 22, 1822, and disagreed, leaving the location of the North West point not accomplished.

Several early and rather temporary surveys of the 49th parallel followed the announcement of that line as a boundary by the convention of 1818. David Thompson, an astronomer and surveyor in the employ of the Northwest Co., located this line for the company.² "The Hudson's Bay Co. had a post at Pembina, and in the spring of 1823, when observations by their own astronomers led them to suspect that it was south of the line, they moved the fort down the river."³

In 1823, Major Long visited Pembina for the purpose of determining the 49th parallel. When the line was determined it was marked by an oak post, having on the north side the letters G. B. and on the south side the letters U. S.⁴ From this point Major Long traveled, mostly by water, until he reached that part of the Lake of the Woods known as Rat Portage, which he writes, "has become a point of some importance, as it appears probable that the northwest point of the boundary line of the United States will be at or near its extremity."⁵ He also says, the determination of such a point in a lake which presents so great a number of bays will be a very difficult task. They had heard from some Indians that the line had been extended to Rat Portage, where they found evidences of the commissioners having been there, but no landmarks were discovered.

Shortly after this Major Long met Dr. Bigsby who was attached to the British Commission. He reported that the line had not been run but that the commissioners were working farther east. The Commission appointed under the Treaty of Ghent consisted of Peter B. Porter, for the United States, and Anthony Barclay for the British government.⁶ Their work continued into the

1. Treaties, Conventions, Etc., Serial No. 5645, 1., 632.

2. Chittenden, History of American Fur Trade of the Far West, N. Y., 1902, I., 89.

3. Major Long's Expedition to Source of the St. Peters River, Philadelphia, 1824, II., 42.

4. *Ib.*, II., 46.

5. *Ib.*, II., 106.

6. Minnesota Historical Society Collections, VIII., 203.

next year; David Thompson, astronomer, and Dr. Bigsby were among this party. They were forced to do their work hurriedly, but their maps were carefully made. They were the first who located the northwest point of the Lake of the Woods, not at Rat Portage as was first thought, but several miles to the south and west of that point. They reported the location of the northwest point as in "Latitude forty-nine degrees, twenty-three minutes, and fifty-five seconds north of the equator, and in longitude ninety-five degrees, fourteen minutes, and thirty-eight seconds west from the observatory at Greenwich."¹

This location was accepted by the commissioners in the treaty of 1842, and showed that the line of boundary should be drawn south to meet the 49th parallel. Accordingly, a provision was made for such a line, the same to extend along that parallel to the Rocky Mountains, and the interest in boundary lines so far as the 49th parallel was concerned was transferred to the west beyond the mountains.

The rather hasty survey of the line by Major Long and also by David Thompson, shortly after it had been adopted by the treaty, was for a time satisfactory. The survey of 1856 supplied for a time all that was needed for this region. But settlers were moving westward, particularly into the Red River Valley, and protection from the Indians as well as the preservation of order soon demanded troops and military posts on the frontier, and in 1870 the following letter was received from the department of Dakota:²

"Report of Maj. General Hancock,
Headquarters, Dep't. of Dak.
Saint Paul, Minn.

Nov. 1, 1870.

General:

I have the honor to submit the following report of military operations in this department since the date of my last annual report.....In view of these facts (hostility of the Sioux) I deemed it essential to establish a new post at or in the vicinity of the town of Pembina, which is situated on the Red River of the North, near where it crosses the national boundary line.....

1. The United States Northern Boundary Commission Washington 1878, p. 303.

2. "Under an Act of Congress, approved August 11, 1856, for marking the boundary along the 49th parallel from the summit of the Rocky Mountains to the Gulf of Georgia, Mr. Archibald Campbell was appointed United States Commissioner on February 14, 1857. The demarcation was conducted by a Joint International Commission, work was begun in 1858 and the results were shown on a series of seven maps, signed by the Commission in May, 1869. The boundary between the summit of the Rocky Mountains and Point Roberts is about 410 miles long. It was marked by 161 iron monuments, stone obelisks, bench marks, earth mounds, or piles of stone and earth, but it was not traced out between many of the monuments. Only about 190 miles were traced and cleared."

Letter from O. H. Tittman, Superintendent, U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey and U. S. Commissioner, U. S. and Canada Boundary Survey.

I have but recently returned from a tour of inspection at that place and am able to report that the site for the post has been judiciously determined.....In view of the growing importance of the country in question I would recommend that early measures be inaugurated whereby our boundary may be authoritatively determined."¹

This report coming to the War department was supplemented by another letter which had been received by the Treasury Department in June of the same year. It read:

"Custom House, Pembina,
June 23, 1870.

Sir:—I have the honor to call your attention to the fact that the U. S. military commission, under Major General Sykes, U. S. A., and Capt. Heap, U.S. Corps of Engineers, while here this spring for the purpose of locating the new fort and military reservation, have by a series of careful solar and lunar observations located and established the 49th parallel or international boundary line, upward of forty-six hundred feet north of the old established post, and that from the initial point established on the west bank of the Red River by said military commission a careful survey of said boundary line was made for military purposes as far west as St. Joseph, and the same distinctly marked and stakes driven every mile. This change brings the Hudson Bay Co.'s trading post north of here, within our lines on the U. S. territory, which in case the said last established location shall be recognized as an actual boundary line, would subject the whole of said Hudson Bay Co.'s stock of goods on hand at said trading post, and all future importations thereto, to payment of duty. I have therefore ordered a full inventory of all their goods and effects for the purpose of assessment of duty, in case said last established line shall be recognized as the true boundary.

I would, therefore, in view of these facts, respectfully request instructions in the premises, and beg to be advised as to which of the two different lines I am to recognize as the true boundary for customs revenue purposes.

I am, sir, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

J. C. Storer, Collector.

Hon. Secretary of the Treasury,

Washington, D. C."¹

1. Executive Document 1, Part 2., House of Rep., Serial No. 1446. Washington, 1870, pp. 24-28.

1. Congressional Globe, 3rd Session of 41st Congress, part 2, 1870-71, p. 1439.

This matter was referred by the Secretary of the Treasury to J.C.B. Davis, acting Secretary of State, who on Aug. 13, 1870, sent a communication to the Treasury Dept. informing them that no joint action had been taken by the United States and Great Britain for marking upon the surface of the ground that portion of the boundary line along the 49th parallel which extends from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains and suggesting that no proceedings be adopted by the custom house authorities which would disturb the existing condition of things on the border until the British government could be informed of this discovery which had been made by the officers of the engineer corps. A copy of this letter was sent to Mr. Motley, U. S. ambassador to Great Britain and he was requested to inform the British Government of the discovery made regarding the true location of the boundary line which was accordingly done in a letter to the Earl of Granville, Oct. 17, 1870.¹

On Nov. 4, of the same year, Sir Edward Thornton, in a letter to acting secretary of State, wrote:—"Whether the post which was erected last spring is on the 49th parallel or not can easily be verified; but in the mean time it would be very desirable that the small force now in that neighborhood should remain there for the protection of persons and the security of the mails. The only shelter, however, which they can find is in the Hudson Bay Company's fort. The Governor General has therefore forwarded a request from the Canadian Government that I would confer with the Secretary of State as to the expediency of allowing the boundary line which was run by Captain Pope to be considered as the boundary for the present, until the real boundary is ascertained and finally settled, so that the Hudson Bay post may be used as a shelter during the winter; for they consider that it is in the interest of the inhabitants on both sides of the line that order should be preserved on the frontier, which result can best be obtained by a body of troops of both nations being stationed in its vicinity."²

The matter of settlement was brought before Congress in President Grant's annual message dated Dec. 5, 1870: "I deem it important, however, that this part of the boundary should be definitely fixed by a joint commission of the two Governments, and I submit herewith estimates of the expense of such a commission on the part of the United States and recommend that an appropriation be made for that purpose."³

With this was sent, as he states, a letter from A. A. Humphreys, Brigadier General and Chief of Engineers dated Wash-

1. Congressional Globe, 3rd Session, 41st Congress, 1870-71, part 2, p. 1440.

2. *Ib.*, Pt. 2, p. 1440.

3. Richardson, Messages and Papers of the President, Washington 1898 VII., 102.

ington, D. C., Nov. 23, 1870, containing the following statements regarding the expense of the survey:—

“1st. A properly organized commission with two sets of astronomical and surveying parties would require while engaged upon field duties, \$100,000 yearly.

2nd. The line would be about 860 miles long. And as the season for working advantageously was short, and from eight to twelve months of actual field work would be necessary it would cover a period of two years with another year of office work at the close.

3rd. The probable estimate of the entire work would not exceed \$335,000.”¹

This part of the President’s message relating to the boundary was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and on Wednesday, Jan. 18, 1871, Mr. Swann of Maryland brought before the House, by direction of that committee, a report asking for a joint resolution authorizing the President to appoint a joint commission on the northwestern boundary. The resolutions offered by the committee read as follows:—

“1st. Be it resolved.....that the President of the United States by and with the advice and consent of the Senate be, and he is hereby authorized to co-operate with the government of Great Britain in the appointment of a joint commission in accordance with the plan and estimate of A. A. Humphreys, Brigadier General and Chief of Engineers, submitted Nov. 23, 1870, for determining the boundary line between United States and Great Britain’s possessions, between the Lake of the Woods and the Rocky Mountains, at such time as he may deem advisable.

2nd. Be it further resolved that \$100,000 per annum, or so much thereof as may be required, be, and is hereby appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated to carry into effect the object of said joint commission on part of United States and Great Britain until said boundary shall have been established.”² Much discussion followed the presentation of this resolution. Mr. Swann urged immediate action as the matter had been duly considered by the committee and delay was causing confusion on the boundary. The principal objection to its adoption was that the amount asked for was far too large. The matter was allowed to be left over for a few days and referred to the Committee of the Whole.

Saturday, Feb. 18, 1871, Mr. Swann called up the joint resolution which had been neglected so long on account of some appropriation bills which had engaged the attention of the House. The discussion lasted during the remainder of the day and was left over until Monday when all communications concerning the

1. The U. S. Northern Boundary Commission, Washington, 1878, 19.

2. Congressional Globe, 3rd Session of 41st Congress, part 2, p. 1399.

matter were called for and read. Chief of these were the President's message, the letter from the Custom House at Pembina to the Treasury department, and the letter from Sir Edward Thornton to Mr. Davis, acting Secretary of State, from which parts have already been quoted. Mr. Swann then called for immediate action and the resolution was passed, one hundred twenty voting for and seventy-three against it. The Senate received the resolution from the House, Monday, Feb. 20, 1870, just as they moved to adjourn, and as the session closed on March 3rd, the resolution was not called up and was lost.

Such an important matter was not allowed to be forgotten, and in the beginning of the new session Mr. Morgan from Ohio brought before the House a second report from the Committee on Foreign Affairs in the form of a joint resolution to the same effect as the former report. It was read a first and a second time, referred to the Committee of the Whole and with the accompanying report ordered to be printed. On Jan. 16, 1872 Mr. Morgan moved that the House resolve itself into a Committee of the Whole and consider the joint resolution. It was first changed to a bill on motion of Mr. Dawes from Mass., a proviso added to section 1 by Mr. Holman from Indiana, and further amended by him so as to strike out \$100,000 and insert \$50,000, because the proviso added to section 1 stated that the engineers in the regular service of the United States should be employed exclusively in the work and without any additional salary. The bill was then read a third time and passed, and on March 13, 1872 it was reported in the Senate and passed. A period of nearly two years had elapsed since the first communication had been received from the collector of customs at Pembina, and the first appropriation, \$50,000 provided for in the bill, was so small and so large a part of it had to be used for the purchase of instruments, that the organization of the commission was deferred until late in the year.

The work of this commission has for us in North Dakota a vital interest. For three successive years they traveled across our state in their work of surveying the northern boundary line and in the reports, both personal and as a whole, is much that is early history for North Dakota.

In June of 1872, Archibald Campbell was appointed commissioner with instructions to organize a party for the survey of the boundary as provided by Congress.¹ The engineers who were to assist in the survey were, according to the bill, to be appointed from the regular corps in the U. S. service and the Chief of Engineers detailed for duty on the Commission, Capt. and Brev't Lieut. Col. F. V. Farquhar, Capt. and Brev't Major W. J. Twining, Capt. James F. Gregory, and Lieut. F. V. Greene.²

1. U. S. Northern Boundary Commission, 20.

2. *Ib.*, 20.

After some preliminary preparations, Col. Farquhar with the engineer officers and assistants left Washington for St. Paul, Minn., and organized the party for field work. Provision had been made by the Government for transportation and the necessary train of mules, wagons, etc., for field work. This was in charge of Second Lieut. O. D. Ladley, who acted as quartermaster and commissary to the commission and who preceded the party to Fort Abercrombie, on the Red River, to have the train in readiness for the march to Pembina and the 49th parallel. After purchasing supplies and hiring necessary employees the party was ready to leave St. Paul in August.¹ The party started northward from Fort Abercrombie on Aug. 29, 1872 and reached Fort Pembina Sept. 5.²

Meantime Great Britain had been making ample provision for her part of this work, with a large appropriation and a carefully equipped commission consisting of eighty-nine members, besides teamsters, ax men and laborers, who were hired during the season of work in the field for a daily wage.³ The Commissioner and his secretary left England in July, 1872, for Washington, D. C. From here they went to Ottawa and finally started for the Red River country early in Sept.⁴ The officers and men of the Royal Engineers went from Liverpool direct to Quebec, then by water to Toronto, by rail to Collingwood on Georgian Bay, and embarked on one of the Lake Superior steamers for Duluth.⁵ From Duluth they went overland on the Northern Pacific to Moorhead, where they overtook the Commissioner and his secretary. They traveled overland with baggage and stores to Frog point, the head of navigation at that season, where they were all embarked on the Dakota, one of the Kittson Red River line of steamers and reached Pembina shortly after the arrival of the American Commission.

1. "The U. S. surveying party whose duty it will be to look up the boundary line, will probably start on Tuesday or Wed. next. It will be in charge of Major Twining, U. S. Engineer, and will consist of about 30 persons, several of whom belong in this city; Major T., with Messrs. Beard, DeGoot, and Crust, of this city, and a gentleman from White Bear Lake, will constitute the astronomical corps. They will probably be absent until December."—St. Paul Daily Press, Aug. 17, 1872.

2. The Commissioners on the part of the U. S. to survey and establish the boundary line from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains passed through Moorhead yesterday with four ambulance and fourteen six-mule supply wagons. The party consisted of Archibold Campbell, Commissioner; Col. Farquhar, Col. Twining and Capt. Gregory of the U. S. Engineer corps; J. Francis Harding, Secretary; Professors J. C. Clark and J. E. Bangs, Astronomers; F. Van Shraeder, Assistant Engineer; Capt. Ladley Quartermaster; and G. W. Hatch, Surgeon. Duluth Tribune, Sept. 12, 1872. Copied from "Red River Star."

3. For list of members see appendix No. 1.

4. Featherstonhaugh, Narrative of the Operations of the British North American Boundary Commission, 1872-76, from Professional Papers of the Corps of Royal Engineers, Woolwich, 1876, New Series, Vol. 23, p. 25.

5. "A party of civil engineers belonging to the Northwest Boundary Commission and sent from England by Her majesty to aid the American Commission in establishing the long disputed boundary line between this country and Canada, arrived on the "Frances Smith" yesterday morning and took the western bound train for Pembina where they will join the American party of engineers." Duluth Tribune, Sept. 19, 1872.

A joint meeting was held to agree upon a general plan of work for the remainder of the time. The agreements were as follows:

1st. A point on the western bank of the Red River on the 49th parallel of north latitude was to be ascertained.

2nd. The part east from the Red River towards the Lake of the Woods was if possible to be surveyed that fall so that the next year's work might begin with the above mentioned point and continue westward. The boundary line, eastward from the Red River, was to be cleared where wooded, by the British Commission, at the expense of both. This was to be done during the winter season and was to be thirty feet wide. Astronomical stations were to be located approximately at intervals of 20 miles and each commission agreed to make a topographical survey of a belt of territory 5 miles wide on its own side of the line. It was also agreed later to plant iron monuments along the southern border of Manitoba from longitude 96° W to longitude 99° W at intervals of one mile, and west of Manitoba to mark the line by stone pyramids or otherwise at approximate intervals of three miles.

The time until Oct. 1st. was used in making surveys near the boundary line at Pembina and Red River,¹ and after the point from which the parties were to work eastward and westward was determined, the point of most interest, the northwest point of the Lake of the Woods, was to be located.

On Oct. 1st the American party was divided into two sections, one under Lieut. Greene to work eastward from the Red River, the other under Major Farquhar chief astronomer and his assistants went to the Lake of the Woods to meet the British Chief, Capt. S. Anderson to determine the initial point of the boundary line. The country being impassable between the Lake of the Woods and the Red River, the party went by way of Fort Garry and the Dawson Road to the northwest angle, which place they all met Oct. 19th. The astronomers with their parties had with much trouble succeeded in locating the point which they decided must have been that described by the commissioners. Messrs. Porter and Barclay in 1823, as being in Lat. $49^{\circ} 23' 55''$ N. and Long. $95^{\circ} 14' 38''$ W.

The country in the vicinity of the northwest angle is low and swampy and covered with a dense growth of coniferous trees, mostly tamaracks. Because of this, it had been impossible for these early commissioners to find any solid ground which could be marked at what they determined to be the northwest point. Accordingly, on the nearest firm ground they erected the refer-

1. At this point the line was found nearly to coincide with that surveyed by Major Long in 1823 and the post of Hudson's Bay was, according to that line, on British soil.

ence monument from which, by following the direction laid down in the report, the angle in question could be located. It was this reference monument and its location which occupied so much of the first year's work of the commissioners of 1872.

The monument was described by David Thompson as a "square monument of logs, twelve feet high, by seven feet square, the lower part of oak, the upper part of aspen."¹

The British Commission had searched in vain for traces of the reference monument, Col. Forrest had sought information from the Indians in the vicinity but nothing definite was learned. The Indians remembered the visit of the party that erected it, and said but a few years had elapsed since its total disappearance. They refused to point out the locality which they claimed to know, except on payment of extravagant rewards.² One day some Indians brought a part of an oak log, charred and much decayed, which they declared was part of the monument, but refused to say where they got it.

To explain why the above mentioned monument had so entirely disappeared is not a difficult task. The region was ravaged by forest fires, and the natural decay was hastened because the place, as later appeared, was frequently entirely covered by water.

The maps used by the surveyors were small and details of localities were not recognizable. Continued attempts were made to locate the monument according to the latitude and longitude directions and when they all proved unsuccessful it was inferred that the discrepancies must be accounted for by the differences in the two observations.³

Mr. James McKay, then member of Parliament for the province of Manitoba, and manager of the Dawson route, now arrived at the angle.⁴ He was of mixed descent, spoke fluently the Ojibway language, and at once became interested in the recovery of the monument site. Both this fact and his official position gave him much influence with the Indians and he prevailed upon an old chief, who knew where the monument was, to go with him and point it out. Accordingly the Indian, Mr. McKay, Major Farquhar, and Captain Anderson went in a canoe to the same point of land which had been searched over so many times. There the Indian pointed out a place in about two and a half feet of water where he knew the monument to be. By wading, Major Farquhar discovered what were to him and those with him, satisfactory evidences that this was the place for which they were searching. "There were depressions where portions of two logs

1. United States Northern Boundary Commission, 81.

2. *Ib.*, 305.

3. This statement was verified during the winter by a study of the official reports of the early observations by Maj. Twining. This was made necessary by objections to the location of the angle, on the part of the British Commissioners. U. S. Northern Boundary Commission, 80.

4. *Ib.*, 307.

had evidently lain at right angles to each other, and in the included angle, a cavity such as would have been left by the removal of a log, probably the one the Indians had brought to Col. Forrest."¹ The Indians said the water surface was eight feet higher than at the time of the erection of the monument. The white people living at the angle verified this statement by saying that there had been no season in which the water had been so high, in the fall of the year. And with the water four feet lower the site would have been on as "firm ground", as could be found in a low and swampy country. The commissioners had been searching too far inland most of the time, misled by the statement, "A monument erected in this Bay, on the nearest firm ground to the above northwest extremity of said Bay."

There are slight variations in the accounts given on the recovery of this monument site. The British Report says, "The search for the monument occupied 3 days at the end of which time some Indians appeared who said they could point out its site. They indicated a spot which was covered with water about 18 inches deep, and here the remains of a square crib of logs was found. This was assumed to be the reference monument,"² The British account, as a whole is very much shorter than that published by the American Commissioners and this fact may in a measure account for the lack of careful description given to this particular point.

From this most northwestern point the line of survey was to be run due south until it intersected the 49th parallel, and in so doing would cut off from the mainland and leave to the United States a portion of territory projecting into the lake of great importance to the province of Manitoba, as upon this point of land was a depot and steamboat landing at the terminus of the Fort Garry road. The British Commissioner, while declining to agree officially to the northwest angle as determined by the chief astronomers, was willing to cut the line southward from that point through the timber along the meridian boundary, without agreeing to it as a part of the boundary line. His object is thought to have been to leave the question unsettled in the hope that before the line was completed to the Rockies some arrangement might be made between the two governments whereby they might secure the small but much coveted piece of ground.³ Because of this Mr. Twining during the winter of 1872-3, made a

1. United States Northern Boundary Commission, Report of Astronomer, 307.

2. Featherstonhaugh, Narrative of the Operations of the British North American Boundary Commission, 1872-76, from Professional Papers of the Corps of Royal Engineers, New Series, Vol. 23, p. 28.

This, however, was never done and in the final meeting of the Commissioners in the field Aug. 13, 1874, Capt. Cameron stated that he was now prepared to agree to the northwesternmost point of the Lake of the Woods as determined by the chief astronomers.

3. U. S. Northern Boundary Commission, 23.

very careful study of the reports of Mr. Tiarks and David Thompson, to determine the causes for differences in latitude of the point reported by these early investigations and that determined by the Commission of 1872. He reports in a letter to the Commission that these differences were due to the sextant which were used to make the computations, "and that while the English Commissioner, without being considered as acting in an obstructive manner, takes the ground that the evidence was not conclusive, still it would be incumbent on him to suggest some other point, as the most northwestern, which the shape of the bay would render impossible."¹

This point being determined, the Commissioners returned by way of Fort Garry to Pembina, which place they reached Nov. 6th. The chief astronomer with the surveyors in his party returned by wagon train and arrived at Pembina the 8th, after a hard journey on the poor roads. Here they waited the return of Lieutenant Greene, who had been working east from Red River. The stoves and instruments were left at Pembina, and the entire train went to Fort Abercrombie, where the animals were to be wintered. They were left in charge of Lieut. Ladley, quartermaster, while the party went by rail to St. Paul. Here the men were discharged on Nov. 21st² and the officers proceeded to Detroit where an office had been rented for the winter. The work in the field was discontinued for lack of funds. The British Commission remained at Pembina, and completed their astronomical and topographical work. They had remained in the field all winter working on the line westward from the Lake of the Woods, which part they were to do alone and receive pay for the same by the American Commission. "During February and March the remaining portions of the boundary between the Lake of the Woods and the Red River were cut through the woods and temporarily marked with posts of 8-in. diameter. The survey of the 6 mile belt north of the line was also completed, and nothing remained to be done in this part of the country except the putting up of the iron pillars and permanent monuments."³ They returned to Pembina by April 1st. where their lodgings called "Dufferin" had been built during the winter by a contractor from Fort Garry.

1. U. S. Northern Boundary Commission, 27.

2. "Return of the Engineering Party—It will winter at Davenport—Observations made from Pembina to the Lake of the Woods—Long's Old Line nearly correct. Col. F. W. Farquar, chief of the surveying party of the American division of the International boundary survey, returned with his party to this city yesterday. The astronomical party, in charge of Major Twining, has not returned, but will be in a few days, being in Breckenridge last evening. The whole party will rendezvous at Davenport this winter. Observations have been made from Pembina westward to the Lake of the Woods, the line being nearly identical with Long's old line, leaving the Hudson Bay Co.'s post some 300 ft. in British territory. The line has not been marked nor will it be officially determined until the work is completed, when the commissioners will meet, locate the line and establish iron Monuments." Saint Paul Daily Press, Nov. 22. 1872.

3. Featherstonhaugh, Narrative of the Operations of the British North American Boundary Commission, 34.

Six weeks were given to prepare for the summer's work. Supplies were brought from St. Paul and Mr. Boswell brought from Ontario a train of 180 horses by way of Moorhead and the Red River cart road.

The United States party was organized in St. Paul as in the previous year.¹ Their appropriation was \$125,000 and they planned to accomplish much. They went by rail and steam-boat to Pembina where they arrived about June 1st.² Several changes had been made in the Commission. Col. Farquhar had asked to be relieved, preferring his regular duties in the Engineer Corps, and Major W. J. Twining, who was assistant, was made chief astronomer. J. E. Bangs, acting secretary during part of the first year's work, was made secretary of the Commission.³ We are particularly fortunate in having for a review of this year's work the unpublished diary of J. E. Bangs, in which the progress and difficulties of the Commission are carefully noted.

The survey was commenced at the astronomical station on the west bank of the Red River established the previous year and the work carried rapidly westward. It is needless to enter into all of the details of the work. The two parties journeyed not very far apart, and constant intercourse was possible between them. Occasional Indian scares were experienced, as well as trouble from lack of water. The first real difficulty on the line was the Turtle Mountains. The cutting through them was estimated at twenty miles, and it proved to be thirty-four. This caused some delay, so that the plan for the summer's work had to be shortened. And the astronomical parties who had gone on ahead were ordered to return, to prepare for the trip back to St. Paul. The weather was turning cold and on Sept. 21 the snow fell for several days to a depth of ten inches. On Oct. 10, Gregory and Twining returned with their parties and immediate preparation was made for their return. They set out overland by the nearest route to Fort Totten. There was a sufficient supply of provisions and by eking out the forage with flour and hard bread a half ration for the animals was provided. The prairie had been burned in every direction for several days and not much grass could be found.⁴

1. "Northwestern Boundary Survey:—The officers and men attached to the Northwestern Boundary Survey are now fully prepared for their long trip and will start on their journey to Pembina "and beyond", during the latter part of this week. The British party were at work last winter in running lines near or at the Lake of the Woods, because that portion of the survey must necessarily be done in the winter season, while the lakes are frozen. The line thus run will be tested by the American party upon their arrival at the point designated, and it is presumed that thereafter the two parties will travel in close proximity to each other." St. Paul Daily Press. May 20, 1873.

2. U. S. Boundary Commission, 275.

3. This was perhaps due to the illness and death of Mr. Harding—See Bang's Journal, Aug. 24. "Mr. James E. Bangs, Secretary to the Commission, has performed with fidelity and accuracy the various duties pertaining to his position and particularly those concerned with the disbursement of the funds appropriated for expense of the Commission." *Ib.*, 32. For Bang's Journal, see Appendix No. 3.

4. Journal of J. E. Bangs, Oct. 13, Appendix No. 3.

But certain that there would be occasional pools of water and fearing another storm while they were still on the open plains, they marched toward the head of Cut Bank Creek, which they reached after a march of twenty-four miles, suffering much for want of water. The prairie fires, burning brightly in every direction, had swept every bit of grass from the plains except near the pools, leaving the ground covered with a light film of ashes. The strong east wind raised the dust and ashes in clouds, filling the eyes, nose, and mouth with the irritating alkali and made the march most distressing. They reached Ft. Totten Oct. 20¹ and Lieut. Greene arrived with his party on the 22nd of the same month. He had followed the Mouse till he reached the Great Bend and then had gone direct to Devil's Lake.

Arrangements were made at Pembina to complete the survey between the Lake of the Woods and the Red River because owing to the swampy ground it was impracticable to work during the summer months. Hay had been cut at several points and a part of the winter clothing prepared. The party to remain was chosen and the remainder left on the 24th of Oct. to march to Ft. Seward. The weather was cold, the ice on the pond was five inches thick, there was much snow and the men suffered greatly. The animals were sent to St. Cloud for the winter and the men went by rail to St. Paul.² The office work continued in Detroit and the field party completed its work and returned to St. Paul, March 14th.

The work of 1874 was much delayed because of the necessity of waiting for the yearly appropriation, the bill not being passed until June 5th. The train which had wintered at St. Cloud was sent by rail to Bismarck, taking upon the way the wagons left at Ft. Seward. They were then taken by steamer to Fort Buford. The slow progress made by the boat made it necessary to land the live stock at Tobacco Garden and drive them overland, where they arrived a few hours after the boat, June 15th, and on the 21st the party started from Ft. Buford. On the 25th the party divided, Capt. Gregory and the astronomers going on ahead. There remained two hundred forty miles of boundary yet to be finished. After some delay in the arrival of supplies and in the establishment of a permanent camp, the work was pushed rapidly forward.

The British Commission had spent the winter, as in 1872-73,

1. Journal of J. E. Bangs, Oct. 20.

2. "On Monday a large number of men and mule-teams connected with the Boundary Survey sent out last summer by the Government, arrived in town. The teams will be kept in this vicinity until spring." A St. Cloud Journal, Feb. 26, 1874.

"Major Twining and party of the Northwestern Boundary Survey, arrived here yesterday, all looking well after their arduous and difficult work. Even the animals of the expedition are in good order after their extended trip over the unbroken wilderness. Lieut. Greene's party of the Northwestern Boundary Survey has gone to Pembina, and will operate between that place and the Lake of the Woods, until the month of February, when Lieut. Greene and his office assistants may return to Detroit." St. Paul Daily Press, Oct. 30, 1873.

at Dufferin and were in the field 10 days before the arrival of the American Commission, and in less than six weeks the work in the field was completed. On Aug. 13 a joint meeting was held in the field and Capt. Cameron agreed to the northwest point of the Lake of the Woods as determined by the chief astronomers, being directed to do so by his government. They then adjourned to meet some future day when the office work had been completed, to compare records, final maps, etc. A party crossed the mountains to find the monument erected on the summit by the provisions of treaty of 1846. It was found in a difficult place of access, the survey was carried to this place and the line was completed Sept. 12, 1874.

The American party went overland to Fort Benton, where a fleet of mackinaw boats had been built purposely to take them to Bismarck, which place they reached after a voyage of eighteen days. From there they went over the Northern Pacific railroad to St. Paul and here the employes were discharged, except those assistants who would be needed in the office.¹ The British Commission returned to London, and, when all final reports were completed, a joint meeting was held in that place.

During the season of 1874 the iron posts, which were to mark the boundary line, had been placed by the British Commission. Those which were placed by the United States Commission were made in Detroit, Mich., inspected by Major Twining, and shipped over the Great Lakes and by the Northern Pacific Railroad, to Moorhead, Minn. From Moorhead they were taken down the Red River on the steamboat "Dakota" and a party was organized at Pembina to set them in place. This occupied nearly all of

1. Northern Boundary. The Work Completed—Return of the American Commission. After two seasons labor, involving a considerable outlay upon the part of the American and British governments, the work of locating the Northern boundary line from the Lake of the Woods west to the Rocky Mountains, a distance of 780 miles has been completed so far as the field work is concerned. The party of engineers under Major Twining arrived in this city last night. All the officers of the survey save American Commissioner Campbell are now in the city. It is needless in this connection to re-state in detail what the commission have performed, more than to say that they have located the boundary line which has long been in dispute, westward to the summit of the Rocky Mountains. Of the work performed, 360 miles has been completed since the commission left here on the 10th of June. From Major Twining, the chief astronomer, it is learned that there are no points in contention between the British and American governments, but a year will be required for the engineers to work up their notes before making their report. The party consisting of sixty-five persons, that arrived here last evening were accompanied to Fort Buford by two companies of infantry that have acted as escort. Those that are in the city besides the engineers are their assistants, etc. All look brown and hearty after their season of roughing it. They report the British Commission as having started from Pembina overland and that they will probably arrive there about the 10th of this month and probably pass through this city to Canada. Mr. J. E. Bangs, the Secretary of the Commission; Major W. J. Twining, Chief Astronomer; Capt. J. F. Gregory, and Lieut. F. V. Greene, Assistant Astronomers; L. Boss, First Civil Assistant, and V. T. Gillicuddy, M. D., D. Crowther, Second Assistant; and Capt. O. D. Ladley, Quartermaster; and Dr. Elliot Coues, the Surgeon and Naturalist, are among the learned gentlemen of the expedition at the different hotels. All express themselves as right glad the work is completed, and to return to civilization again. The gentlemen will remain in the city for a time, and proceed on to their homes in the East and to Washington to write up their notes.—St. Paul Daily Press, Oct. 4, 1874.

the year 1875, the work being completed and the party discharged, Oct. 7, of that year.

The work of the Commissioners who met in joint session in London was completed and the report signed May 29, 1876.

There is, however, a further dispute which may arise over the conditions in the Lake of the Woods, which can be understood by referring to the accompanying map. The line of boundary running, according to the provisions of the treaty, due south from the northwest point to the 49th parallel, crosses another portion of the boundary several times and thus leaves the ownership of some small areas of land still unsettled. These sections, although swampy and apparently of little value at the time of the survey, may be desired by the United States government and a special commission may be necessary to settle it. And although the Northern International Boundary line has been the subject of much controversy, there still remains more work to be done before we can say our boundary on the north is definitely laid down.

III.

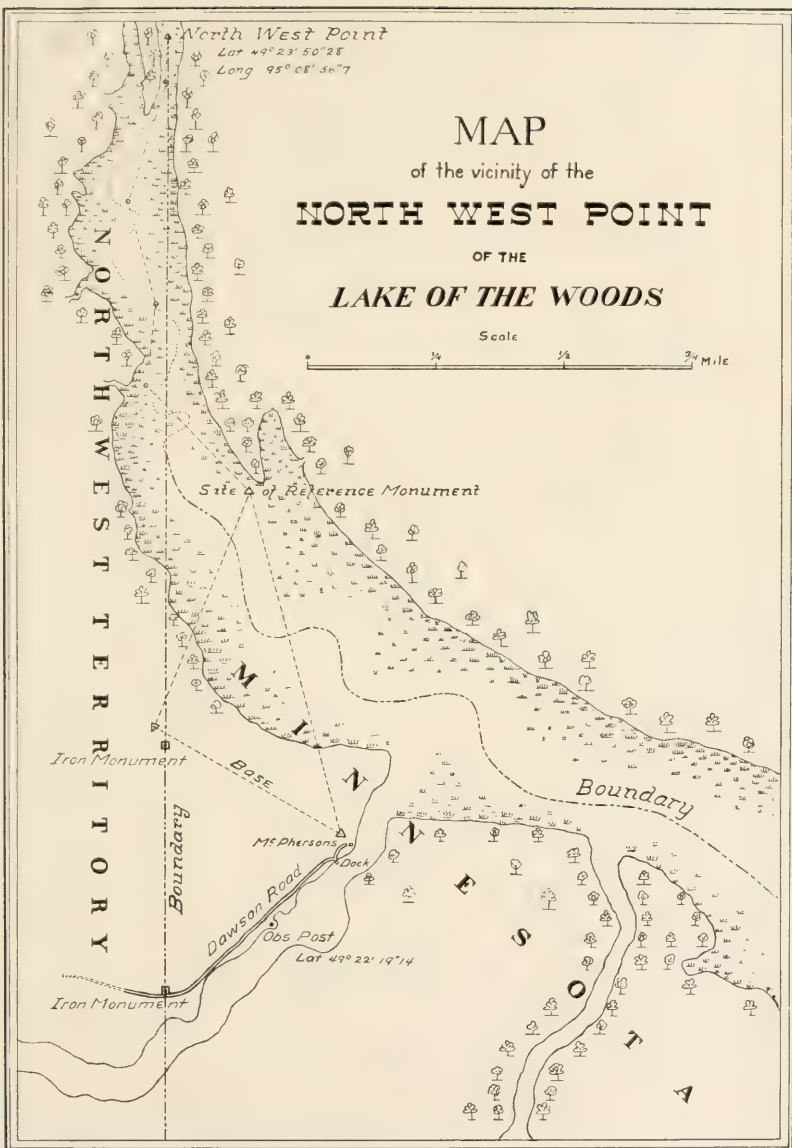
The third and last part of the northern international boundary line to be settled was that part which extended from the summit of the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean, and fixed the northern limits of the Oregon Territory. The right to ownership to the Oregon country was for nearly half a century a disputed question between the government of the United States and that of Great Britain.

When the fur trade in the great central valley had been pushed as far west as the mountains, the great distances to the coasts, both north and east, caused the traders, and the fur companies as well, to begin searching for some outlet toward the western ocean. Expeditions of discovery were sent out for this purpose and all returned with glowing accounts of the Pacific country. Two westward flowing rivers, the Frazer and the Columbia, were discovered, and settlements and fur trading posts were soon established. Great agricultural farms were developed by the Hudson's Bay Co. in the interest of Great Britain. Fur traders from the United States pushed westward into the Columbia valley and the Willamette until it soon became evident that should either United States or Great Britain lay claim to the territory, that claim would immediately be contested by the other country.

All the early negotiations show clearly that boundary lines at that time were very uncertain. But few expeditions through the interior had been sent out, and but little surveying and mapping had been done. When Louisiana was purchased from France

MAP
of the vicinity of the
NORTH WEST POINT
OF THE
LAKE OF THE WOODS

Scale
0 1/4 1/2 3/4 Mile



in 1803 its boundaries were so indefinitely stated that many did not know whether they extended to the Pacific Ocean or ended at the Rocky Mountains. President Jefferson took the latter view, but when he in 1804, commissioned Captains Lewis and Clark for the exploring expedition to the Missouri river and its sources, he told them also to "seek out and trace to its termination in the Pacific, some stream, whether the Columbia, the Oregon, the Colorado, or any other, which might offer the most direct and practicable water communication across the continent for the purpose of commerce."¹

The interest in the Pacific coast was growing and each of the countries, United States and Great Britain, was desirous of strengthening its claim in that region. Senator Benton mentions the fact that in the same year of the Louisiana purchase, a treaty was signed fixing the boundary line from the Lake of the Woods to the Mississippi river, but this was rejected by Mr. Jefferson for fear it might compromise the northern boundary of Louisiana.² The British did not then know of its purchase from France.

The negotiations of 1807 also show the attitude of the respective countries towards the Oregon Coast. A treaty was drawn up in which the 49th parallel was agreed upon as the boundary between his majesty's territories and those of the U. S. "Provided that nothing in the present article shall be construed to extend to the northwest coast of America, or to the territories belonging to or claimed by either party on the continent of America to the westward of the Stony Mountains."³ The Chesapeake outrage, together with the change in the British ministry about this time, prevented the ratification of this treaty, and the boundary of the Northwest remained an unsettled question until 1818, when the representatives of the two countries again met in convention.

The line of the 49th parallel from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains was adopted, but when the commissioners on the part of the United States proposed the extension of this line westward to the Pacific Coast, it was not accepted.⁴ A discussion followed in which the claims of both countries were clearly set forth. The United States commissioners did not at this time assert that they had perfect right to the Oregon country, but they insisted that their claim was at least as good as that of Great Britain.⁵ They supported their claim by these facts:

First, the discovery and naming of the Columbia River, by Capt. Gray in 1792.⁶

1. Greenhow, History of Oregon and California, 284.

2. Benton, Thirty Years in the U. S. Senate, New York, 1859, II., 475.

3. Greenhow, History of Oregon and California, 282.

4. *Ib.*, 314.

5. *Ib.*, 314.

6. *Ib.*, 434. Extract from the Log-book of the ship Columbia of Boston, Capt. Gray, May, 1792.

Second, the first exploration of the river from its sources to its mouth by Lewis and Clark in 1804-6.¹

Third, the establishment of the fur trade-post, Astoria, near the mouth of the Columbia river in 1811, by the Pacific Fur Company, of which John Jacob Astor was the head.²

The British agents affirmed that the earlier voyages of Captain Cook, 1778, in which he discovered Nootka Sound, gave them the first right.³ The discovery of Frazer river by Sir Alexander Mackenzie in 1792,⁴ and the establishment of a trading post west of the Rocky Mountains in 1806, by Frazer,⁵ strengthened their claim to this territory.

Although they did not offer any formal line as boundary, they intimated that the Columbia river would be a most convenient one and that they would not agree to any that did not give them the harbor at the mouth of that river, in common with the United States. Already the mouth of the Frazer River was found not to afford a good harbor, which accounts for the determination of Great Britain to secure at least a joint ownership of the mouth of the Columbia.⁶

In the face of these statements, it seemed useless to argue further. Accordingly, it was agreed that any territory which might be claimed by either party on the northwest coast of America and the waters within the same should be free and open for a term of ten years, to vessels, citizens, and subjects of both countries. Although Senator Benton criticizes this as the first of the acts of the government that endangered our title to the Oregon country, it was perhaps the wisest measure that could have been adopted at that time, as Spain by her early explorers had strong claims to this same western coast. She had confirmed these claims by the Nootka Treaty of 1790 with Great Britain, in which it was agreed that the subjects of either country should have free access to the settlements of the other and could carry on trade unmo-
lested.⁷

Russia had made discoveries and formed establishments on the west coast, consequently was another claimant for territory in that section.⁸ In 1819, by the treaty of Florida, Spain ceded all her rights to the territory north of latitude 42° to the United States.⁹

1. Hosmer, *The Expedition of Lewis and Clark*, Chicago, 1903, I., 384.

2. Greenhow, *History of Oregon and California*, 296.

3. Kippis, *A Narrative of the Voyages Round the World*, Capt. Jas. Cook, Philadelphia, p. 343-46.

4. Mackenzie's *Voyages*, New York, 1802, p. 164.

5. Greenhow, *History of Oregon and California*, 290.

6. "There is a bar at the mouth of the Frazer River, vessels with a small draught of water would take the ground. The bar could be removed but it would fill up again immediately. The water on the bar was probably 8 or 9 feet deep.

Report of Select Committee on the Hudson Bay Co., London, 1857, p. 52.

7. Greenhow, *Oregon and California*, 447.

8. *Ib.* 162.

9. *Treaties, Conventions, Etc.*, II., 1651.

In a treaty with the United States in 1824 Russia relinquished her claims on the Pacific Coast south of the parallel 54° and 40' N. Lat.,¹ and England in a treaty, 1825 agreed to accept the same line of demarcation, thereby leaving England and the United States sole claimants for the Oregon Territory.

Meanwhile the period of joint occupation was drawing to a close, and a strong desire was beginning to be felt, particularly on the part of the American government, for a settlement. But conditions had changed since the convention of 1818. The two rival fur companies, Hudson's Bay Co. and the Northwest Co., had consolidated in 1821, and formed one great power for extending trade and settlement into the Northwest.

At the same time, by special act of Parliament the jurisdiction of the Courts of Upper Canada was extended to the "Indian territories, and other parts of America not within the limits of either of the provinces of Lower or Upper Canada, or of any civil government of the United States."² "Under such favorable conditions the Hudson's Bay Company could not fail to prosper. . . . Its posts were extended and its means of communication increased. . . . The agents of the company were seen in every part of the continent, north and northwest of the United States and Canada, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, hunting, trapping, and trading with the aborigines. . . . Of the trading posts, many were fortified and could be defended by their inmates. . . . and the whole vast expanse of territory above described, including the regions drained by the Columbia, was, in fact, occupied by British forces, and governed by British laws."³ This being true many difficulties were certain to arise when the attempt to settle the boundary of the West, was made, particularly if the United States still desired to make the 49th parallel its northern limit.

The attention of Congress was called to our needs on the western coast by President Monroe in his message of Dec. 7, 1824. He said: "In looking to the interests which the United States have on the Pacific Ocean, and on the western coast of this continent, the propriety of establishing a military post at the mouth of the Columbia or at some other point in that quarter, within our acknowledged limits, is submitted to the consideration of Congress. Our commerce and fisheries on that sea, and along the coast, have much increased and are increasing. It is thought that a military post, to which our ships might resort would afford protection to every interest and have a tendency to conciliate the tribes on the Northwest with whom our trade is extensive. It is thought also that by the establishment of such a post, the intercourse between our western states and territories and the Pacific,

1. Treaties, Conventions, Etc. II. 1512.

2. Greenhow, History of Oregon and California, 457.

3. *Ib.*, p. 345.

and our trade with the tribes residing in the interior on each side of the Rocky Mountains would be essentially promoted. To carry this object into effect, the appropriation of an adequate sum to authorize the employment of a frigate with an officer of the corps of engineers, to explore the mouth of the Columbia river and the coast contiguous thereto, to enable the executive to make such establishment at the most suitable point, is recommended to Congress."¹

President Adams, in his recommendations a year later advised in addition to the establishment of a military post, the equipment of a public ship to explore further the northwest coast of the continent.²

These facts, together with the knowledge which we already have, concerning the activities of the fur companies in the West and their constant and successful efforts to push southward into the basin of the Columbia river show that the American government was beginning to realize that some definite action was necessary if she wished to secure her claims to Oregon against those of Great Britain.

In 1824 the first of the conferences which resulted in the treaty of 1827 met in London. "The parties were so entirely at variance with regard to facts as well as principles" that this attempt only resulted in an arrangement and a discussion of proofs on both sides. The proposal of Mr. Rush, one of the American commissioners, that any territory west of the Rocky Mountains claimed by either country, should be free and open to citizens of both nations for ten years, provided that during this period no settlements were to be made by British subjects south of the 49th parallel nor by Americans north of that line, was answered by the proposal which had been intimated in the conference, of 1818, that is, that Great Britain was unwilling to consent to any agreement whereby they would be deprived of the navigation of the Columbia river and the use of the harbor at its mouth.

All prospects of compromise thus destroyed the negotiation ended and was not resumed until 1826, when the offers of 1824 were renewed and Great Britain again refused to accept the plan of the United States and commissioners Rush and Gallatin were "equally determined not to give up their title to any part of the country south of the 49th parallel," and they turned their attention to the renewal of the arrangement for joint occupation.

It was during the early part of this conference that the claims of both countries were re-stated and carefully investigated. The United States claimed possession of the territory west of the Rocky Mountains between the 42nd and 49th parallels of latitude because by the Louisiana treaty they had acquired the titles which

1. Williams, *Statesman's Manual*, New York, 1853, Vol. 1, p. 477.

2. *Ib.*, II., 591.

France had to this region, and by the Florida treaty they had secured the title of Spain. They claimed the region because of the discovery of the mouth of the Columbia, the first exploration of countries through which the river flows, and the establishment of the first posts in those countries by the American citizens, and lastly by contiguity.

Great Britain did not claim sovereignty over any part of this disputed tract but only demanded the right of joint occupation, hence proceeded to refute America's claims. Marbois, in his history of Louisiana says "the shores of the western ocean were certainly not included in the cession to the United States."¹ President Jefferson in a letter to Mr. Breckenridge dated, Monticello, Aug. 12, 1803 says, "The boundaries which I deem not admitting question are the highlands on the western side of the Mississippi enclosing all its waters, the Missouri, of course, and terminating in the line drawn from the northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods to the nearest source of the Mississippi as lately settled between Great Britain and the United States."² Besides these two statements the words of the treaty of transfer given by Louis 14th to Crozat, the same extent being preserved thru all the subsequent transfers, were that Louisiana included all the countries watered by the rivers which empty directly or indirectly into the Mississippi.³ From these facts it will be seen that the British commissioners were justified in throwing out the claim of the United States to the Pacific coast thru the titles acquired in the treaty of Louisiana because this Louisiana could not have been intended to extend to the western ocean.

While admitting the validity of the claims acquired from Spain through the treaty of 1819, the commissioners from England dismissed it on the grounds that the only claims Spain had at that time to cede to the United States were those held in common with Great Britain as stated in the provisions of the Nootka Convention of 1790.⁴ In interpreting the other documents used to sustain their claims the British made many mistakes. "They insisted that, Mr. Meares, a lieutenant in the royal navy . . . really effected discovery four years before Gray is even pretended to have entered the river." The accounts of Lieut. Meares, himself, do not bear out this statement. To be sure he sailed along the western coast searching for such a river. He found the promontory to the south of where the river was supposed to be and also entered the shallow bay near the mouth, but the very names which he gave to these forms, Cape Disappointment and Deception Bay, prove that his search

1. Hermann, Louisiana Purchase, p. 77.

2. *Ib.*, 77.

3. Greenhow, History of Oregon and California, 277.

4. Nootka Treaty, 1790, *Ib.*, 466.

was not successful and his diary contains the following statement. "We can now with safety assert that there is no such river as that of St. Roe exists, as laid down in the Spanish charts."¹ A long line of breakers and sand bars formed by the tides and current of the river was the cause of Lieut. Meares concluding that no such river existed and although this voyage preceded that of Capt. Gray by four years, it did not result in the discovery of the Columbia river as was claimed by Great Britain. That honor unmistakably belongs to Capt. Gray who in May, 1792, made a passage between the sand bars and breakers, against the ebb tide into the "large river of fresh water beyond." Capt Gray gave to this stream the name of his ship, Columbia.²

The commissioners on the part of Great Britain refused to allow that the claims of the United States were strengthened by the exploration of the Columbia by Lewis and Clark, claiming that if not before, at least in the same and subsequent years, the agents of the Northwest Co. had established posts on the northern branch of the river, and were extending them down to its mouth when they heard of the formation of the American post at that place in 1811.³ Greenhow submits these facts: "That Lewis and Clark descended the Columbia and reached its mouth before the middle of November, 1805—that the North-West Company made their first establishment beyond the Rocky Mountains, at some distance north of any part of the Columbia river, in 1806—that the American establishments were formed on the Columbia in 1809, 1810, and 1811, and finally, that Thompson did not arrive among the Kootanie and Flathead tribes until the spring of 1811, after the foundation of Astoria."⁴

The British negotiations declared, however, that they still claimed the rights of trade, navigation, and settlement in the territory under discussion, and admitted that the United States had the same rights and none other. The principal reason for this declaration on their part was the fact that there were many British posts and settlements between the parallels 42° and 49° north latitude, for which the navigation of the Columbia to and from the sea was indispensable.

The claim of contiguity, the last in the arguments of the United States was based on the international doctrine which is as follows: To the nation under whose flag the mouth of a river is discovered, all the country drained by that river is conceded, "as so held, Mr. Calhoun's attempt, to claim Oregon through the Louisiana Purchase by virtue of contiguity can not be sustained."⁵

1. Greenhow, *History of Oregon and California*, p. 177.

2. *Log book of the Ship Columbia*, *Ib.*, 434.

3. *Ib.*, 350.

4. *Ib.*, p. 298.

5. Hermann, *Louisiana Purchase*, p. 74.

By the same doctrine, however, the United States could justly claim the Oregon country through the discovery of Capt. Gray at the mouth of the Columbia River, but this discovery was not admitted by the British commissioners as preceding her discovery of the same river.

Mr. Gallatin, of the American commission then intimated that his government was ready to agree to a simple extension of the treaty of 1818 for a term of ten years provided that both parties were restricted, during its continuance in force, from exercising, or assuming to themselves the right to exercise any exclusive sovereignty or jurisdiction over the territories mentioned in the agreement.¹ The objections to this were strong and in reply he was informed that Great Britain would not complain of this extension, provided that no custom house should be erected in the country west of the Rocky Mountains.² That citizens and subjects of the two powers residing in those countries be subject to the jurisdiction of their own nation respectively, and that no military post should be established by either party in those countries, at least no such post as would command the navigation of the Columbia or any of its branches.

Mr. Gallatin would accept the first condition, but feared collisions might result from an attempt to carry out the second, and on the third he believed it would be impossible to come to any understanding since the British were not willing to admit that the posts of the Hudson's Bay Co. were military establishments.³ The commissioners from England would consent to no renewal of the agreement for a fixed period of time whereby they might lose the right of free navigation and settlement in the disputed section. Finally, on Aug. 6, 1827, a convention was signed in which the provisions of the third article of the treaty of 1818 were further extended for an indefinite period, provided that either party had the right to annul and abrogate the agreement, on giving a year's notice to the other party.

This extension was again criticised by Senator Benton as endangering our title to the region in dispute and as discouraging to emigration.⁴ Greenhow again states as he did in referring to the convention of 1818, that the indefinite extension was the most wise, as well as the most just arrangement which could then have been made. While there is no doubt that the claim of the United States was stronger than that of Great Britain and should have given to her the right of possession to the Oregon country, she was not at that time ready to insist upon the recognition of that right.

1. Hermann, Louisiana Purchase, pp. 73, 74.

2. Greenhow, History of Oregon and California, p. 353.

3. "The Hudson's Bay Co.'s establishments west of the Rocky Mountains are called forts, and are all sufficiently fortified to resist any attack which might be expected." *Ib.*, 33.

4. Benton, Thirty Years in the U. S. Senate, New York, 1859, p. 469.

But few Americans were then in the west, as late as 1843 the whole number is reported as not more than two hundred.¹ At the same time there were a good many British posts within the Columbia country alone, several of which were already beginning to take the form of settlements.² Fort Vancouver was surrounded by a farm of 600 acres, containing gardens and orchards, with not less than 700 inhabitants. Near Fort Nasqually a large agricultural establishment was being developed, and it may be truly said that England through her agents the Hudson's Bay Co. was in actual possession of the country west of the Rockies.

The American missionaries and settlers had not yet become interested in the far west. This interest was soon aroused, however, after the Convention of 1827, and the question of the right of the United States to Oregon country was becoming a live issue. It was a matter concerning especially the then western states and the western statesmen were the ones upon whom the responsibility of making good our claims rested.³ The presidential election of 1828 resulted in the choice of Andrew Jackson, a man from the new west and the frontier. He was aware of the importance of Oregon to the United States and under his direction Mr. Slacum in 1836 was commissioned to go to the Oregon country and to obtain some specific and authentic information in regard to the inhabitants of the country in the neighborhood of the Columbia.

"Mr. Slacum went to the Columbia valley and during the winter of 1836-7, visited various factories and settlements. He presented the results of his examinations to Congress in a memorial on Dec. 18, 1837."⁴

The first efforts at settlement without any special commercial interest was the missionary colony founded in 1834 in the valley of the Willamette, by a small party from the Northern and Eastern states under the direction of Messrs. Lee, Shepherd and other Methodist missionaries,⁵ who cleared land, erected houses, and opened schools for the instruction of the natives.⁶

1. Greenhow, History of Oregon and California, p. 35.

2. A list of these forts is as follows:—

Ft. Vancouver, Ft. George, Ft. Umqua, Ft. Walla-Walla, Ft. Okinagan, Ft. Colville, Ft. Nasqually, Ft. Langley, Ft. Boise, Ft. Hall.

ib., p. 34.

3. The American fur traders in the region west of the Rocky Mountains are referred to as conducting their operations at the head waters of the Colorado or Utah Lake. *ib.*, 360.

4. Published in Senate Documents of 1837-8.

Large extracts from the same are used in Mr. Linn's report. *Niles Register*, Vol. 55, 139.

"It contains no information of value, and abounds in errors, many of them on material points." Greenhow, History of Oregon and California, p. 361.

5. Among these early missionaries was Marcus Whitman, concerning whom, and his work for Oregon much has been written. While he had a place in this early time, undue emphasis has been placed upon his efforts to save Oregon. See Legend of Marcus Whitman in American Historical Review for January, 1901, p. 276.

6. "Mission family for Oregon.—It is perhaps generally known that the ship *Lausanne*, Capt. Josiah Spaulding, will sail from N. Y. in a few days for the Columbia river, via Valparaiso, and the Sandwich Islands, with the mission family bound to Oregon. This mission is under the care of the Missionary Society of the M. E. church and was established some four years since, and from the last

This was the beginning of a movement which continued to grow in importance, and attracted settlers from many parts of the Union. The people as well as the government were now interested in maintaining our claims to the country in the west. The situation there was becoming alarming and every effort was being made to secure accurate information concerning conditions in the northwest.

In 1841 Lieutenant Wilkes had been ordered by the Secretaries of War and Navy to survey as nearly as he could the Columbia regions and inquire into conditions there.¹ He visited the Methodist missions in Willamette Valley and at Fort Nasqually and reported them in good condition although small, and makes special and valuable report concerning the development of the agricultural establishments of the Hudson's Bay Co., managed and controlled by the off-shoot of that company called the Puget Sound Agricultural Co.² At Fort Nasqually the establishment consisted of a large dairy farm, several hundred head of cattle, with a farmer and dairy man brought from England as Superintendent.³ They grew large crops of wheat, oats, and peas. The Company farm on the Cowlitz occupied extensive prairie on both banks of the river, and included 600 or 700 acres, with large granaries, a large farm-house, and numerous out-buildings, and they were about to erect a saw and grist mill.⁴ The Vancouver Farm on the Columbia was perhaps the largest of the three and consisted

and recent advices it was in a very prosperous condition. The Rev. Jason Lee, who was the pioneer of this mission over the Rocky Mts., and who is now Supt., returned some months ago to make known to the parent board the condition and prospects of the mission. He now goes back with an addition to the mission family of 50 persons, viz.

Rev. Jason Lee & wife, New Eng. Conf.

Rev. J. H. Frost, wife & child, New York Conf.

Rev. Wm. W. Kone & wife, N. Carolina Conf.

Rev. Alvan F. Waller, wife and 2 children, Genesee Conf.

Rev. J. P. Richmond, M. D. wife and 4 children, Illinois Conf.

Rev. Iva L. Babcock, Physician, wife and child, Ithaca, N. Y.

Mr. Geo. Abernethy, missionary steward, wife and 2 children, N. Y.

Mr. W. W. Raymond, farmer & wife.

Mr. Henry B. Brewer, farmer & wife, Mass.

Mr. Lewis H. Judson, Cabinetmaker, wife and 3 children, N. Y.

Mr. Josiah L. Parrish, blacksmith, wife and 3 children, N. Y.

Mr. Jas. Olby, carpenter, Troy, N. Y.

Mr. Hamilton Campbell, carpenter, wife and child, Ill.

Miss Maria T. Ware, teacher, Gillston, N. H.

Miss Chloe A. Clark, teacher, East Windsor, Ct.

Elmira Phillips, teacher, Springfield, Mass.

Almira Phelps, teacher, Springfield, Mass.

Orpha Laukton, stewardess, Hartford, Ct.

Thomas Adams, Indian boy, Oregon."

Niles Register, Nov. 9, 1839, Vol. 53, p. 175.

1. Greenhow, History of Oregon and California, p. 376.

2. "I have mentioned these agricultural establishments as connected with the Hudson's Bay Co., and they are in reality so, but as their charter precludes their engaging in these operations, another company has been organized, under the title of the 'Puget Sound Company' the shares of which are held by officers, agents and servants of the Hudson's Bay Co., and its officers are exclusively chosen from among them." Wilkes' Exploring Expedition, Philadelphia, 1845, IV., 307.

See also Report of the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, Aug. 8, 1857, pp. 64, 118, 294.

3. Wilkes' Exploring Expedition, IV., 307.

4. Ib., IV., 315.

of a large dairy and sheep farm in charge of a Canadian and his wife.¹ There were three thousand head of cattle and two thousand five hundred head of sheep. A saw mill, a grist mill and a smith's shop were included in this farm.

The American people were beginning to understand that only by developing a population in Oregon, to counteract the influence of those rapidly growing British establishments could we hope to secure that territory. Societies were formed for emigration to Oregon, and from these as well as from settlers already in the west petitions were constantly being presented to Congress asking for grants of land and for protection.²

This movement westward was purely a voluntary undertaking as no aid was given by the United States government either in grants of land or in protection and in many cases the settlers were dependent at first upon the hospitality of the British inhabitants. Bills and resolutions were constantly being introduced in Congress, but no definite action was taken until 1843.³

As early as Feb. 1838, Linn, senator from Missouri who had shown much interest in the West beyond the Rockies, introduced a bill⁴ authorizing the occupation of Columbia or Oregon river, establishing a territory north of latitude 42° and west of the Rocky Mountains to be called Oregon Territory, authorizing the establishment of a fort on that river, and the occupation of the country by military force of the United States because "there is every reason to apprehend that if this territory should be neglected, in the course of five years it will pass from our possession."⁵

1. Wilkes' Exploring Expedition, IV., 334.

2. "For Oregon. A number of young men of Portland, Maine, are getting up a company to go to the Oregon territory." Niles Register, Vol. 57, p. 256.

Petition by Mr. Young, from Levi Owen and other citizens of Kentucky, asking grants of lands in Oregon, and permission to take their negroes with them and that John Brown, of Kentucky be appointed governor of the territory. *Ib.*, Vol. 59, p. 123.

"Feb. 27, 1840—Mr. Tappan presented memorial from 238 citizens of Ohio asking aid of congress in making a settlement in Oregon territory, on Lewis river, by making such grants as may be deemed proper." *Ib.*, Vol. 58, p. 10.

"June 4, Petition by Mr. Linn, from 70 citizens of territory of Oregon, praying the extension of the jurisdiction of laws of U. S. over the same." *Ib.*, Vol. 58, p. 236.

3. "Mr. Cushing reported a bill for the protection of the citizens of the United States residing in the Oregon territory or trading on the Columbia river or its tributaries." *Ib.*, Vol. 55, p. 304.

"In 1839 Mr. Cushing of Mass. offered the following resolution: Resolved that the President be requested to communicate whether the government of the United States has given to that of Great Britain the stipulated notice to annul and abrogate the convention of Sept. 6, 1827, under cover of which, and of the convention of the 20th of Oct., 1818, the Hudson's Bay Co., has proceeded with permission or by connivance of the government of Great Britain to establish military posts in the territory of the U. S. beyond the Rocky Mountains." *Ib.*, Vol. 55, p. 364.

4. Life and Public Services of Dr. Linn, New York, 1857, p. 195.

5. "The Oregon. It is time that the question of jurisdiction over the Oregon territory now mooted by the Eng. and this government, were examined and the facts clearly ascertained and settled, whether we are entitled to the country, as is generally believed, or whether the Eng. can claim it according to the law of nations. The longer that the adjustment of this question is delayed, the more

Clay urged that the stipulations of the treaty be inquired into to see whether we could now occupy the country without giving offense to Great Britain, while Senator Buchanan from Penn. was much in favor of the measure and thought that the time had come when the Government ought to assert its rights to the Oregon country or abandon it forever. He mentioned the year's notice provided in the treaty of 1827 and said this was the time to act.

The matter was referred to a select committee composed of Senator Linn, chairman, Senator Preston of S. C., Senator Walker, Miss., Senator Wall, N. J., and Senator Pierce, N. H. This committee after careful investigation presented in June a lengthy report. They reviewed the entire question to date and included much of Mr. Slacum's report. They made clear our title to the Oregon country, its importance, England's influence and our danger from that influence and offered a bill for the protection of persons and property of the residents of that country. The bill was lost. Early the next session, Mr. Linn introduced a similar bill, which was again referred to a committee. This continued through every session and special session. Either in the form of a bill or a resolution, the Oregon question was introduced by Mr. Linn and was as often defeated. He was earnestly supported during this time by his colleague, Senator Benton and by the senators from Pennsylvania and Illinois. It is also interesting to note that the two senators from South Carolina were its strongest opponents.

In August, 1842, Mr. Linn addressed the Senate in support of his bill. He presented a bundle of memorials from settlers in Oregon, and letters from nearly every quarter of the Union, making inquiries as to what was doing and what was likely to be done by Congress. The committee urged that the bill be passed but just then Lord Ashburton arrived from England to enter into a negotiation touching all points of dispute between Great Britain and the United States and further action on the bill was suspended. The work of the commissioners was anxiously watched, particularly since President Tyler had written that he intended to urge upon Great Britain the importance of an early settlement of the Oregon question. Great disappointment was felt when the treaty was signed and completely ignored the Northwest Coast. Considerable excitement in both the United States and England arose when Senator Linn's bill was introduced at

difficult it will be to come to an amicable settlement. The Hudson Bay Co., already act as if the whole of the country west of the Rocky Mountains belonged to Great Britain, to the great detriment of American citizens, who are engaged in similar undertakings, and are struggling with difficulties thus thrown in their way." (Mer. Jour.)

Niles Register, Oct. 3, 1840.

the next session of Congress and passed in the Senate.¹ Although it was lost in the House, a wholesome enthusiasm had been aroused over the discussions of this bill and settlers moved rapidly westward, forming a colony which was to hold the disputed territory and demand the settlement of the boundary line.

In November 1842, the year of the Webster-Ashburton Treaty, the British minister was instructed to propose a negotiation for the settlement of the western territory but nothing came of it, and in 1844 the matter was renewed, but settlement was prevented by the death of Upshur, Secretary of State.² Later in the same year Calhoun and Pakenham met seven times to come to some agreement, but they could not agree and Mr. Calhoun refused to leave the matter to arbitration as was suggested by the British minister. When Polk was elected president in 1844, one of the campaign cries was "Fifty-four-forty or fight" The British spirit was aroused and it soon became evident that, in any further settlement of the boundary line, the United States must take the initiative. Accordingly Buchanan, the new Secretary of State, after waiting for some time sent a notice to Pakenham offering the 49th parallel as a possible settlement. A political storm immediately arose, mostly in the newspapers, because this offer was directly in opposition to the platform upon which President Polk was elected and the negotiation was dropped. Meanwhile the House and the Senate had passed a bill providing for notification of Great Britain of the termination of the joint convention of 1828. It was rumored that Sir Robert Peel regretted that the

1. Benton, *Thirty Years in the United States Senate*, II., 477.

Votes of Mr. Linn's bill was as follows:

YEAS.		NAYS.	
Allen	Ohio	Archer	Va.
Benton	Mo.	Bagby	Ala.
Buchanan	Penn.	Barrow	La.
Clayton	Del.	Bates	Mass.
Fulton	Ark.	Fayard	Del.
Henderson	Miss.	Berrien	Ga.
King	Ala.	Calhoun	S. C.
Linn	Mo.	Choate	Mass.
McRoberts	Ill.	Conrad	La.
Magnum	N. C.	Crafts	Vt.
Merrick	Md.	Dayton	N. J.
Phelps	Vt.	Evans	Maine
Sevier	Ark.	Graham	N. C.
Smith	Conn.	Huntington	Conn.
Smith	Ind.	McDuffie	S. C.
Sturgeon	Penn.	Miller	N. J.
Tappan	Ohio.	Porter	Mich.
Walker	Miss.	Rives	Va.
White	Ind.	Simmons	R. I.
Wilcox	N. H.	Sprague	R. I.
Williams	Maine	Tallmadge	N. Y.
Woodbury	N. H.	Woodbridge	Mich.
Wright	N. Y.		
Young	Ill.		

ABSENT.

Kerr	Md.	Cuthbert	Ga.
Morehead	Ky.	Vacant	Tenn.
Crittenden	Ky.	Nicholson	Tenn.

2. *Ib.*, II., 660-61.

earlier offer of the 49th parallel had not been accepted and in a short time the British minister sent an offer of the same line which was accepted and it only remained to formulate a treaty.

The President, advised by some of his cabinet, and in order to ward off party troubles, addressed a communication to the Senate asking for their advice in regard to the settlement of the Oregon boundary. It was resolved in the Senate, to advise the President to accept the proposal of the British Government for a convention to settle the boundaries, etc., between the United States and Great Britain west of the Rocky or Stony Mountains. Four days afterwards the treaty was sent in due form and the convention was concluded and signed June 15th, 1846, establishing the 49th parallel as the northern boundary of the Oregon territory.¹ A further provision in the same treaty secured to the Hudson's Bay Co. the rights to their property in the newly settled territory and also securing to the Puget Sound Agricultural Co. their farms, lands, etc., north of the Columbia River, but it provided that in case these lands should be considered of public and political importance they should be transferred to the United States Government at a proper valuation.² In 1863 this transfer was made by a special treaty. The Commissioners Alex. S. Johnson, for United States and John Rose, for Great Britain, met in Washington in 1865, when memorials were presented stating the claims of the two companies. Many witnesses were called. The investigation was made during 1867 and 1868 and the Hudson's Bay Co. asked \$3,822,036.67 to relinquish their claim, including fourteen forts,³ and the navigation of the Columbia River. The Puget Sound Agricultural Company owned two large establishments, one, Nasqually, on Puget Sound containing not less than 261 sq. mi. and the Cowlitz Farm, containing 3,572 acres with 1,500 acres improved. Together with the farms were listed large herds of cattle, horses and sheep and for their rights they asked the sum of \$1,168,000.⁴ After the investigation which occupied more than two years the award was made Sept. 10, 1869, giving to the Hudson's Bay Co., \$450,000 and to the Puget Sound Agricultural Co. \$200,000 in gold coin.⁵ For this the above named

1. Treaties, Conventions, Etc., Ser. No. 5646, I., 656.

2. Art. 4, Treaty of 1846. *Ib.*, p. 656.

3. The forts were:

1. Vancouver.	8. Fort Hall.
2. Champoege.	9. Boise.
3. Post at mouth of Cowlitz River.	10. Okanagan.
4. Ft. George.	11. Nez. Perces (Walla-Walla)
5. Cape Disappointment.	12. Colville.
6. Chinook.	13. Kottanais.
7. Umpqua.	14. Flat Head.

British and American Joint Commission for final Settlement of the Claims of Hudson's Bay and Puget Sound Agricultural Companies, Washington, 1865, I, 10.

4. *Ib.*, I., 26.

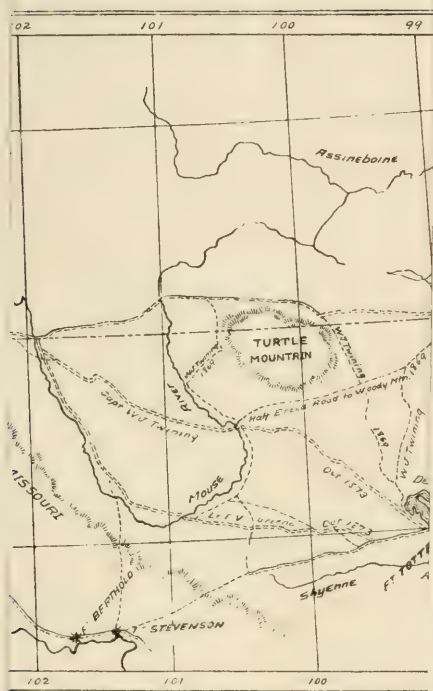
5. *Ib.*, XIV., 31.

companies were to relinquish all their possessory rights and claims to property in the Oregon Territory.

The commissioners provided for by the treaty of 1846, to survey the 49th parallel from the summit of the Rocky Mountains westward to the Pacific Ocean were appointed in 1858. The work, however, was not done until several years later and the maps of the survey were not approved until 1870. These commissioners, being unable to agree upon the channel southward from the 49th parallel through Fuca's Straits, the matter was by the treaty of 1871 referred to the Emperor of Germany for settlement, his decision to be final and conclusive.¹ The English Commissioner claimed that the line should be run through Rosaris Straits, and the United States commissioner claimed that it should go through the Haro Channel. The German Emperor, after carefully examining the maps, and other evidence presented to him, decided in favor of the line claimed by the American commissioners, this giving to the United States the San Juan group of islands in Puget Sound.² The final action on the Oregon question is the protocol of a conference at Washington, March 10, 1873, which contains an exact statement of the boundary line as laid down by the commissioners in accordance with the terms of the treaty of 1871.

1. Treaties, Conventions, Etc., Ser. No. 5646, I., 700.

2. *Ib.*, I., 716.



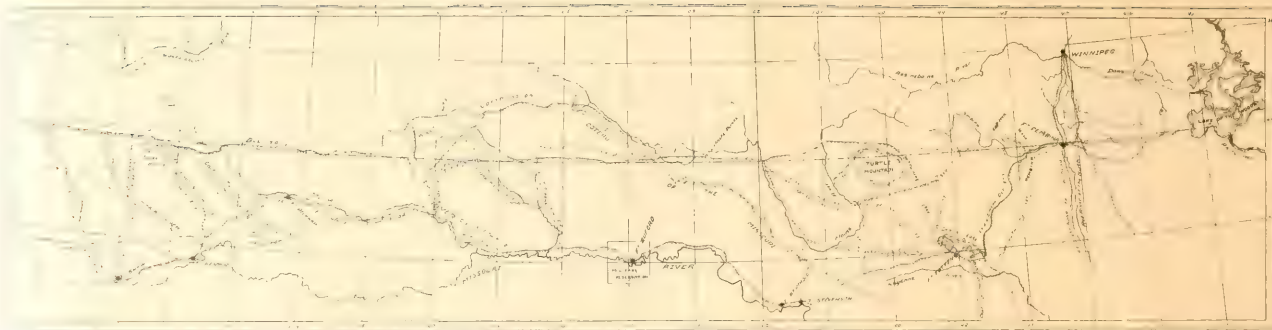
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1. Treaties, Conventions, Etc., Ser. No. 5646, I., 700.

2. *Ib.*, I., 716.



Map of Survey of International Boundary from Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains.

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Appendix



No. 1

BRITISH COMMISSION

His Majesty's Commissioner,
Major Cameron, R. A.

His Secretary, an officer of Royal Engineers.

A Chief Astronomer) Officers of the
Two Astronomers) Royal Engineers.

Two Surveyors.

Lieut. Col. Forrest of Canadian Militia P. L. S.

Mr. A. L. Russell, P. L. S.

One Veterinary Surgeon

Mr. W. G. Boswell.

The last named selected and purchased the transport animals, horses, oxen, dogs and wagons, and carts. During the survey he made extensive journeys through Canada, Minnesota, and Montana.

One Geologist and Naturalist

Mr. G. M. Dawson,

He examined the whole country traversed and has published in Canada an exhaustive report on the geology and flora of the boundary line.

One Commissariat Officer.

Mr. L. W. Herchmer.

His line of supplies was 400 miles in 1873 and 860 miles in 1874. He had many hard journeys through the Indian country with only one attendant.

One surgeon.

Dr. F. J. W. Burgess, M. D.

One Assistant Surgeon.

Dr. T. Milman.

Four Sub-Assistant Astronomers.

G. F. Burpee,

W. F. King

W. A. Ashe

G. G. Coster

Three Assistants to the Surveyors.

Lieutenant Rowe.

Mr. D'Arcy East

Mr. G. G. Crompton.

The last fourteen places were filled by Canadian gentlemen who were nominated by the government of the Dominion.

Besides these there were

Forty-four non-commissioned officers and men of the Royal Engineers.

One wagon master.

Twelve depot-servants.

Thirteen officer's servants.¹

This made a total number of eighty nine and during the period of work in the field, teamsters, axemen, and laborers were hired for the season at a daily wage.²

The Commissioner and his Secretary left England in July, 1872 for Washington, U. S., from there they went to Ottawa and finally started for the Red River country early in Sept.³

No. 2

Members of Am. Commission. 1873-4.

From Sec'y Bang's Pay Roll.

(Major) Capt. W. J. Twining.

Com. Archibold Campbell.

Stiles	King
Harwood	Ethur
H. W. Bayard	F. Von Schrader, Ass't Eng.
Dr. Cones	Jos. Le Vaille
O. D. Ladley—Quartermaster	Lewis Boss
Chas. Allen	Louis Dimant
R. Garrett	Z. P. Hammer
A. Smith	Bell
W. H. Watt	F. V. Greene
Joseph Montraille	Clover
D. H. Ridgley	B. C. Wilson
J. Davenport	McPherson
J. N. Speel	Cotey
Harper	Ringer
Lesslie	Dean
Dorsey	Presley
A. C. Turner	B. J. Estes
H. B. Dickerman	Kincaid
H. C. Armstrong	Downing
R. N. Flint	Bagley
Brady	Howard

1. Professional Papers of the Corps of Royal Engineers, Woolwich, 1876. New Series, Vol. 23, 24.

2. Ib. Vol. 23, 60-61. For various trades of the non-commissioned officers, and clothing allowance for each man.

3. Ib. Vol. 23, 25.

Horton	O. S. Wilson
Strong	C. L. Doolittle
Mannsell	John McDougal
J. Collins	David Davis
Emery	Strong
Brayman	Emery
Hodkinson	Armstrong
Lynch	

No. 3

Journal of J. E. Bangs.

Wed. 21, May, 1873.

Left home at 8 P. M. for Dayton, Ohio, enroute to St. Paul—very wet and disagreeable, melting time.

Thurs. 22 [1873].

Arrived in Dayton at 10 o'clock P. M. Went to Beekel House and went to sleep.

Friday, 23 [1873].

Called on Judge Baggot—found Mrs. Baggot and Dearing had gone to Louisville—very warm day. Called on Judge and dined with him. Left at 2:40 for Louisville where arrived at 11 P. M. and put up at the Willard Hotel.

Saturday, 24 [1873].

Called on Mrs. D.—met Aunt Fannie for the first time—like her very much. Mrs. D. looks well and is enjoying her trip. I take a Hackride in the afternoon with Mrs. D. and the two Mrs. B's—very delightful Spend the evening with the family and retire at 11.

Sunday, 25 [1873].

I go to church with Mrs. Dearing, two Mrs Baggots, Mrs. Thomas, Mrs. Hayes and Miss Pope—Chestnut St. M. E. Ch. S.—Dr. Revers—text—"The fall and Recovery of Peter"—very instructive and comforting discourse—Invited to dinner with family but refuse and bid them all adieu. Mrs. D. and Aunt Fannie affectionately—Leave Louisville for Chicago at 3. But have to lie over in Indianapolis until next morning—go to Epis. church at night and take room at "Spencer House."

Monday, May 26 [1873].

Disappointed in getting off at 6. I leave at 11:40 by Kankakee route for Chicago where I arrive at 9 o'clock and crossing the city to the Wisconsin depot take the 9:30 train for St. Paul.

Tues., May 27 [1873].

Reach Elroy, Wis., at 7 where we breakfast and after a tedious journey arrive in St. Paul at 6:15 P. M. and put up at the Metropolitan Hotel. Supper and telegraph to Mr. Campbell my arrival. Met Mr. Maxfields and took walk with him.

Wed., May 28 [1873].

Making out vouchers and paying bills—very busy. Sent my trunk to Clifford and Maxfields for storage. Left St. Paul at 8 P. M. with the party via L. S. & M. and N. P. R. R. for Pembina.

Thurs., May 29 [1873].

Reached Duluth for breakfast—the celebrated Duluth made famous by Proctor Knott—Don't think much of it.—Left at 7 A. M. and passed through Brainerd enroute to Moorhead which we reached at 8 and took Steamer "Selkirk" for Pembina. Boat crowded with freight and passengers.

Friday, May 30 [1873].

Reach Georgetown on Red River where post letters.

Saturday, May 31 [1873].

Pass Grand Forks—where teleg. to Harback.

Sunday, June 1 [1873].

Reach Fort Pembina at 9 A. M. Raining horribly—Pitched Camp. Invited to lunch by Bradley and to bed by Woodruff—accept.

Monday, June 2 [1873].

Clear weather.

Thurs., June 5 [1873].

Clear weather—Wrote to Dr. Roszen—Hail storm in afternoon.

Friday, June 6 [1873].

Rain in morning.

Saturday, June 7 [1873].

Cloudy—threatening rain—Wrote to Mrs. Dearing. Green's party left camp for the line at 12 o'clock.

Sunday, June 8 [1873].

In afternoon rode up to the English Barracks at Dufferin. Received letters from Ned Hay (Postal Card) Mother and Mrs. Dearing—Wrote to Ned at night.

Monday, June 9 [1873].

Mr. Gregory's party left Camp at 6:30 for the 40 mile point west.

Tues. June 10 [1873].

Major Twining's party left camp at 6:30 for the 20 mile point West. Mail came in from south. Rec'd letters of May 31 and June 1—Night cool, thermometer at +30 during night.

Wed. June 11 [1873].

Morning cool—warm during day—Dacotah arrived with Stiles. Sent Flint to Twining. Greene came down to see me.

Thurs., June 12 [1873].

Warm and clear.

Fri., June 13 [1873].

Cloudy but pleasant—Boswell came in—I went up to Watts—Whist at night—clear.

Sat., June 14 [1873].

Money order for \$30.00 sent to mother—Rode up to Watts—Wrote to Mr. Henderson—Weather lovely—Received letter from Ida and papers of June from home, also vouchers from Kittson—Bradley came in from Twining.

Sun., June 15 [1873].

Beautiful day—Wrote to Ida, Susie and Jim Bremerman.

Mon., June 16 [1873].

Roused at 6:30 by whistle of boat—Got up hastily and dressed and went down where met Mr. Campbell coming off the boat—glad to see him—stopped at Wheaton's.

Tues., June 17 [1873].

Pleasant day—Sent checks to Dandy and vouchers to Wilcox, Mayer and——. Sent in Weekly statements—May 24 to June 14—Rain in afternoon.

Wed., June 18 [1873].

Beautiful morning—getting warmer—Rain in afternoon—Violent blow at night—couldn't sleep.

Thurs., June 19 [1873].

Continued gale—rose at 7. Sleepless night. Money arrived from St. Paul—No letters.

Fri., June 20 [1873].

Morning clear—wrote letters to Mr. Thomson and Josie. Boat arrived with store and other freight.

Saturday, June 21 [1873].

Cloudy all day. No mail at night—Wagons came in from Twining.

Sunday, June 22 [1873].

Cloudy still—Mail in. Rode horseback to Watts, saw Burgess and Dawson.

Mon., June 23 [1873].

Clear—Rain in afternoon.

Tues:—

Rec'd letter from Jim Bremerman of June 15. Rode out in evening. Greene came in.

Wed.

Cloudy and rain in afternoon—Paid Greene's men—Twining came in. Regular spree at night of all parties at Woodruff's.

Thurs., June 26 [1873].

Drizzling rain in morning—cleared off about noon. Hot as ——Wrote to Jim Bremerman.

Friday: 27 [1873].

Mail in—Jamboree at night.

Saturday: 28 [1873].

Sick all day.

Sunday-29 [1873].

Mail in.

Mon., June 30 [1873].

Decided to go out with Twining—Clear and pleasant. Busy all day.

Tues., July 1st [1873].

Invitation to Commencement from Rowe—Twining employs McDonald.

Wed., 2—[1873].

Cavalry move out to St. Joe.

Thurs., 3 [1873].

Paid Stiles for Twining—\$13.70

Due from Twining—\$3.70

Sat., 5 [1873].

Mail in. Night cool.

Monday, 7—[1873].

Rode with Dr. to Watts—Mail in extra stage.

Tues., July 8 [1873.]

Wrote to Jim Brem. and mother, sent check for \$10.

Wed., 9 [1873].

Com. decides to move—start tomorrow—busy packing up—Called on Mrs. Bradley. Played whist—Birthday—paid International.

Thurs., 10 [1873].

Breakfast at 7, wagons off at 9—Dr. and myself soon after. He in buckboard—I on my pony, "Buffalo." Stop for lunch at Ethur's 14 miles from Pembina and camp for night at Grant's 25 miles by odometer. Late supper and restless night.

Friday, July 11 [1873].

Arose at 5:30—Breakfast at 5.45. Wagons loaded and started at 7. Passed St. Joe and bought Pork etc., at Gingras. Met Emeling—Fell from horse—went on 17 miles further and camped at big Coule. Horseback all the way but 1 mile. Day's march 28 miles—tents blew down—devil of a time generally—Perfect Hurricane!

Sat., July 12 [1873].

Remained in Camp and concluded to wait until the arrival of Commissioner. Wrote to Lillie and Ida—altho' no chance to send letters.

Sunday, July 13 [1873].

Breakfast at 9—Major Smith and Graham passed about 10—bringing papers but no letters for me. Mr. Campbell arrived at 11. Wanted to go on. Concluded to wait till the morrow. Slight rain in afternoon—beautiful sunset.

Monday, July 14 [1873].

Awaked at 4 A. M. by the Dr.'s and Com's vociferous howling out the hour—Arose at 5:30 and breakfasted at 6—Warm day threatened. Wagons off at 7. Marched 25 miles and camped on Green's old camp ground—Skeets thick—bad nights. Mailed letters to Ida, Lillie and Ladly (by Estes).

Tues., 15 [1873].

Marched 29 miles and came to where Mess. Gregory and Greene were encamped. They came out to meet us. Met Downing and party coming in. Dined with Greene, Dr. and I. Terrible thunder and rain storm in morning—remained in camp.

Wed., July 16 [1873].

Terrible rain storm early in morning—remained in Camp during day—Showery all day—decided to push in towards Turtle Mountain in the morning.

Thurs., 17 [1873].

Started at 7 in company with Gregory's camp and marched 17 miles, camping by side of a stream—Very disagreeable day—

raining, blowing fearfully—Met Lieut. Alexander going towards Pembina with Escort for Greene—Wet to the skin.

Friday, July 18 [1873].

Arose at 5—breakfasted and on march by 6:30. Morning cool and delightful—very rolling country. “Indian Scare” about 9 o’clock—Lent Mark my horse and reached Twining’s camp at Turtle Mountain at 4:30 o’clock. Dined with him.

Sat., 19 [1873].

Mail going out.

Sun., 20 [1873].

Lying in camp. Rode with Bell in evening. Called on Boswell and Burgess—English Camp. Mail in—letter from Ned Hay of July 4.

Monday, July 21 [1873].

Lying in camp.

Tuesday, 22 [1873].

Lying in camp—Weather delightful.

Wed., 23 [1873].

Lying in camp—Mail in—Busy all day. Received music sent by Ned also paper. Sent check to Nichols and Dean H. McKenney—J. S. Foster—Rec’d statements of Ass’t Treas. for June 30.—Finished and sent quarterly accounts to Harwood to mail—Telegraphed to Sec’y of State about money—Up at night till 3 o’clock—Slept an hour—Move to-morrow morning to other side of Turtle Mts. 45 miles about.

Thurs., July 24 [1873].

Aroused at 4 by Wilson. Breakfast at 5. Just as we were in the midst of loading wagons a terrific rain and hail storm arose drenching everything. Wet to the skin again—Still raining when left camp—Cleared up about 12. Road terrible—stuck fast in several places. Marched about 14 miles and camped at 5:30 by a big coulee which by the way is to be crossed in the morning; but how? Echo refuses to respond—Course N. W.

Friday, July 25 [1873].

Morning clear and cool—Breakfast at 5 and off at 6—Coulees innumerable—Marched slowly—country rolling—Met two Wahpeton Sioux. Camp on a beautiful coulee—Deer was seen at 5—Nash came into Camp and slept in my tent—skeets fearful—Course W. by north.

Saturday, 26 [1873].

Up at 3:30. Breakfast at 4:30 and off at 5:30—Struck off from trail and travelled south west and south. Camped at 4 near

the 49th parallel west side of Turtle Mountain, 14 miles march—
Course W. of S. and South.

Thurs., July 31 [1873].

Wrote to Ned, Jim, and mother (sent checks for \$20. and \$10.
to Henderson). Acknowledged statement of ass't Treas.

Friday, Aug. 1 [1873].

Rec'd letters.

Saturday, 2 [1873].

Mailed letters of 31. Sent vouchers to Kennedy.

Saturday, Aug. 9 [1873].

Left Camp on West side of Turtle Mountain and marched
about 19 miles camping on the Mouse River—9 miles below the
1st crossing.

Sunday, Aug. 10 [1873].

Lay over to-day to build boundary mounds between Turtle
Mt. and Mouse River.

Monday, 11 [1873].

Broke Camp at 5:30 and marched 9 miles north, crossing the
Souris River at 1st crossing, marched 10 miles more and camped
on N. Antler Creek.

Tuesday, Aug. 12 [1873].

Broke camp at 5:30 and marched about 18 miles camping at
Elm's end on South Antler Creek—4 miles west of Mr. Gregory's
Camp. Received letters through Lt. Bradley from Ida, Jim B.,
Geo. Thomas and papers announcing Mrs. Cuthcorts death—also
official letters from State dept. and 1st Nat. Bank, St. Paul an-
nouncing deposit of funds.

Wed., Aug. 13 [1873].

Broke camp at 6 and marched about 21 miles—reaching the
cavalry camp at 2nd Crossing of Mouse River at 5 o'clock—beau-
tiful location.

Valentine Wheeler 2 carts at \$2 per day—hired by Greene.

Thurs., Aug. 14 [1873].

Wrote to Treas'r and sent weekly statement for 6 weeks past
—also to 1st. Nat. Bank for Check Books. Twining hired John
Howard—Scout at \$2.50 per day.

Fri., Aug. 15 [1873].

Mail goes out to Stevenson. Twining hired 3 carts at \$2 each
per day.

Sat., Aug. 16 [1873].

Rode out in evening to Galwey's Camp.

Sun., Aug. 17 [1873]

Wrote letters all day. Rode out in evening to desecrate supposed Indian graves—found nothing.

Mon., Aug. 18 [1873].

Remained in camp—wrote weekly statement to Treasurer.

Tues., Aug. 19 [1873].

Warm—Hot as — Terrific wind all day like hot air blasts—Wrote to Kate McMahon and Will Maxfields—sent key of trunk to latter—Weir, Bell, Van Shrader and Hart to lunch—good time—Cavalry Camp in afternoon,—sent note and vouchers to Boss and \$20. to Bayard. Drew check to Helen M. Boss and enclosed it in letter to her—not feeling well—Wrote at night—cool and pleasant. Com'r broke claret for dinner.

Wed., Aug. 20 [1873].

Fine—Wrote to Harvey Beck.

Thurs., Aug. 21 [1873].

Windy—Diplomatic dinner—Twining and Harbeck ride in to our camp about dark. Over to Cavalry Camp at night.

Friday, Aug. 22 [1873].

Mail in. Wrote to Mr. Warren forwarding check for \$300. and 30.50 to Mrs. H's order—asking him to attend to the matter and see that the papers were all correct.

Sat., Aug. 23 [1873].

Busy all day—Ladley leaves for Stevenson—and St. Paul.

Sun., Aug. 24 [1873].

Mail in—Papers announce death of Harding.

Mon., Aug. 25 [1873].

Mail in—Papers with death of Harding—Busy all day. Mailed estimates to Sec'y of State. Sent in weekly statement. Wrote to Gurley at Stevenson—Edgerly in. Writing till nearly 3 o'clock in the morning.

Tues., Aug. 26 [1873].

Twining left for his own camp. Anderson came up on his way west. Com. and Dr. take a ride. Howard came in with report of Indians. Not well all day.

Wednesday, Aug. 27 [1873].

Nave goes to Stevenson carrying mail with him. Dr.— and Hart go shooting—Kill chickens 20 and 4 ducks. Storm arrives at night. Wind, rain, and hail as large as a hen's egg. Terrible blow! Tents barely stand—*Dust, Dust, DUST.*

Thurs., Aug. 28 [1873].

Wind still high—unable to write—sleep till 10—Read “Talisman” all day. Ride in afternoon with Dr. Green and party came up—go over to Green’s camp. See Alexander—Cool at night. Wind abated at sun down, but rose again after dark. Greene “interviews” Commish—Would give anything to see “Potsey.”

Friday, Aug. 29 [1873].

Move camp about 100 yards—better spot.

Saturday, 30 [1873].

Busy all day—Weather fine.

Sunday, Aug. 31 [1873].

Rode down in the river bottom. Mail goes out in evening—Stoning Scout—Sent checks to Harwood (12.44. Cass 5.13) McKenny (162.20) Westermann & Co. (37.91) and vouchers to Stiles for signature.

Monday, Sept. 1 [1873].

Weather fine—Greene moves West.

Tues., 2 [1873].

Weather fine—but rain in morning—take a horseback ride—busy all day recording.

Wed., Sept. 3 [1873].

Weather cloudy and raining in morning. Cool—Mail in. Note from Gurley. Mail vouchers of Winnie to Gen. Card. “Selkirk” to Harwood and weekly statements to Treasurer—Send mail out on the line by Joe. Ridgely returns with buckboard.

Thurs., Sept. 4 [1873].

Wrote and mailed letters—sent to Stevenson by Bagley for gloves and moccasins. Weather cold and mean. In evening Mr. C., Dr. and myself pay a visit to Cavalry Camp. Make Ridgely mail carrier at \$75. month. decide to send him out on Tuesday Sept. 9.

Friday, Sept. 5 [1873].

Broke camp at 7 and started for Wood End Depot 50 miles further west. Morning cold and rainy. Dismal indeed! Marched 36 miles and camped at night at 7 o’clock by the side of St. Peter’s Spring. Very Cold!

Saturday, Sept. 6 [1873].

Woke in the morning by Ridgely with the mail—letters for Dr. and Mr. C.—none for me—Got a late start and passed LaRoche Percee—visited and inspected the same—very curious—reached Long Coteau River about 5 o’clock—Found Twining and Greene encamped—Very pretty.

Sunday, Sept. 7 [1873].

Rose at 9:30 and after breakfast wrote to Ida—Mrs. D. and Gurley—official to Haywood—paid Doolittle \$200.

Monday, 8 [1873].

Weather fine—in Camp.

Tues., 9 [1873].

In Camp.

Wed., 10 [1873].

In Camp.

Thurs., Sept. 11 [1873].

Cloudy—Twining leaves and goes back to Mouse River Depot. Commissioner decides to return in morning—Capt. Cameron calls in morning and has an interview with Mr. Campbell—lively time. Plain talk—Invite him and Ward to dinner. He comes but not Ward. Very pleasant time—Duck, Beef, all the luxuries of the season. He stays till 9—*buzzing* Com'r. To bed early but restless and not able to sleep.

Friday, Sept. 12 [1873].

Damp and disagreeable—chilly and cold. Awakened by Wilson at 4 o'clock. Arise and breakfasted at 4:30 and started off about 6:30—drizzling rain at intervals all day. Passed LaRoche Percie and St. Peter's Spring and encamped at the head of La Rivier de lac at 5 o'clock—making a march of about 38 miles. To bed early—very cold.

Saturday, Sept. 13 [1873].

Slept till 8 o'clock as had a short march to make that day. Joe came with mail at 5 o'clock, letters from mother (Aug. 26) and Jim Bren. (Aug. 26) Also note from Gurley. Started at 9 o'clock and reached Mouse River at 2, about 4 miles an hour—saw Twining, Reno, etc. Twining and Reno call on British Commissioner—came back *full of spirits*. Grand Council on the official status of *Coms*. See Boss and Von Schrader.

Sunday, Sept. 14 [1873].

Mild pleasant morning—write to Mother—Mail goes out—mail letters—Send check for \$300 to order of A. H. Herr to Mother asking her to have Jim Brem. pay it and get receipt check dated Sept. 13, B. 34,224. Wrote letters to Jim Brem and Mr. Thomson—Mailed Weekly statement to Treasurer—Boss and Von Shreder go down and take the mail with them.

Monday, Sept. 15 [1873].

Arose at 8:15—Twining and Reno came over—fix Grebe in box to send to Ida—Ride in afternoon with Edgerly—Mr. Campbell and I have a long talk about Cameron etc.—*Ice* in buckets

at 10 P. M.—Twining, Bell, and Hart come over at night. Twining leaves in morning for Wood End Depot.

Tues., Sept. 16 [1873].

Fearfully cold last night—Basin froze solid—Couldn't sleep, arose this morning at 8—Busy all day. Mailed check to Kennedy. (1,110). Walked over to Cavalry Camp in afternoon, saw Reno and Keogh—All rest out hunting and Minking.

Wed., Sept. 17 [1873].

Began raining before got up—continued so all day. Cold! Paid Bell—Mr. C and Dr. in at night till 12. *Dyspepsia*—Write to Mother. Ridgely expected but does not arrive. Bell and Strong call. Paid Bell 3 checks for \$100.—\$43.92 and \$1,418.70 respectively.

Thurs., Sept. 18 [1873].

Mail goes out. Jimmie takes letters of 14th, 16th and 17th. Cool day—over to Cavalry camp in afternoon, take a ride with Edgerly—Mail in at night, note from Bremerman. Note from Gurley sending stamps as per request.

Friday, Sept. 19 [1873].

Blustering and cool all day—Remained in my tent all day—reading and writing. Edgerly came over and stayed about an hour. Dr. in my tent in the evening. Blows up cold and sky lowering—Wrote to Windsor. Received account of expenses of cutting line East of Pembina from Ward.

Sat., Sept. 20 [1873].

Weather cloudy and windy—rain at intervals. In tent writing all day—Bell and Hart over at night—Write to Harry Beck—Weekly statement to Treasurer.

Sunday, Sept. 21 [1873].

Weather cloudy—Write all day. Mr. Henderson—Gurley—Keogh and Edgerly over at night—Dr. and I walk in afternoon before dinner.

Mon., Sept. 22 [1873].

Mail goes out. Ridgely taking letters. Note to Gurley—Delicious day, Edgerly and Bell over—Mr. Campbell and myself call to Cavalry Camp at night. See all but Reno—he in bed—8 o'clock—selfish. Retire at 11—Deliciously fine day.

Tues., Sept. 23 [1873].

Another fine day—Reading all day. Wind blows furiously at night.

Wed., Sept. 24 [1873].

Arose at 10—Snow fell last night, changed to rain. Rain at intervals all the morning. Read "Middle March"—Telegram for Mr. Campbell in evening telling him not to come home—brought

up by two "Ree" scouts—Reno and Keogh over a few minutes in evening.

Thurs., Sept. 25 [1873].

Weather cloudy—and intervals rain—Write to mother and Clara—Began "Waverly"—raining hard at night.

Friday, Sept. 26 [1873].

Awoke to the pattering of snow on my tent. Snow an inch or two deep—Rodney Smith arrived in morning with Indian Scouts as escort. Over to Cavalry Camp in morning and at night—Dr. and I have long talk.

Saturday, Sept. 27 [1873].

Dr. and I go hunting with Bell and Hart. Cold, raw day. Snow and rain at intervals—Mail goes off with Rodney Smith—(letters of 23 and 25). Snowing hard at night.—Count Cash—Reading "Simpleton."

Sunday, Sept. 28 [1873].

Up at 7. Snow on ground and snowing at intervals all day. Cold and disagreeable—Reading all day—finished "Waverly"—With Mr. C. in afternoon—long talk about Cameron etc. and matters relating to boundary—Very cold—Ice at night—slept warmer than any night.

Monday, Sept. 29 [1873].

Cloudy—pleasant day—Busy all day with Pay Rolls. Finished "Red Gauntlet." Ice at night. Clear night. Hard less on the Astronomers. Mr. C. expatiates on the enormity of Cameron's bill for cutting. He may kick, but of course we'll have to take their word for it.

Tues., Sept. 30 [1873].

Cloudy morning—pleasant day—busy all day with Pay Rolls etc. and making up estimates for money required after Mr. C. leaves—Mail ought to be in to-night or early to-morrow morning—no news for nearly two weeks—(except on 23rd, light mail). Feel anxious about my family.

Wed., Oct. 1 [1873].

Cloudy opening—cleared about 12. Reading "To the Bitter End" all day anxiously looking for the mail. Commissioner takes the day to "interview" me (the Dr. being out shooting) long conversation in which Cameron, Farquhar, Twining, Comes, and everybody generally gets a good scoring. Mr. C. recounts many reminiscences of his earlier official life, much to my entertainment. Tells of Benton, Barnes, Provost, "San Juan" and many—up till 3—Weir and Edgerly drop over.

Thurs., Oct. 2 [1873].

Beautiful morning, like a spring day. "Still waiting" for

that darned mail—It must come in to-day or my faith in Human nature and horse flesh is gone. Mail in at 9 o'clock P. M. Col. Stone, McKenney acknowledging receipt of check and Westerman & Co. Wrote to Ned Hay--Rec'd statement from Ass't Treas'r.

Friday, Oct. 3 [1873].

Wrote to Ida. Told her to address me at St. Paul. Acknowledged Ass't Treas. statement—Sent in weekly statement (Sept. 27). Mailed check to Winnie (\$515.28) McKenny (\$194.19) Paul Harwood (\$20.00)—Sent draft of \$60. to Willie Leute by Joe—also Bill for cutting etc. to Twining—Sent check to 1st National Bank in my favor for \$8,080.00 "Jimmy from Cork" goes out with the mail at 6 P. M.—through to Bismarek. Over Cav. Camp at night—got \$400. from Bell.

Saturday, Oct. 4 [1873].

Morning cloudy—In tent all day—Bell, Keogh, and Reno came over—give Bell check for \$500. Twining comes in from Wood End Depot. Green and Gregory will probably be through by 12th and be here by 15th. "Let us hope so."

Sunday, Oct. 5 [1873].

Beautiful day—air cool. Reading most all day—Over at Cavalry Camp with Twining in afternoon—Very cool at night. Beautiful sunset, first for 10 days.

Monday, Oct. 6 [1873].

Lovely day—Writing most of day—Bell over at night.

Tues., Oct. 7 [1873].

Twining goes back to Wood End. Mr. Campbell decides to go home to-morrow—over to Cav. Camp in morning, sending letters and making out checks in afternoon. Sent check for (\$10) to Mother. Also wrote to Cashier of 1st National Bank.

Wed., Oct. 8 [1873].

Mr. C. and Dr. leave Stevenson. Move my tent over to Cavalry Camp and move men nearer. Mail goes to Stevenson with Dr. and Mr. C. Mail in at night. [Letter from] Mr. Warren (17th) enclosing receipts and letters of administration of Mrs. Harding, and private letter in regard to Secy ship—Note from Mr. Campbell about escort etc.

Thurs., Oct. 9 [1873].

Wrote to Ida and Lillie—and note to Twining. Rode in afternoon with Bell.

Friday, Oct. 10 [1873].

Twining and Gregory with their parties came in from Wood End Depot. Ride with Weir over to their camp—Pay Greg. \$13.20 due him. Wrote to Mother at night.

Saturday, Oct. 11 [1873].

Move my camp to Twining's preparatory to starting out in the morning for Totten. Pay Joe—Mail goes out with letters of 9 and 10.

Sunday, Oct. 12 [1873].

Breakfast at 5:30. Left Camp at 7:45 and struck across the prairie S. E. for Totten. Found water about dark—24 miles—Had to go 2 miles north of our course to find water. Twining discovered the pool and consequently its name is "Lake Twining." Day pleasant and good for marching.

Mon., Oct. 13 [1873].

Breakfast at 5:30 and off at 7—made 19 miles and camped about 7—going S. E. and E. Struck the [———] trail and followed it some distance until it struck a cart trail when we left it and followed the cart trail. Camped on a coulee to the left. At night there being prairie fires in all directions, Twining burnt a circle of about 20 feet in width all around the camp, thus securing our safety in case they should reach our vicinity.

Tues., Oct. 14 [1873].

Breakfast at 4:45 off at 6:10—along the cart trail. Marched 20 miles and camped on Burnt Prairie by a coulee. Cloudy and disagreeable all day. Turtle Mountain to the N. E. all day. Course E. by S. 20 miles.

Wed., Oct. 15 [1873].

Breakfasted at 6 and off at 7. Marched all day over burnt prairie still—Strike the Mouse River below Willow Creek about 12. travel an hour longer and cross it about 2 miles below. Sand hills on the right. Cloudy and cool all day. Very cold at night. Roast duck for supper. 17 miles.

Thurs., Oct. 16 [1873].

Up at 4:30. Breakfast at 4:45, and off by 6. Cold as Blazes. Thermometer at +12. March 10 miles and water at a pool. Beautiful day—warm and pleasant. Hills in distance. Course E. and S. E. by S. distance 23 miles—Camped at 3 o'clock in a pool in the hills—saw a herd of 8 antelope on the prairie—just as we got into camp 5 loose ponies came towards the camp and were captured by Zub and Howard.

Friday, Oct. 17 [1873].

Breakfast at 5 and off at 6—cloudy and threatening rain begins to rain about an hour after leaving camp—winding about in the hills all day. Course S. E.—Pass several lakes—mostly alkaline, some dry—all the grass burnt off—Bruce and Bean chase a Jack rabbit, but don't catch him. Camp at a large lake well timbered—about 15 miles from last camp—Wind blowing

and black dust flying—ugh! horrid—Hurricane Lake the name of the place.

Saturday, Oct. 18 [1873].

Breakfasted at 5—off at 6—Cold, cloudy and blustering. Course S. E. by S. over burnt prairie—dust and cinders nearly blinding—terrible. Follow cart trail some distance and then strike off into an Indian trail—stop for lunch at 12 by a lake in the hills—Hills all around go on about 2 miles farther and camp by a pond about 12 miles N. W. of Devils Lake—distance traveled 20 miles.

Sunday, Oct. 19 [1873].

Breakfast at 5—mules lost and not found till 6:30 when started—Saw Devils Lake from a ridge off to S. E. Stopped on prairie for lunch—travelled $22\frac{1}{4}$ miles and camped about 6 miles from Totten. Day warm and pleasant, delightful. Last of Gregory's "oil of Joy."

Mon., Oct. 20 [1873].

Breakfasted at 7:30 and off at 8:30. Wind blowing and dust flying, miserable and uncomfortable. Col. Hunt met us just as we came in sight of the Fort, accompanied by his two little boys on ponies. Rode in and saw Bannister. Camped about 500 yards to the east of the Fort.

Tues., Oct. 21 [1873].

Dined with Col. Hunt together with Major and Gregory and Harbach. Alex and Dave and Bell in evening—Porter and wife.

Wed., Oct. 22 [1873].

Send Mr. Wilson's pay to J. Q. Wilson, Sturgis, Michigan—after Oct. 1. Send Mr. Doolittle's pay to Mrs. M. C. Doolittle, Ontario, LaGrange Co., Indiana. Mr. Downing's pay to be deposited in Detroit. Greene and party arrived about 12.

Friday, Oct. 24 [1873].

Started from Totten for Jimtown—pleasant day. Made Cheyenne river at 1 o'clock—18 miles. Left checks for 2m and shoes for St. Morris with Gen'l Hunt.

Saturday, Oct. 25 [1873].

Left camp before daybreak and marched 32 miles along the Jim River toward Seward. Snowing at intervals all day—ice in lakes and River 4 inches thick.

Sunday, Oct. 26 [1873].

Marched $20\frac{1}{2}$ miles and camped at coulee 10 miles from Jimtown. Very cold and chilly all day but clear.

Monday, Oct. 27 [1873].

Cold—Reached Seward at 9. Breakfast with Patterson—

Gave Thornton \$150.00, Welch \$10.—Kelly 15.—Tickets \$753.31. Paid Strong \$240.00. Bought Twining's ticket. Left Seward for St. Paul.

Tuesday, Oct. 28 [1873].

Paid for hotel bills of Twining and Gregory (\$1.50 each) and men \$46.50—Lent Bannister \$40. Reached St. Paul in afternoon.

THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY AND THE RED RIVER TRADE.

Hattie Listenfelt.

I.

Early History, 1670-1821.

About the year 1663 two French fur traders, Radisson and Groseilliers, attempted to interest the merchants of Montreal and Quebec in a fur-trading venture in Hudson Bay. In the years just previous to this, these two had been exploring and trading in the region around the upper part of Lake Superior. It is not known positively just where they went in the course of a journey which they made in 1662, but immediately upon their return from that trip they began to agitate the subject of trade in Hudson Bay. If they had not actually reached the Bay, they had at least learned a great deal about it and about its great advantages in the way of fur trade. They met with no success in their efforts to arouse interest in this trade because the Canadian merchants were busy with other ventures and in consideration of the existing friendly relations between the English and French, perhaps they had no wish to antagonize the English by encroaching on the territory which they claimed. Since 1610 the Hudson Bay country had been claimed by the English by reason of the discoveries of Henry Hudson, Button, Fox, and James; later English explorers had strengthened the claim.

The New Englanders had been interested in fur trading and it was probably a knowledge of this fact which led Radisson and Groseilliers to seek help in Boston. The story goes that in 1664 they secured the services of a ship in Boston under a certain Captain Zachary Gillam to undertake an expedition to the Bay. Such an attempt may have been made, but if so, nothing came of it.

Radisson and Groseilliers next tried to secure help for their venture at the French Court but without success. Some one of influence, however, seems to have become interested in their explorations and projects and to have secured for them letters of introduction to Prince Rupert, the cousin and favorite of Charles II. of England, who was well known as a patron of such undertakings.

The extravagant and dissolute court of the restored Stuarts was in chronic need of money at this time. Charles II. had "no desire to go on his travels again" so he was trying to get along without asking Parliament for any great amounts of money. Accordingly, Radisson and Groseilliers found willing listeners for their scheme to secure great wealth in the fur trade. Prince Ru-

pert, the Duke of York, and the King himself entered readily into the plan and a company was organized and stock taken in 1667. The stock holders were practically all men of high birth and great court influence. Two ships were fitted out at their expense for a preliminary expedition. The ship on which Radisson sailed never reached the Bay. The other, under the command of the same Captain Gillam whom the Frenchmen had met in Boston, reached the lower part of the James Bay in 1668 near the mouth of a river which was named Rupert River in honor of the patron of the enterprise. Here the Englishmen built a fort known as Ft. Charles, where they spent the winter trading with the Indians. After a profitable season they returned to London with a cargo of furs.

The promoters of the venture were so well pleased with the result that they at once applied to the King for a charter, which was granted May 2, 1670. The Company thus organized continued its existence under this same Charter until past the middle of the nineteenth century.

The preamble of the Charter states that the grant is made because the incorporators had at their own cost undertaken an expedition to Hudson Bay for the "discovery of a new passage to the South Sea and for the finding some trade for furs, minerals, and other considerable commodities," and in the pursuance of this design "there may," continue the Royal words, "probably arise very great advantage to us and our kingdom."

The full name of the Company is given in the Charter as "The Governor and Company of Adventures of England trading with Hudson's Bay." The Company is usually referred to in the documents of the time as "The Honourable Hudson's Bay Co.," while in the region where it operated it was known simply as "The Company."

The main provisions of the Charter may be given as follows:

1. The usual powers of corporations (the rights of succession, possession, ... the right to sue and be sued in the courts and the right to adopt a common seal.)

2. Provisions for the election of officers and the management of affairs of the Company.

3. The grant not only of exclusive trading privileges but also of absolute ownership in the territory drained by the rivers flowing into the Hudson Bay. This territory is to be regarded as one of the English plantations in America and to be known as Rupert's Land.

4. Government and execution of justice in the territory to be left to the Governor and Council.¹

As soon as the Charter received the royal assent, more ships

1. Hudson's Bay Company, Return to an Address of the Honorable the House of Commons. Aug. 8, 1842, pp. 3-9.

were fitted out, one of which with Radisson on board went to the mouth of the Nelson River where the important York Factory was later located. From this time on, trade was regularly established between London and the Bay. The Company prospered during these first years but common report in London probably gave it a much greater profit than it really enjoyed. An air of mystery surrounded its transactions on account of the secrecy of its meetings and the fact that its operations were carried on in the unknown New World.

For a very long time the agents of the Company showed no disposition to branch out from the edge of the Bay but were content with the furs which the Indians brought to them. Fifteen years after the Charter was granted, only five trading posts had been established: Rupert, Moose, Severn, Albany, and York, all of which are on the very shore of the Bay.

The men who were sent over first by the Company do not seem to have been suited either by inclination or experience for such a venture. Their manner of living here did not tend to change their inclinations; the longer they stayed in the forts the harder it was to stir from them.¹ A few early explorers did go out from the trading posts but they seem to have acted on their own initiative rather than from encouragement they received from any one connected with the Company. The Governor and Board of Directors in London who had complete control over the affairs of the Company knew very little about actual conditions in their territory. They did not have a proper conception of the size of the region nor of the importance of sending out explorers to take actual possession of the country. Friends of the Company contended that it did have the only kind of possession possible at such a time, in that it had the country under its control through the fact that the Indians of the interior brought their furs to the posts.

Another people, however, were soon to show that there was another kind of possession which was likely to be much stronger and more lasting. Various commissions issued to the French fur companies in Canada since 1540 had defined the northern boundaries of the grants in more or less vague terms and thus given rise to French claims to the Hudson Bay country. It was asserted, too, that French traders had visited the region as early as 1627 and at various times since then. In 1670, the French Intendant Talon wrote to Colbert that information had been brought to him by some Algonquins that European traders had been seen on the shores of the Bay. Talon surmised at once that they were Englishmen conducted by Groseilliers. He determined to offset such efforts by sending traders among the Indians to the

1. Willson, *The Great Company*, London, 1900, I., 108, 219.

North to persuade them to bring their furs down to the French instead of taking them to the traders on the Bay. From this time dates the rivalry of the two nations to secure this trade.

In a short time Radisson and Groseilliers returned to France and entered the service of the French King again. Considering the more than friendly relations which existed between the courts of England and France at this time—Charles II. being the beneficiary of Louis XIV.—it is perhaps not strange to learn that in the next few years Radisson served first one king and then the other. At one time we find him leading an expedition of French to compete in trade with the English Company he had helped to found; at another time he hands over to the English a cargo of furs which he had secured for a French company.

After the Stuarts were expelled from England, Louis XIV. supported the exiled King and thus brought on a war. In his declaration of war King William mentioned as one of his grievances the fact that the French had in a time of peace, 1682 to 1688, seized English possessions in Hudson Bay. During the war which followed this declaration, some of the trading posts changed hands several times. By the terms of the treaty of Ryswick, 1697, which closed the war, the French got decidedly the best of it in regard to the Hudson Bay country. All places which had been taken by the French during the peace which preceded the war and were retaken by the English during the war were to be left in the hands of the French. Commissioners were to be appointed to determine the respective rights of the claimants to the territory. This meant that the French possessed certain rights which had never before been acknowledged by the English and that the Hudson's Bay Company's claims were not definitely recognized.¹

Negotiations looking toward a settlement of the disputes had not accomplished anything before war broke out again. The peace of Utrecht, 1713, closed this war and by the terms of the treaty, the claims of the English to the Hudson Bay country were acknowledged and the Company was given undisputed possession of the forts on the Bay. A commission was appointed to settle the boundary between Hudson Bay territory and the French possessions but this was not accomplished. In 1763 Canada passed into the hands of England and from this time on the boundary question was not international but domestic in character.

In the meantime the Company had been doing little to make its possession strong by extending its trade. The French, on the other hand, had been very active in the years from 1680 to 1750. About 1680 we hear of Duluth, a French explorer and trader,

1. Willson, *The Great Company*, I., 235.

conducting trading operations around Lake Nepigon and in the region between Lake Superior and the upper Mississippi. It was his design to hold here trade which would otherwise go north to the Company. This was a good point from which to reach the heart of the Company's possessions and we soon find the French taking advantage of the opportunity.

In 1731 the famous French explorer Verendrye organized a trading company at Montreal and set out to establish trading posts in the country northwest of Lake Superior. He had great difficulty in securing help to carry out his plans but in the thirteen years which he spent in this region he accomplished as much as the great Hudson's Bay Company had accomplished since its organization 70 years before this time. He established forts on Lakes Manitoba and Winnipeg, and on the Saskatchewan and Assiniboine Rivers, at all points which he considered best calculated to secure trade and keep it from going north to the Bay. How well he selected these places may be judged from the fact that on the sites of these posts the Hudson's Bay Company later established posts. After Verendrye's death in 1749 the enterprise of the French in the west languished and finally in 1763 the country passed out of their hands altogether.

Meanwhile the Company had scarcely stirred from the posts on the Bay. They had, it is true, noticed the effect of Verendrye's enterprise on their trade and in 1742 built a post 150 miles up the Albany River. They did this in the hope of keeping some of the trade of this region which was being drawn to Verendrye's posts, but they were not moved to make any further effort.

Affairs had not been moving smoothly at home all this time. In 1689, the Company petitioned Parliament for a confirmation of the Charter. The probable explanation of this action is that the Company feared that its close connection with the Stuarts might work it harm under the new government. The Charter had been granted by Charles II., the first Governor had been Rupert, who was closely connected with the exiled family, and the second Governor had been the banished King himself. It would be no wonder if the Company felt that it needed the sanction of Parliament. The confirmation was granted in 1690 for a period of 7 years and its renewal was never asked for, probably because the Company feared the issue of such a request.

The same year a petition was presented to Parliament against the confirmation of the trading privileges of the Company. The reasons for the complaint alleged were that the high price of beaver was turning an immense amount of the trade to the French in Canada and that the monopoly had kept the English dealers from getting the best beaver. Some of the London trade guilds interested in the beaver trade attempted to push matters against the Company but owing to the press of other business Parliament

could not consider the petition and it was placed in the archives and forgotten.¹

In 1748, the enemies of the Company headed by a certain Arthur Dobbs, started an agitation against the Company because it had not tried to find the North West passage and had not extended its trade to the limits of the Charter. They attempted to show in a petition to Parliament that the Charter was either void on account of the uncertainty of the land grant and the fact that a trade monopoly was established or else that the Company had forfeited its privileges by not using and by abusing them. They asked that these privileges be annulled in order that an undesirable monopoly be destroyed. The matter was referred to a committee of Parliament and both sides were allowed to present their arguments. The Committee found that "considering how long the Company have enjoyed and acted under this Charter without interruption or encroachment," that it was not advisable to make any declaration against its validity until a decision by a court of justice should warrant such declaration. As to the alleged neglect of *duty* on the part of the Company the Committee held that such *neglect* was in a large measure unavoidable. The matter was then dropped by the petitioners and the Company allowed to continue in its privileges.²

If the traders on the shore of the Hudson Bay were not making use of their opportunities there were not wanting other traders to penetrate into the interior of their country. Immediately after Canada passed into the hands of the English there was a short period of prosperity for the Company. The French license system of trading ceased, the posts in the West were abandoned, the French traders did not make their accustomed trips into the interior and the Company reaped the profit. The English conquerors did not attempt trading ventures at once. They were unacquainted with the country and lacked confidence in the half-breeds whose services were necessary in conducting operations in the interior. There were many difficulties to be encountered: such as, the hostility of the Indians to the English, immense distances to be traversed, the risk of property and the heavy expense necessary to start a trade. But this state of affairs did not continue long. The half-breed and the French trade soon began to revive. A great number of Scotch Highlanders were coming over to Canada about this time and they were quick to see the opportunities offered in fur trade. Traders—Scotch, French and half-breed were soon out in the Hudson Bay Company's territory inter-

1. Willson, *The Great Company*, I., 211-212.

2. Report of the Committee appointed to Enquire into the State and Condition of the Countries adjoining to Hudson's Bay. Reported by Lord Strange, April 24, 1749, p. 285.

cepting the trade which had gone back to the Company after the conquest by the English.

This free trade assumed great proportions and seriously cut down the profits of the Company, whose representatives finally became alarmed and in 1774 attempted to hold their own by the establishment of Cumberland House on the eastern shore of Sturgeon Lake. "From this period to the present time," writes Alexander Mackenzie at the close of the century, "they have been following the Canadians to their different establishments, while, on the contrary, there is not a solitary instance that the Canadians have followed them."¹ The competition for trade between these independent traders was carried on far away from any legal restraints, so there was no limit on the means which were used to secure advantages. Liquor was used freely in the transactions and rival traders were injured as much as possible by misrepresentations. This policy tended to destroy the confidence of the Indians and the profits of the trade.

From year to year the traders pushed a little farther to the West and North West. In 1778 some traders on the Saskatchewan entrusted a trading expedition to Mr. Peter Pond who was to proceed to the Athabasca country if possible. He succeeded in reaching Elk River where he passed the winter, trading with the Cristineaux and Chipewyan tribes who had been in the habit of carrying their furs annually to Ft. Churchill, of which custom Mackenzie says: "the latter by barren grounds, where they suffered innumerable hardships, and were sometimes even starved to death. The former followed the course of the lakes and rivers, through a country that abounded in animals, and where there was plenty of fish; but though they did not suffer from want of food the intolerable fatigue of such a journey could not be easily repaid to an Indian; they were, therefore, highly gratified by seeing people come to their country to relieve them from such long, toilsome, and dangerous journeys; and were immediately reconciled to give an advanced price for the articles necessary to their comfort and convenience."² These words explain why the Company was losing its trade. The French had always disputed the English claim to this territory and these free traders naturally inherited the French idea.

The trade with the Indians was checked in 1781 by an outbreak of smallpox among them but in 1783—84 it took on a more important character through the union of several Montreal merchants in a new company to be called the North West Company. In 1787 the organization was completed by the addition of another important group of merchants. With these were joined traders of the better class and half-breeds who had been traffic-

1. Alexander MacKenzie, *Voyage from Montreal, New York, 1802*, p. 7.

2. *Ib.*, 9.

ing with the Indians. The Company did not secure any license or charter from the Government. The stock was composed in 1787 of twenty shares divided between two sets of partners. The first set were agents of the Company who lived in Canada and managed the importation of the goods from England and the shipping of the furs. The other set were the "wintering partners" who carried on the actual trading expeditions among the Indians. One of the strongest points in the organization of the company was the provision that employees might by long service and ability become partners. This ensured great effort and faithfulness on the part of the men in the service.

Once a year two of the agents went to Grand Portage on Lake Superior where they met the traders and made a settlement of the year's business. The trading operations were carried on over such wide territory that a very long time was needed for a return from the venture. Mackenzie states that goods ordered from Montreal in Oct. 1796 were not finally paid for from the proceeds of the sale of furs in London until May or June, 1800.¹ In some cases the furs had to be brought from such great distances that another year was needed to bring in the payment. Business like this required a great amount of credit and skillful management but the new company carried on its operations with great vigor and prospered from the very first. It pushed its trade far out to the Red and Saskatchewan Rivers, where the free traders had already been. Indeed, these half-breed traders were an important element in the strength of the new company.

In the midst of this prosperity, factions arose within the Company on account of jealousy among the partners. Some of the disaffected withdrew in 1801 and formed a new organization known as the X Y Company. This combination did not long continue a separate existence and in 1804 was re-united to the parent company.

During the early period of rivalry between the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company, the traders often met in the wilderness without any feelings of personal animosity. As competition grew more intense, however, these feelings changed and many scenes of violence were enacted in the effort to keep the rival from getting trade or to despoil him of what he had already secured. The effect of such occurrences on the Indians was altogether bad. Both parties seem to have been guilty of violence but the N. W. Co. was especially so by reason of the great number of half-breeds in its employ. As to the management of the business, the N. W. Co. seems to have had the advantage in that it was newer and its members more energetic. It had an advantage, too, in its point of operations. It was easier

1. Mackenzie. Voyage from Montreal, 17.

to reach the fur producing country from Ft. William than it was from the icy shores of Hudson Bay.

The operations of the North West Company interfered so seriously with the business of the Hudson's Bay Company that the profits of the older Company ceased entirely and they incurred great losses in the period after the amalgamation of the North West and X Y companies in 1805. The Napoleonic Wars and the Continental System made the situation all the worse by destroying markets and increasing the risk of transportation. In 1809, the great corporation was reduced to the necessity of applying to the government for aid. They did not succeed in securing anything, however, but a slight concession in regard to storing furs free of duty.¹

Soon after this time, the Earl of Selkirk, a Scotch nobleman, who had visited Montreal and had learned a great deal there about the situation existing between the rival companies, came forward to take a hand in the matter. He began to buy Hudson's Bay Company stock which was selling at a very low price at this time, and by 1811 he had secured the controlling interest. He then proposed to the Company that they grant him a tract of land from their territory on which to found a colony. (Some years before this he had wanted to found a colony in the region of Lake Winnipeg but had been prevailed upon to select Prince Edward's Island instead.) In spite of spirited opposition he secured such a grant in May, 1811. The new district was to be known as Assiniboia and its limits are described as follows in the deed given to Lord Selkirk: "All that tract of land or territory bounded by an imaginary line running as follows, that is to say, beginning on the western slope of Lake Winnipeg at a point in 52° 30' north latitude, and thence running due west to the Lake Winnipegosis, then in a southerly direction, through the said lake so as to strike its western shore in latitude 52°, then due west to the place where the 52nd. degree intersects the western branch of Red River, Assiniboine River, then due south from that point of intersection to the height of land which separates the waters running into Hudson's Bay from those of the Missouri and Mississippi, then in an easterly direction along the source of the Winnipeg River (meaning by such last named river, the principal branch of the waters which unite in Lake Sagenayas), thence along the main stream of these waters, and the middle of the several lakes through which they flow, to the mouth of the Winnipeg River, and thence in a northerly direction through the middle of Lake Winnipeg to the place of beginning."² Thus Assiniboia included the Red River valley, the greater part of the Assiniboine, parts of Lakes Winni-

1. Willson. *The Great Company*, II., 123-129.

2. Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, Aug. 17, 1857, Sec. 5782.

peg and Winnipegosis and all of Lake Manitoba, in all about 116,000 square miles. It was the strategic region of the fur trade. Here Verendrye had planted his trading posts and here the North West Company carried on their immense operations. Whoever controlled this region had the firmest grip on the trade. Not only was it valuable for the furs which it contained but it had a good outlet by the way of the Great Lakes and it was a base of the operations for the great fur region lying to the north-west.

The colonists necessary for the carrying out of the new venture were right at hand. Shortly before this time, the large land owners of the Scottish highlands, especially the Duchess of Sutherland, had begun to drive away their tenants in order to turn their farms into sheep pastures. The dispossessed tenants were badly in need of relief. Lord Selkirk had been interested in philanthropic projects, so naturally he found many of his first colonists among these people.

The first lot of immigrants, secured from Glasgow, Orkney, and Ireland, came over late in the year 1811, and spent the winter at York Factory. They were mutinous and quarrelsome and the events of this winter were not at all propitious for the success of the colony. The next summer they journeyed on to the Red River but arrived there so late in the year that they could not hope to raise any provisions to support them through the winter. So instead of remaining at the point they had selected for settlement near the mouth of the Assiniboine, they went on up the river to Pembina where the North West Company had a trading post and where a number of half-breeds had collected. Here they were received kindly and helped through the winter. In the spring they returned to their new home and built Ft. Douglas.

The story of the next few years is simply a repetition of this story. Every year a fresh lot of immigrants was sent over from Scotland and Ireland. All of them experienced many hardships on the way and arrived at their destination much diminished in number. Although Lord Selkirk seems to have been a kind hearted man, he did not make adequate provision for the establishment of a colony. The people suffered from want of food, clothing, and farming implements. Although strong and hardy, they were unused to the hardships of pioneer life and totally ignorant of the devices by which such a life is made comfortable. From the very beginning there was complaint and dissatisfaction. There was a feeling all along that the colonists were not getting fair treatment.

The North West Co. had a trading post called Ft. Gibraltar, close to Ft. Douglas. Naturally their traders had many communications with the colonists here as well as at Pembina. At first there seem to have been friendly feelings between the two and

the North Westers on more than one occasion befriended and aided the colonists, although they must have felt that this new project did not augur any good to them. Jan. 8, 1814, the Governor of the colony, Miles McDonell, issued a proclamation which showed that the object of founding the colony was not purely philanthropic. The proclamation was to the effect that no provisions of any sort were to be carried out of the colony without license from the Governor. This was virtually a declaration of war against the North West Company for if complied with, it would mean that they would be unable to carry on their trading operations in the northwest, for all their provisions for that trade had to be carried through the district of Assiniboia and of course the Governor would not grant licenses to them. In October of the same year the Governor issued a second proclamation in which the Canadians, as the members of the North West Company were often called, were warned to leave their posts and give up their trade. Of course they did not comply with this demand which the colonists were wholly unable to enforce. They had that very strong right, the right of possession and they meant to hold on to it. They would not give up so easily their immense property interests at the mere word of those whom they regarded as foreign intruders. In the meantime Governor McDonell had begun to drill his colonists as soldiers and military supplies were being sent over!

The agent of the North West Company at Ft. Gibraltar had been circulating among the colonists with the object of persuading them to leave the place. This man was a Scotchman and they were disposed to listen to him as a friend who was warning them of the danger and difficulty of their position. In the spring of 1815 actual war was on and in an encounter between the rival forces, Governor McDonell was made a prisoner and the Hudson's Bay Co. officers agreed to the abandonment of the colony in order that trade might go on as usual. Some of the colonists entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Co.; others went to Jack river or Norway House, as it was afterwards called; and one or two to York Factory. About fifty families were taken by the North West Company to Canada and to all appearances the colony had failed utterly.²

In the fall, however, another lot of immigrants came, who in company with the colonists returned from Norway House, were forced to winter at Pembina. After their return to Ft. Douglas in the spring of 1816, they seized Ft. Gibraltar and took possession of the furs stored there. In June of this year there was an encounter between a number of the Northwesters and the colonists in which about twenty of the latter were killed. This affair

1. Ross, *Red River Settlement*, London, 1856, pp. 26-28.

2. *Ib.*, 29.

so disheartened the remaining settlers that they withdrew to Norway House again.¹ Shortly after this time Lord Selkirk accompanied by a number of soldiers, arrived at Red River and succeeded in restoring order. The colonists were brought back from Norway House and the colony seemed to be for the first time on a sure footing.

Of course such disturbances as had taken place had attracted the attention of the government and in Feb., 1817 the Home Government sent a dispatch to the Governor General of Canada providing for the settlement of disputes and the restoration of order. According to the instructions contained in this dispatch, all forts and trading posts were to be restored, all blockades or hindrances to the free passage of traders were to be withdrawn and all persons to be allowed to continue their usual trade without molestation.² A commission did what it could to carry out these instructions and finally reported that the only means of restoring peace completely would be through the union of the rival companies. In the meantime, there was being contested bitterly in the courts of Canada a series of law suits, which had grown out of the acts of violence of both parties. These suits only increased the bad feeling and made the prospect of a union seem impossible. In 1820 the Earl of Selkirk died and it became possible to come to an agreement.

In 1821 a union was finally brought about, largely through the efforts of Edward Ellice, a prominent member of the North West Company who also held some stock in the Hudson's Bay Company. According to the terms of this agreement the stock of the new company was to be divided equally between the original Companies. The profits were to be divided into 100 shares, 40 of which were to go to the chief factors and chief traders who had actual charge of the trading operations. The rest of the profits were to go to the stockholders.³ The association was to continue under the name of the Hudson's Bay Co. The trade center was shifted now from Montreal to York and the old route by Ft. William fell into disuse. The Montreal capitalists felt that it was a victory for the foreigners against natives and as we shall see later did not forget that the wealth that was now taken to London had formerly flowed into Montreal.

The same year that this union was accomplished, Parliament passed an Act which gave to the sovereign power to issue licenses conveying exclusive trading privileges. Dec. 5, 1821, George IV. issued, in accordance with this act, a license which granted exclusive trading privileges to the united companies in the part of British North America which lay to the north and west of the

1. Ross, *Red River Settlement*, p. 36.

2. Willson, *The Great Company*, 203-204.

3. Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, 1857, p. 325.

territory covered by the charter of 1670. The reasons for this grant are given in the license as being; (1) The H. B. Co. and the N. W. Co. had extended the fur trade over many parts of America which had not been before explored; (2) they had entered into an agreement to end the competition in trade which had proved so injurious to the trade itself, to the Indians and to the various British subjects. The exclusive privileges were to continue for twenty one years on consideration that the Company keep an accurate record of its employees and turn in annually a register of the same to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Furthermore they were to give security in the sum of £5000 for due execution of justice in criminal processes and in civil processes where the amount in dispute was in excess of £200. The Company were to submit as soon as possible rules and regulations for carrying on the fur trade with the Indians which would look toward their moral and religious improvement and the abolition of the use of liquor in fur trading operations.¹

In the meantime the colonists had been undergoing great hardships and discouragements. Nothing had been said about their interests or position under the new arrangements which indicates, perhaps, that they were no longer objects of usefulness. They struggled during the summer to get a little grain harvested and then spent the winters at Pembina in order to be close to the food supply of the plains. The whole colony does not seem to have been reduced to the necessity of wintering at Pembina after 1821. In both 1818 and 1819, the colony suffered greatly owing to the fact that the entire crop of both years was destroyed by grasshoppers.

The colony received additions from various sources. We noticed the fact that Lord Selkirk was accompanied by a number of soldiers when he arrived at Red River. He had come by the way of Canada where he found these soldiers just discharged from service in the War of 1812. He hired them to go with him to his ill-starred colony; they were for a small price to navigate the boats for him to the Red River. If they wanted to remain, they were to have lands assigned to them. If not, they were to be conveyed back to Montreal or to Europe as they chose. They decided to stay with the colony and were assigned land opposite Point Douglas. They were a motley lot. There were four officers and about eighty men from the de Meuron regiment, largely Germans and Piedmontese who had been forced by conscription into Bonaparte's army and had joined the English regiment when it was stationed at Gibraltar in 1809. There were also about

1. The Hudson's Bay Co. Return to an Address of the Honorable The House of Commons, August 8, 1842, pp. 21-29.

twenty of the Watteville regiment and a few of the Glengarry Fencibles.¹

In 1818, a few French families from Lower Canada accompanied by two Catholic priests arrived at the settlement. They were forced to go with the others to Pembina where most of them remained four years. At the end of that time the greater part of the Pembina settlers returned to Red River because they had learned that Pembina was on American soil.

In 1821 the colony received a new set of recruits in the shape of a number of Swiss families who had been lured thither by a prospectus of the Earl of Selkirk. They were mostly mechanics and as such were utterly unfitted for their new circumstances. Most of the soldiers whom Lord Selkirk had brought from Canada were unmarried and many of them now secured wives from among the young Swiss girls.

After the union of the companies in 1821, a number of employees were thrown out of work and came to Red River to settle. These included not only the Scotch and English employees of the Hudson's Bay Company but also the French Canadians and half-breeds who had been employed as voyageurs. With these additions the population consisted by 1822 of some 1,500 people, according to A. Ross, the historian of this period. They were divided into the following distinct groups, occupying separate districts in the settlement: the Scotch, the De Meurons and the Swiss, the French (Canadians), the retired servants of the Company and the half-breeds.

All accounts agree that of these groups, the Scotch made the best farmers. They were a hard working, steady people. The old soldiers made very poor farmers and were altogether an undesirable addition to the colony. The French and half-breeds were best fitted by nature and experience for life in the Red River but they gave more trouble to the authorities than the other groups because they were more independent. The Rev. John West, chaplain of the Hudson's Bay Company, notes in his journal in 1822, that the half-breed children were growing up in great numbers and if their education were neglected they would some time threaten the peace of the country. He remarks, too, on the wild and hunter-like state of most of the inhabitants and on the fact that most of them preferred to go to hunt on the plains rather than attend to their agricultural pursuits. In another place he mentions the fact that on the occasion of a wedding, the guests danced almost continuously from 2 o'clock Friday till late on Saturday night.²

1. Martin. *The Hudson's Bay Company Land Tenures*, London, 1898, pp. 25 and 26.

2. *Journal of Rev. John West*, *Collections of the State Hist. Soc. N. D.*, III., pp. 448, 458, 469.

Professor Keating, the historian of the expedition of Major Long of the U. S. Army, gives a description of both Pembina and Red River as he saw them in 1823. At this time there were about 350 people, $\frac{2}{3}$ of whom were half-breeds, at Pembina in some 60 log cabins. We may get some idea of the life of these people from Prof. Keating's statement that about 300 of them returned from a buffalo hunt while he was there, having been absent 45 days without being heard from. He speaks of the neatness and comfort in many of the cabins of the Scotch and Swiss at Red River and of the agricultural improvements taking place there all the time. There seemed every prospect that the colony might succeed in an agricultural way as soon as proper farming implements were provided. Wheat had yielded at this early time as much as fifty bushels an acre and the colonists had been very successful in growing potatoes.¹

II.

International Relations.

As already noticed, after the union of 1821, the old Lake Superior route was abandoned and the only outlet of the new Company was the route by York Factory and Hudson Bay. Their communication with the outside world was difficult and uncertain. Their port was ice bound nine months out of twelve. If a ship met with any mishap or delay in leaving for London in the autumn, it was likely to be held in the Bay during the winter, for the ice formed quickly and at times very early in the season. As a fur trading concern the Company managed to get along very well without making any systematic effort to establish roads through their territory and with their port useless the greater part of the year, but it remained to be seen as to how long the new colony would depend solely upon such precarious methods of communication. In the earliest years of its existence, the colony depended altogether on the Company for supplies which were brought from York Factory in boats on the Nelson River during the open season, and drawn over the snow in dog sledges during the winter. The Nelson River was full of obstructions, thirty three portages being necessary in the course of the journey from York Factory to Red River.² It would have been possible to remove these obstructions only at very great expense, and the Company had not seen fit to make any improvements in the navigation from the time when they had first made use of the river as a means of transport. Their opponents said that means of communication were not improved because it was to the interest of

1. Keating, Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River, Philadelphia, 1824, p. 65.

2. Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Co., 1857, No. 5621.

the Company to keep the country "impassable to rival traders, and impervious to inquiry."¹

The colonists were not slow to discover that the long, arduous journey to Hudson Bay was not the natural outlet of their territory. Instead they found that it lay to the south by way of the Red River and the Mississippi. In fact as early as 1818 the famous British trader, Col. Robert Dickson, had discovered the practicability of the route and was making regular use of it, as the following extract from a letter written at the time shows: "Dickson, as I have before observed, is situated near the head of the St. Peter's, to which place he transports his goods from Selkirk's Red River establishment in carts made for the purpose. The trip is performed in five days, sometimes less."² There was evidently a knowledge of this route at the time of the return of Lord Selkirk to Canada, for he journeyed back to Montreal, not as he had come, but by the way of Prairie du Chien and St. Louis.

The entire Red River valley had been included in the Charter of 1670 and the Company considered it a part of their territory. In 1803 the United States purchased Louisiana, with the northern boundary obscure and it was a matter of doubt as to whether the purchase included the southern part of the Red River country. It was not until 1818 in a convention between the United States and Great Britain that the forty-ninth parallel was finally agreed upon as the dividing line. This cut off from the British possessions a large part of the Red River valley, but it could not permanently divide two sections between which there was such great natural affinity. The forty-ninth parallel was merely an artificial line; no lake, no ridge of mountains, no river formed a natural barrier between Red River Colony and what was to be later Minnesota territory. In fact the two regions were bound closely together by the Red River, which offered an easy means of reaching the Mississippi and consequently all the great country to the south. For four months of the year the Red River was navigable to the mouth of the Sioux Wood River to vessels of three feet draught. Overland travelling was much easier in the prairie country than it was in the direction of the Hudson Bay. There was not such a great need for roads because there were no great obstacles to be met in the open prairie travel. Mere trails served very well. There were three routes by which the Mississippi could be reached from the valley of the Red River. The most southern was from Lake Traverse across the St. Peter's—now the Minnesota River—and thence on down to the Mississippi. The middle route left the Red River near its southern point and crossed the Mississippi at Sauk Rapids, seventy six miles above

1. Hudson's Bay Co. Return to an address of the Honorable the House of Commons, April 23, 1849, p. 61.

2. Letter dated at Prairie du Chien, Feb. 19, 1818, from Benj. O'Fallon, U. S. Agent to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Niles Register, XIV., p. 388.

the mouth of St. Peter's. The northern route left the Red River near the mouth of Buffalo River and passing north of Ottentail Lake reached the Crow Wing River a short distance above its junction with the Mississippi.¹

The operations of early traders like Col. Dickson, the close connection which the Selkirk Settlers had with Pembina, and the comparative ease of communication all led to the early establishment of trade relations with the Americans, which were destined to be far-reaching in their consequences.

In 1819, the entire crop at Red River was destroyed by grasshoppers, so several men were sent to Prairie du Chien on the Mississippi, almost one thousand miles distant, to buy a supply of seed wheat. The men made the trip on snow-shoes and at the end of three months time reached their destination, where they bought from a trading firm 250 bushels of wheat at 10 s. per bushel, 100 bushels of oats and 30 bushels of peas. One account of the transaction mentions that chickens were also purchased at this time and taken back to Red River.² The grain was loaded on three Mackinac boats manned with six-hands each and according to the account of H. H. Sibley³ placed in charge of Duncan Graham, and a Scotchman named Laidlaw, who was acting as superintendent of farming for the Earl of Selkirk. They started up the Mississippi April 15, 1820 but were delayed by the ice in Lake Pepin and planted the Maypole there. May 3, they were able to continue the voyage and passed on up the Minnesota River to Big Stone Lake from where they made the portage of a mile and a half to Lake Traverse by drawing the boats across on wooden rollers. From the Lake they journeyed on down Red River until they reached the colony safely in June.⁴ The boatmen returned across the plains on foot and from Big Stone Lake by canoe.⁵

The expedition cost Lord Selkirk £1040 sterling. This is the only instance in which heavy articles were transported the whole distance from Prairie du Chien to Red River Colony by water with the exception of the portage to Lake Traverse. Enough of the wheat sown at this time ripened for seed and Red River never again lacked seed for grain, although the food sup-

1. 31st. Cong., 1st. Session, Senate Ex. Doc. No. 42. Exploration of Capt. Pope, p. 9.

2. Collections, Minn. Hist. Soc., Vol. 1., p. 220.

3. "Reminiscences: Historical and Personal," H. H. Sibley, Minn. Hist. Collections, Vol. 1, pp. 470-471.

4. Alexander Ross, Red River Settlement, pp. 50-51.

5. In 1820 an expedition was sent by the U. S. Gov't from Council Bluff to the mouth of the St. Peter's where Ft. Snelling was later established. Stephen Watts Kearney, a member of the party left a journal describing the expedition. Under the date of July 23, 1820 when the party was a short distance above the mouth of the St. Peter's he has this entry: "a boat with some Frenchmen from Lord Selkirk's establishment on the Red River arrived at this time." In all probability these were some of the boatmen returning to Prairie du Chien, as they would just about have reached this point at this time. Journal of Stephen Watts Kearney, reprinted from Mo. Hist. Colls., III., 26.

ply did run short several times. This expedition is very significant for it showed the practicability of establishing trade relations with the Americans.

The next year Alexis Bailly, an enterprising half-breed trader of Prairie du Chen, took advantage of the opening. Accompanied by Francois Labothe and two hired men he started to the colony with a herd of cattle to be disposed of on speculation. The trip proved to be full of hazard. The party were several times in great danger from the Indians, who on one occasion stole all their horses. In spite of this danger they reached Red River safely and had the good fortune to dispose of the cattle at a very high price on account of the period of speculation inaugurated by the Buffalo Wool Company.¹ Milch cows sold as high as £30 and oxen trained to work brought £18 each.²

In 1822, Col. Dickson brought a drove of cattle all the way from Clarkesville in Missouri, but had the misfortune to lose many of them on the way.³ In 1825 American drovers ventured on another speculation and brought four or five hundred cattle to the settlement but prices were very much lower this time owing to the fact that the Buffalo Wool Co. had failed. Milch cows brought only £4 to £10 each and the largest trained oxen as low as £14 the pair.⁴ These were the last cattle brought in from the United States.⁵

Another transaction which served to make the Red River settlers familiar with the Americans was the purchase at a little later period of sheep in Kentucky by representatives sent out by the Colony. Although the sheep raising experiment failed, there was a permanent result in that the Americans and the road to the south were better known.

The Swiss who had come to make their homes in the colony were dissatisfied from the very first. Almost immediately after their arrival in 1821, five Swiss families started for Ft. Snelling, as the American post at the mouth of the Minnesota River was afterwards known. Two years later thirteen families followed.

1. Sibley's Reminiscences, Minn. Hist. Colls. Vol. I., 469.

2. Ross says that something like 300 cattle were introduced into the colony by Americans at this time, see his Red River Settlement, p. 73. Rev. Neill says that when Alexis Bailly left Ft. Snelling in August, 1821, that he had a drove of 30 or 40 cattle under his care. Neill, "Occurrences in and around Ft. Snelling," Minn. Hist. Colls., II., 25.

3. Keating says that previous to this time a drove of cattle had been procured from Mackinaw. Keating, Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River, II., 70.

In Niles Register for July 29, 1820, is given an extract from the St. Louis Enquirer, stating that a new market had been found for the produce of that section of the country. A number of citizens had contracted to deliver at Selkirk's Settlement 120 head of cattle, principally cows. These were probably the cattle which Col. Dickson drove up to the Settlement. Vol. XVIII., 400.

4. Ross, Red River Settlement, p. 82.

5. Rev. G. A. Belcourt, The Department of Hudson's Bay, Minn. Hist. Colls., I., 220.

After a long difficult journey by the way of Lake Traverse they arrived at the fort where their extreme want was relieved by the officers of the garrison.¹ After the disastrous flood of 1826, the majority of the Swiss abandoned the colony for a more favorable location and found new homes in the United States. A part of them drifted on down the Mississippi to various French settlements but some of them remained where the city of St. Paul now stands.² These journeys of the Swiss helped to make the road to St. Peter's better known and to strengthen the growing attachment for American trade.

We will pause for a moment in the story of the British colony in order to trace the development of its American neighbor. After the purchase of Louisiana, the United States Government hastened to get a firm grip on the new possessions by sending out exploring expeditions. In 1805, Lieutenant Zebulon Montgomery Pike was ordered to set out from St. Louis to trace the upper waters of the Mississippi and to warn British traders out of American territory. September 23 of that year he reached the mouth of St. Peter's River where he held a council with the Sioux. He addressed them in well chosen words, assuring them of the benefit which would come to them from intercourse with the Americans and warning them against the Canadian traders as "bad birds" who would cheat them.³ After the speech he distributed presents among them to the value of \$200 and gave them about sixty gallons of liquor to "clear their throats." In response to this liberality the chiefs signed a treaty granting to the United States Government a tract of land nine miles square near the junction of St. Peter's and Mississippi for the establishment of a military post."⁴

Feb. 7, 1806 Lieut. Pike wrote to Hugh M'Gillis, a trader for the N. W. Co. at a post on Leech Lake, making the following demands:

1. That the goods for the Indian trade brought into the United States through Ft. William be subject to duties, for American traders had made complaint that they could not compete with the British as long as the latter continued to evade the lawful duties.

2. That the British flag should at no time be hoisted over the British trading establishments.

3. That the British traders hold no conferences with the Indians on political subjects and no longer bestow upon them British flags or medals.

M'Gillis replied to this letter in a very friendly tone, prom-

1. *Reminiscences of Mrs. Ann Adams*, Minn. Hist. Coll., VI., pp. 88-89.

2. *Ib.*, 93.

3. *Pike's Expeditions*, Philadelphia, 1810. Appendix to Part I., pp. 6-8.

4. *Ib.*, Appendix to Part I., pp. 8-9.

ising to endeavor in every way to act in accord with the interests and the desires of the United States Government.¹

Thus by conciliating the Indians, by warning off the foreign intruders and by making preparations for the establishment of a military post were the first steps taken toward wresting the trade of this region from the British. American authority had been proclaimed and the prestige of the American name established in the minds of both Indians and traders. But in spite of this beginning, the Government did nothing further for a number of years toward holding the country. Under the stress of the more pressing dangers incident to the War of 1812 this remote western wilderness was forgotten and the British traders continued their operations without molestation.

From this time on a new factor is to be reckoned with in the struggle for the possession of this territory. In 1809 John Jacob Astor had organized the American Fur Co. to carry on trading operations around the Great Lakes. The War of 1812 interfered somewhat with this plan but by 1816 the Company was again on a firm foundation. The Great Lake region soon becoming exhausted, the outlet of the Company was changed from Mackinac to St. Louis. In 1823 it was first demonstrated that it was practicable to navigate the Mississippi with steam boats from St. Louis to the mouth of the Minnesota River.² This was of the utmost importance to the development of the American Fur Company, for it meant that with the Mississippi as the great avenue of trade there was a sure outlet for the furs of the northwest.

In 1816 Astor took a definite step toward driving his British competitors from the field by securing the passage of a law by Congress forbidding the granting to any one but American citizens a license to trade with the Indians. This order was not as effectual as it might have been, for it was evaded by the British traders taking advantage of permission given foreigners to act as boatmen and interpreters. In this manner many of them were enabled to carry on their business as usual by acting in the names of Americans.³

After the fixing of the boundary, the British were barred from the territory south of the line. The union of the North West and the Hudson's Bay Companies took place at about the same time that the boundary was definitely determined.⁴ A number of persons who had been in their service now found themselves without employment. In conjunction with a few Americans they formed the Columbia Fur Company under a license granted by the

1. Pike's Expeditions, 1810. Appendix to Part I., pp. 14-19.

2. Neill, Occurrences in and around Ft. Snelling. Minn. Hist. Colls., II., 26.

3. Wisc. Hist. Coll., Vol. II., p. 103.

4. The actual location of the boundary was fixed at Pembina by Major Long in 1823; before this time it had been rumored that Pembina was on American soil, and the British were preparing to abandon the southern country in 1821.

Indian agent at St. Peter's.¹ The new Company had its headquarters at Lake Traverse, with another trading post a mile above Ft. Snelling. The experience which its founders had and its location made the new Company a formidable rival of the Hudson's Bay Company for the trade of the upper Red River valley. A few years later the Columbia Fur Company passed under the control of the American Fur Company.

The interests of the American Fur Company and the rumors in regard to Lord Selkirk's colony again drew the attention of the Government to this section of the country. There was a decided feeling in the West that the establishment of Selkirk's colony might mean danger to the American possessions around the head waters of the Mississippi.² It was thought, too, that our government, not realizing the importance of the fur trade, had never given fur companies proper protection.³

By 1816 there was a renewed interest in the West and a determination to hold it. That year four companies of infantry were sent to Prairie du Chien, at that time the chief western post of the American Fur Company, and Ft. Crawford established there.

Although Lieut. Pike had bargained with the Indians for a tract of land on which to establish a military post at the mouth of the St. Peter's, no move had been made toward carrying out the terms of the agreement. Congress had made the purchase price \$2,000 but the money had never been paid. Late in the summer of the year 1819, Col. Leavenworth with two companies of the Fifth Regiment of United States Infantry came up the Mis-

1. Keating, I., 426.

2. The letter referred to on page 250 contains a passage to the following effect: "The military force of this country is too small to keep Dickson and his emissaries in check. I think a force should be posted here (Prairie du Chien) sufficiently strong to enable the commandant to send a detachment with suitable officers at its head to scour the heads of this river (the Mississippi) and the St. Peter's and awe the establishment of Lord Selkirk into a proper respect for our laws." Niles Register, Vol. XIV., p. 388.

3. The following article from the St. Louis Enquirer on "The Fur Trade" shows the Western viewpoint: "The importance of this trade has not been sufficiently estimated by the American Government. The English have always seen its value. They have aided their subjects in carrying it on, and have made it the means of individual wealth, and of national power. The North West and Hudson Bay Companies, protected by the English Government, have carried down the St. Lawrence the furs of the Missouri and Mississippi, Montreal has flourished on a commerce that belongs to St. Louis, and the British traders have acquired from their government the command of all savages of the North American continent.

The Hudson Bay and North West Companies, for a long time enemies and rivals to each other, are now reported to be united under the direction of the Earl of Selkirk. The policy and the enterprise of this chieftain will give a new energy to the united operation of these companies. The seat of their power is at the junction of the Assiniboine and Red River in Latitude 50 and longitude 21 from Washington. Here the Earl of Selkirk has planted a Scotch colony, built a fort, and established a garrison, and from this point the British traders extend their operations into the territories of the United States, spreading themselves over the head waters of the Mississippi, the river St. Peter, and all that part of the Missouri which lies above the Mandan villages. From these villages the British establishment on the Assiniboine, is but five miles travel; and a constant communication is kept up between them as well by the Moose River as by the trading path which goes overland. Niles Register, Vol., XV., p. 182.

issippi and landed near the present village of Mendota. He made the long delayed payment to the Indians and the next year began the construction of a fort (later known as Fort Snelling), which was finally completed in 1822.¹

The following year the government sent an expedition in command of Major Long, of the topographical engineers of the army, with instructions to explore the country between the St. Peter's and the Red River to the forty-ninth parallel and to take possession of it. Major Long followed the now well known trail to Lake Traverse and then went down the east bank of the Red River to Pembina, where he set up an oak post to mark the international boundary.² From Pembina, he proceeded on down the river to the Selkirk Settlement and from there returned to the United States by the way of the Lake Superior route. This expedition carried the authority of the United States to the boundary line and made it known in the Red River Colony.

In 1845, the Selkirkers received a positive reminder of the authority of the United States Government when Capt. Sumner warned the British half-breeds that they would no longer be allowed to hunt buffalo on American soil.³

In 1849, Capt. Pope of the United States army was sent to Pembina with a view to ascertaining the state of affairs on the frontier. He recommended the admission of a new state from the territory and the establishment of railroads and steamboat lines. He made the point that the territory was too much under English influence and that the establishment of a military post somewhere on the frontier was imperative if the country was to be held for the United States. He thought it very desirable that courts of justice should be established at Pembina and that American officers should be located among the people in order to bind them to the government. He considered that the agent of the American Fur Company had done a great deal to hold the people to their allegiance, but would not be able in all probability to hold out against the Hudson's Bay Company without assistance.⁴

Under the protection of the military posts at Prairie du Chien and St. Peter's, the fur trade had been steadily extended. The period from 1830 to 1840 was marked by the entrance of several persons into the fur business, who were to take a prominent part in developing this section of the country. In 1834 the American

1. Feb. 10, 1819: The Federal Government gave the following reasons for erecting a fort at this point: "To cause the power of the U. S. Government to be fully acknowledged by the Indians and settlers of the N. W., to prevent Lord Selkirk, the Hudson Bay Co. and others from establishing trading posts on U. S. Territory, to better the conditions of the Indians and to develop the resources of the country." Flandreau, *History of Minnesota and Tales of the Frontier*, St. Paul, 1900, p. 15.

2. Keating, II., 47.

3. See page 292, footnote 1.

4. 31st. Cong. 1st. Sess. Senate Exec. Doc. No. 42, *Exploration of Capt. Pope*, p. 29.

Fur Company received a strong addition to its force in the person of Henry Hastings Sibley, a young man from Detroit, who in that year became a partner in the Company with Mendota as his territory.¹ In 1837 he was joined by William H. Forbes who from that time on was prominent in the Indian trade in one capacity or another. In 1839 Norman W. Kittson began business on his own account as a fur trader in the vicinity of Ft. Snelling. He continued as an independent trader until 1843 when he became a partner of the Company with his headquarters at Pembina.² He was one of the best known and most successful of the Indian traders and his entrance into the Pembina district was an event fraught with serious consequences to the Hudson's Bay Company. One of his able assistants at Pembina was the famous Joe Rollette, son of the old Indian trader at Prairie du Chien of the same name.

Summing up the results of the early connections between the Red River Settlement and the American settlements, especially that at St. Peter's, we find: (1) The English colony had become familiar with American authority by means of the military expeditions of Long, Sumner, and Pope, (2) The establishment of the well known route paved the way for important commercial relations, which were to seriously affect the profits and policy of the Hudson's Bay Company.

III.

The Rise of Free Trade.

While Minnesota was rapidly developing, the Selkirk Colony did not prosper, although as we have seen there was no inherent difference between the sections which would retard the growth of the latter. The cause for the failure of the English settlement has to be sought in other differences than those of the climate or soil and the colonists found what they considered the explanation in the fact that the Americans lived under a free, representative government while they were held in subjection by a despotic, fur trading corporation. They came to this conclusion in spite of the fact that during their early days of disaster and calamity, the officers of the Company in London were continually devising plans by which conditions in the colony might be bettered. But all of these efforts resulted in failure and each successive failure only added fresh cause for complaint and dissatisfaction. The actual management of the affairs of the colony had to be entrusted to the representatives of the Company who resided in the territory, and it was continually charged that

1. Nathaniel West, *The Ancestry, Life and Times of Henry Hastings Sibley*, St. Paul, 1889, p. 55.

2. Minn. Hist. Colls., I., p. 469.

these men were only posing as the benefactors of the settlers and that the various failures could be attributed to them.

In 1822, under support from the Company's officers, a joint stock company was formed to establish a tannery and to manufacture cloth from the wool of the buffalo. This association under the name of the Buffalo Wool Company inaugurated a period of speculation. Prices rose and provisions, especially, became dear for agricultural pursuits were abandoned and those who should have been cultivating the soil hastened away to the plains to hunt the buffalo. They imagined that there was to be a period of marvelous prosperity and everybody was to have money. A few yards of cloth were manufactured at a cost of £2 10s. per yard and sent to England where they sold for 4s. 6d. per yard. The Company soon failed owing to the impracticability of the venture and the mismanagement and the inefficiency of the officials. A period of hardship followed and the people were dissatisfied and resentful because they thought they had been duped.¹

Shortly after this time the Governor attempted to introduce the cultivation of flax and hemp by granting premiums. It was charged that a favored few managed to monopolize the premiums and the experiment came to nothing. As soon as the premiums were withdrawn, the crops were allowed to rot in the fields.²

Another scheme of the Governor's was designed to make Red River a great sheep raising country. A joint stock company was formed and representatives were sent down into the United States to purchase sheep. A large number were bought in Kentucky and the attempt made to drive them all the way back to Red River, but most of them perished on the way.³ This, too, had failed and the people were no nearer prosperity than they were before.

The next project of the Governor's was the "Tallow Company." This concern was to further the interests of the colony by the introduction of cattle raising on a large scale. But the cattle put into the speculation died of cold or were killed by the wolves, so this plan did not bring the long-heralded prosperity.⁴

The long catalogue of failures may be completed by mention of the pet scheme of the Company,—the establishment of experimental farms. The theory was that these farms were to be models for the colonists and that by means of them agriculture would be improved. Three of these farms were established in the period from 1823 to 1837. The first, the Hayfield Farm, in addition to its function as a model was designed to furnish the people with food in case of scarcity. All three of the farms were

1. Ross, Red River Settlement, 69-72.

2. *Ib.*, 139.

3. *Ib.*, 146-150.

4. *Ib.*, 151.

conducted along the same lines—great expense for equipment and buildings but with every conceivable sort of mismanagement and waste. The persons chosen to manage the last two farms were utterly without experience in farming. Any of the Scotch settlers could have filled the place much better. The farms did not produce any more provisions than were needed by their own innumerable farm help. If they had succeeded in doing so they would have lessened the market for the settlers' produce and so really have proved a detriment. It goes without saying that not only were the farms of no use as models but they were conducted at great loss to the Company.

The fact that every one of these farms failed gave rise to the suspicion that perhaps there was some motive behind them other than the welfare of the people and that they failed through design. According to the gentleman sent over to manage the last farm, the officers of the Company in London were very anxious to have the project succeed, while their representatives in the colony did everything in their power to make it fail. The following remark, current in the colony suggests an explanation of this situation: "When the Company deal in furs, they work for money; but when they farm they work for fame!" A prominent settler gave his opinion in these words: "The colony on a small scale is favorable to the Company's interest, in order to secure its supplies on the spot and give a tone to its proceedings at home; but were it to increase in numbers, wealth, and power, the colony in the nature of things, must soon have a voice of its own, and that voice would render allegiance extremely doubtful: even the existence of the great monopoly itself might receive a shock from a thriving settlement at the Red River. And this mode of reasoning is applicable to the export trade question, as well as the experimental farms, and many things else in this quarter; so that we can very easily and reasonably account for their failure on the same principle inherent in all governments, to pursue that line of policy best suited to their own aggrandizement."¹

In the grant made to Lord Selkirk, provision was made that the colonists were to be allowed to send the produce of their country to England by the Company's ships.² Agriculture was in such a backward state in the beginning that not only was there nothing to export to England but the Company was obliged to depend largely for their food supply on articles imported from home. In 1829, they reduced the price of the articles which they did secure from the colonists, which proceeding did not tend to encourage agriculture. The legal price for wheat was made 3s. 6d. per bushel, for good beef 1½ d. per lb., for butter 7 d. per

1. Ross, *Red River Settlement*, 218-220.

2. Martin, *The Hudson's Bay Company Land Tenures*, 178.

lb.¹ Not only was the price low, but the market was limited. Mr. John McLean who spent the years from 1820 to 1845 in the service of the Company says in regard to the market situation: "A single Scotch farmer could be found in the colony able alone to supply the greater part of the produce the Company require; there is one in fact who offered to do it; if a sure market were secured to the colonists of the Red River they would speedily become the wealthiest yeomanry of the world; their barns and granaries are always full to overflowing; the Company purchase from six to eight bushels of wheat from every farmer, at the rate of 3s. per bushel, and the sum total of their yearly purchases form the whole settlement amounts to 600 cwts flour, first and second qualities; 35 bushels rough barley; 10 half-firkins butter, 28 lbs. each; 10 bushels Indian corn; 200 cwt. best kiln-dried flour; 60 firkins butter, 56 lbs. each; 240 lbs. cheese, 60 hams, where he (the Red River farmer) finds a sure market for the remainder of his produce. Heaven only knows; I do not; this much, however, I do know, that the incomparable advantages this delightful country possesses are not only in a great measure lost to the inhabitants, but also to the world, so long as it remains under the dominion of its fur trading rulers."² An examination of the Minutes of the Council of the Company for 1840, 1843, and 1845, will show that Mr. McLean's figures are correct with respect to the yearly purchases from the settlement.³

Although the farmers continually complained of the lack of an adequate market, Sir George Simpson, who had been Governor of the territories of the Company for 37 years, testified in 1857 before the Select Committee of Parliament that the Company purchased all the surplus agricultural produce, and that in spite of the encouragement given to farming, they had actually been under the necessity during the previous ten years of importing grain from the United States and Canada, and that they had never been able to get the quantity of grain to hold in store that they required.⁴

When the news of this testimony reached Red River there was a storm of protest. A meeting was called and the following resolution passed:⁵ "That nothing can be farther from the truth than the statement that the Hudson's Bay Company have been in the habit of taking our surplus produce, for, for thirty-five out of over forty years that this colony has been farming, they

1. Statistics of the Red River Colony, Donald Gunn. Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, Aug. 17, 1857. Appendix, p. 383.

2. Notes of a Twenty Five Year's Service in the Hudson's Bay Territories. Quoted in Report from Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Co., Aug. 17, 1857, p. 50.

3. See Appendix, No. 6, p. 326.

4. Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Co., Aug. 17, 1857, p. 50.

5. Other resolutions passed at this time concerned the fur trade, and will be mentioned later.

have not taken even a tenth of what we could have supplied them. It is equally untrue that for the last seven years they have been obliged to import grain from the United States in order to supply their own wants. As to our wheat crops being uncertain, we can state, that during the last ten years, we have not known a total failure of crops from any cause whatever, and *never* known them to fail from the causes given by some of the witnesses before the Select Committee.¹

At the same time that unrest and dissatisfaction had been growing from these various causes, there was developing in the colony a force that was to be more potent than any other in the final breakdown of the great monopoly—independent fur trade in defiance of the exclusive privileges conferred by the Charter. The Company had been fully aware of the fact that the presence of a colony in the midst of their possessions might lead to this very result and had sought to guard their rights in the following provisions of the Grant to Lord Selkirk:

(1) Neither Lord Selkirk nor any person deriving rights from him was to carry on a trade in furs or to assist anyone in such trade, without a license from the Company.

(2) The Hudson's Bay Company servants were to be allowed to carry on their trade as usual.

(3) The colonists were to be allowed to send the produce of their country to London by way of the Company's ships but it was expressly stated that such produce was not to include "furs, skins of beavers, and other animals of wild and untamed nature."²

In spite of this prudent safeguard, free trade developed naturally, inevitably. The small traders and merchants were among the first to overstep the rights of the Company in this respect. In the first days of the colony, the colonists secured all their supplies from the Company store. Goods were sold on credit, to be paid for in produce or in work. The system seems never to have worked well, the colonists declaring that the accounts were poorly kept and the officials dishonest in their transactions. In 1822 there was a slight reform in this respect and in 1824 the use of credit was discontinued and the ready money system substituted. The change brought hardship to many, especially to the improvident half-breeds. Supplies became very scarce and at times people were unable to get goods, even when they had the money to pay for them, on account of the arbitrary methods used in managing the store.³

About 1833 a number of private individuals resolved to import goods on their own account in order to avoid the evils attendant on the "Company store" system. The Company allowed

1. The Hudson's Bay Question (Reprinted from the Colonial Intelligencer) F. W. C., p. 13.

2. Martin, The Hudson's Bay Company Land Tenure, 176-178.

3. Ross, Red River Settlement, 67-69, 155-156.

them to bring out goods in their ships at the rate of 18 per ton, with free storage at York Factory. From importing for their own use, these individuals soon came to importing on speculation, selling the goods to others on credit.¹ This competition forced the Company to adopt a more satisfactory policy in their transactions but the petty traders increased rapidly in number and influence.² Some of these traders merely went out with their bundles of goods and disposed of them without having any definite place of business, while others set up regular shops, which they kept open as long as their stock of goods lasted. Dealing as they were in the same goods and supplies as were used by the Company in the fur trade with the Indians, it was the most natural thing in the world for these traders and merchants to attempt to share in the immense profits of that trade. It was an easy thing for them to do, too. The trader had only to take his outfit with him and slip out on the plains among the Indians and there quietly dispose of his ammunition or cloth for valuable peltries which were easily secreted. This was done clandestinely at first but after 1849 the petty traders openly outfitted Indian traders.³ The Company did not take any decided measures against the practice until it was too late to break it up.⁴

The infringements of the Company's rights which they found it hardest to deal with, came from the half-breeds, who formed a continually increasing proportion of the population.

The following table compiled from the Census records of 1843, 1849, and 1856, shows the relatively large increase in these native half-breed families.⁵

Resident Families.

Birthplace of Head of Family	1843	1849	1856	Increase in 13 years.
Rupert's Land (half-breed natives)	517	684	816	245
Scotland	110	129	116	6
Canada	152	161	92	Decrease 60
England	22	46	40	18
Ireland	5	27	13	8
Switzerland	2	2	2	—
Norway	0	3	1	1

1. Ross, *Red River Settlement*, 156.

2. In 1847 there were 102 English importers in the colony and nearly as many more who brought goods in from the U. S. *Ib.*, p. 395.

3. In 1856 there were 56 of these "merchant shops," while there had been none in 1849. *Statistical Account of Red River Colony*. Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Co., Aug. 17, 1857, p. 363.

4. The import duties of 1835, 1844 and 1845 were designed to injure the business of the petty traders. See pp. 267 and 278.

5. *Papers Relative to the Exploration of the Country between Lake Superior and the Red River Settlement*, London, 1859, p. 108.

They were largely the off-spring of the French Canadians, the voyageurs who had found wives among the Indian maidens. They were hardy and fearless, but easily influenced, quick to adopt new views and new plans, so that they were ready at any time to join in any disturbance or agitation. They were of a roving disposition and preferred to hunt the buffalo, rather than to settle down to a steady agricultural life. Improvident in the extreme they hastened the extinction of the buffalo by killing them recklessly and wasting a very large part of the proceeds of the hunt, at times taking only the skins and tongues of the animals. Under these circumstances the buffalo soon began to diminish in numbers and as they did so, drew farther away toward the Rocky Mountains. The hunters were compelled to travel greater distances in search of them and consequently spent more time away from their farms.¹

There were usually two hunts in a year, one in the spring and another in the fall. The number who went out on these trips increased very rapidly as is shown in the following table given by Alexander Ross;²

In 1820, the number of carts assembled here for the first trip was 540, in 1825 it was 680, in 1830 it had increased to 820, in 1835 it was 970 and in 1840 it was 1210.

Of course the great number who went to the plains—there were altogether 1,630 persons in the hunt of 1840—brought back such an immense amount of meat and hides that it was impossible for the Company to purchase all of it. The demand for pemmican was becoming less all the time because the settlers were producing more food. Naturally the cry arose that the Company should be compelled to furnish a market, so that tallow and hides could be exported. The Company refused to take any steps in that direction and the lack of a market became a standing cause of complaint among the half-breeds as well as among the farmers.

There was another and perhaps more important feature of this habit of hunting on the plains. The greater part of the buffalo ranged on the American side of the boundary line and in the course of the chase the hunters often came into contact with the American fur traders. It was the most natural thing in the world that the half-breeds should hunt and traffic in furs. Their disposition and habits of life led to such a course. It was said that probably not more than one-third as many hunters assembled for the fall hunt on the plains as for the spring, for the reason that the majority of them not having the means of subsistence for the winter spread out over the country where they could hunt the elk, the moose, and the bear or trap the fur bearing ani-

1. Report of the Exploration of the Country between Lake Superior and Red River Settlement, Toronto, 1857, p. 354.

2. Ross, Red River Settlement, p. 246.

mals.¹ Undoubtedly the most of the furs obtained during the winter were slipped across the line to American traders, whom the half-breeds had met during the previous summer and who had promised higher prices than those offered by the Hudson's Bay Company. It was the practice to take the smaller, more valuable furs to the Americans for the simple reason that they were much easier to conceal and much less difficult to carry. The success of these transactions led the half-breeds to branch out in their operations and secure furs from their Indian relatives, in order to take them to the Americans. Of course all of this was illegal in the eyes of the Company and the half-breeds were warned continually that they would be punished if they persisted in violating the Company's rights.² The warnings seem to have been of no avail and the smuggling continued in spite of the vigilance of the Company's officers. The half-breeds persisted in asserting that they had the first right to the country and that any attempt of the Company to control them was unlawful.³

Closely connected with the question of the illegal fur trade was the regulation of the Company that the half-breeds should not import or manufacture liquor. They considered this a special grievance for they wanted it not only for their own consumption but also for use in trade with the Indians. This was one of the reasons why they would not raise barley or oats. If they raised any more than was needed for their mere subsistence, they were not allowed to export or distill it, so they found it more advantageous to buy what supplies they needed with the produce of the plains than to attempt to cultivate the soil.⁴ By this very regulation, then, the Company were driving them into the illegal fur trade, for the more they depended on the plains, the more they took part in the trade.

The restlessness of the half-breeds finally showed itself in open violence. During the winter of 1834 Mr. Simpson, an officer of the Company, brought down upon his head the wrath of the whole half-breed population by severely punishing a French half-breed named Larocque who had been insolent to him. A number of Larocque's friends held a meeting and demanded that Mr. Simpson be delivered to them that they might punish him as they saw fit. They warned the Governor if their demand was not complied with that they would attack Ft. Garry and take Mr.

1. Report of the Exploration of the Country between Lake Superior and Red River Settlement, p. 356.

2. Ross, Red River Settlement, p. 237.

3. In his testimony before the Select Committee of 1857, Sir John Richardson said: "I had conversation with some of the half castes from the Red River that we employed; and they told me that they had a right to their country in virtue of their parentage, and wished, if they could, to get possession of it. They look upon the exclusive fur trade as our poachers do on the game laws in our country, and they wish to have the fur trade to themselves." Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, Aug. 17, 1857, No. 1492.

4. *Ib.*, 172.

Simpson forcibly. Soon all of the half-breeds of French extraction had joined the party, which then began a war dance in Indian fashion. Representatives went to them from the fort, and they finally persuaded them to return to their homes without further demonstration.¹ This outbreak showed the temper of the half-breeds and gave fair warning as to what might be expected in the future.²

The next spring—1835—the half-breeds again gathered before Ft. Garry in a spirit of rebellion. This time they demanded:

1. An increase in the price of provisions sold to the Company.
2. An export trade.
3. A remission of the duty on the goods imported from the United States.³

Ross lays these demands and others which followed to "designing and disaffected demagogues" who were using the half-breeds for their own purposes. These "demagogues" were undoubtedly individuals engaged in the fur trade who found it to their interest to keep reminding people continually of the wrongs which they had suffered. The rioters were again appeased by vague promises and the threatened revolt averted.⁴

In 1836 there seemed for a time to be still greater danger of a general outbreak. A man named Dickson who called himself the "Liberator of the Indian Race" appeared in the settlement and managed to assemble a number of half-breeds with the object of seizing the Company's trading posts and wresting from them the trade and the country. He succeeded in arousing some enthusiasm and in giving genuine alarm to the authorities but the affair ended in miserable failure.⁵

The next year Papineau's Rebellion broke out in Canada and the rumors of it reaching Red River added to the feeling of discontent and insubordination. The French half-breeds naturally sympathized with the rebels. They sang songs praising the Cana-

1. Ross, *Red River Settlement*, pp. 167-169.

2. Father Belcourt, who was this time in charge of a Catholic mission in the Colony at St. Paul gives an account of a disturbance which took place among the half-breeds in 1833. He says that the situation became so alarming that Gov. Simpson sent up to the St. Paul mission for him to come to the settlement to calm the people. Rev. Belcourt possessed a great deal of influence over the half-breeds and according to his account soon appeased them on this occasion. He drew up petitions for them in both French and English and secured promises that their grievances would be redressed. This may have been the demonstration described by Ross as taking place in 1835 or it may have been a similar, though slighter disturbance which finally resulted in the general demands of 1835.

3. Ross, *Red River Settlement*, p. 169.

4. Gunn, *Fight for Free Trade in Rupert's Land*, Miss. Valley, Hist. Assoc. Proc., 1910-11, IV., 81.

5. Hudson's Bay Company. Return to an Address of the Honorable The House of Commons, Aug. 8, 1842, p. 26. One account of this affair relates that Dickson set out from Washington, attended by officers with high sounding titles and brilliant uniforms, and that he was supplied with money by Americans who wished to injure the Hudson's Bay Company. If this is true, the expedition is very similar to the filibustering expedition which took possession of Texas at about this same time. Martin, *Hudson's Bay Territories and Vancouver Island*, London, 1849, p. 72.

dians and made a flag called Papineau's standard, which waved in triumph for a number of years.¹

By this time it had been recognized that a firm system of government was imperative in order to keep down the unruly elements of the population. Since 1822 the Company had been appointing special governors for the district of Assiniboia and there had been a part of the time, nominally, at any rate, a council to assist the governor. There seems to have been a great deal of confusion and dispute as to the exact rights of the Company in regard to the administration of justice. In the Imperial Statute 43 George III. cap 138, jurisdiction over Indian territories and all parts of America belonging to Great Britain, not within the Canadas, was vested in the Canadian Courts.² There was some controversy as to the interpretation of this act and it was confirmed by another passed about the time of the union of 1821 (Act of 1 and 2 Geo. IV., cap 66) which stated that the former act should apply to the territories of the Hudson's Bay Company, any thing in their Charter or any of their grants to the contrary notwithstanding. The Crown was empowered to create Courts of Record in the territory of the Company without the intervention of the Canadian Courts for the trial of minor criminal cases and of civil cases where the matter in dispute was less than £200. In spite of this provision for courts at Red River, little was done along this line for a number of years. The explanation is simple. The people were few in number and the occasions rare when regular judicial proceedings were needed. Summary decisions by the Company's officers answered very well, but in time, as the colonists increased in number they demanded laws passed by a representative legislative body and courts which guaranteed ordinary English justice. Disputes became more frequent and the need for some means of maintaining order more pressing. Then, too, the Company realized that they would have to institute some systematic method of protecting their monopoly rights or lose them altogether. After they had secured sole management of the colony through the purchase of the interest of Lord Selkirk's heirs, they hastened to set up a more stable form of government.³

In 1835 new councillors were appointed by the committee in London from residents of the colony who in connection with the Governor of Assiniboia and the Governor of Rupert's Land were to constitute a legislative council with the power to make laws on both civil and criminal matters. This council, composed of the

1. Ross, *Red River Settlement*, p. 239.

2. *Correspondence Papers and Documents Relating to the Northerly and Westerly Boundaries of the Province of Ontario*. Toronto, 1882, p. 26.

3. The date of the final transfer from the Selkirk executors to the Company is given variously as 1834, 1835, and 1836.

most influential men in the colony, met for the first time Feb. 12, 1835.¹ The new councillors were all connected with the Company in some capacity and thus directly under its influence. For this reason the people felt that they were not representatives, that their acts and decisions were all biased in favor of the Company, and that the council had been devised merely to further the interests of the great monopoly as against those of the colony. The half-breeds felt that their interests did not get proportional representation, especially since the Council was overwhelmingly Protestant.²

The population had increased considerably by this time and many new questions of law and the administration of justice were arising, such as those with respect to property rights. The councillors were interested solely in their business, the fur trade, and had neither the time nor the inclination to concern themselves with such matters.

The proceedings of the first meeting justified the fears of the people. The Council voted to levy a duty of 7½% on all exports and imports. The explanation given for these duties was that the proceeds were to be used for the erection of public works but nothing was done in that direction afterward. The duties on import was aimed against the business of the petty traders who were persisting in smuggling furs out of the country on the trips they took to St. Peter's and other American posts from time to time.³ The duty on exports seem to have been a precautionary measure as there were really no exports of consequence at this time. The measure, however, was against the interests of the settlement for the half-breeds were continually demanding an export trade. There was so much objection to these rates that the Company was forced to reduce them first to 5% and then later to 4%.

The attempt to establish a system of law enforcement occa-

1. Constitution of the First Council:

Sir. George Simpson, Governor of Rupert's Land, Pres.
Alexander Christy, Governor of Assiniboia.
Rt. Rev. J. N. Provencher, Bishop of Juliopolis.
The Rev. D. T. Jones, Chaplain to the Hon. H. B. Co.
The Rev. Wm. Cockran, Assistant Chaplain.
James Bird, Esq., formerly chief factor Hudson Bay Company.
James Sutherland, Esq.
W. H. Cook, Esq.
John Pritchard, Esq.
Robert Logan, Esq.
Alex. Ross, Esq., Sheriff of Assiniboine.
John McCullum, Esq., Coroner.
John Bunn, Esq., Medical Adviser.
Andrew McDermot, Esq., Merchant.
Cuthbert Grant, Esq., Warden of the Plains.

2. It was stated of the Council of 1855 that nine of the Councillors were Protestant and three Catholic. According to the census taken the next year, there were 548 Protestant and 534 Catholic families in the settlement. The half-breeds comprising nearly all of the latter. These figures probably indicate the situation of 1835.

3. H. G. Gunn, Fight for Free Trade in Rupert's Land, Proc. Miss. Valley Hist. Assoc., 1910-1911, IV., 82.

sioned some disturbance. In 1836 a public flogging was administered to a French Canadian for the crime of theft. A number of settlers gathered to witness the proceeding and became so excited by the spectacle that they almost mobbed the individual who inflicted the punishment. Public feeling became so strong against such a method of chastisement that it was practically abandoned. Such a method of punishment might have been suitable for the enforcement of discipline in the early days of the Company's despotic rule over the Indians but it was utterly out of place in an English colony. This incident shows the turbulence of the people and their attitude toward the authorities.

The various outbreaks and the general attitude of the people undoubtedly made the Company feel insecure, so in 1837 we find their officials opening negotiations looking toward the renewal of their license of 1821 although it was not due to expire until 1842. They probably feared if they waited until that time that conditions in the colony might have reached such a pass that they would be refused a further extension of the privileges they had been enjoying.

In a letter to Lord Glenelg, Colonial Secretary, Feb. 10, 1837, J. H. Pelly, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company,¹ states that—"changes which have occurred in the situation of these countries" make it imperative that the grant be renewed and that adequate measures be taken for the administration of justice. He cites the fact that the population of Red River had increased to 5,000 of whom 3,000 were Indians or half-breeds. The turbulent character of this population demanded that regular courts of justice be established under a competent Recorder. "This rising community," he says, "if well governed, may be found useful at some future period, in the event of difficulties occurring between Great Britain and the United States of America who have several military posts, say those of Sault Ste Mary's, Prairie du Chien, and the River St. Peter's, established on their Indian frontiers along the line of boundary with British North America." As a final justification for his request, Governor Pelly enumerates the services which the Company has rendered in the past:

1. Peace and tranquility of the country have been restored.
2. Abuses arising in connection with the use of spirituous liquors in trade have been discontinued.
3. British commercial interests have been improving under the Act of 1821.²

Lord Glenelg referred the matter to the Lords of Trade who recommended the renewal of the grant although they considered such a proceeding objectionable in most commercial affairs. Lord

1. That is, Governor of the Company in London, not the resident Governor, who was often called the Governor of Rupert's Land, in distinction.

2. Hudson's Bay Company. Return to an Address of the Honorable the House of Commons, August 8, 1842, pp. 12-15.

Glenelg concurred in their opinion with the stipulation that provision be made for colonization in the territory of the Company. There is evidence in this official action that it was considered that the Company were not taking sufficient measures toward colonizing the country. A grant was finally signed May 30, 1838. It was practically the same as that of 1821, except that it contained the following clause: "Provided, nevertheless, and we do hereby declare our pleasure to be, that nothing herein contained shall extend or be construed to prevent the establishment by us, our heirs, or successors, within the territories aforesaid, or any of them, of any colony or colonies, province or provinces, or for annexing any part of the aforesaid territories to any existing colony or colonies to us, in right of our Imperial Crown, belonging, or for constituting any such form of civil government as to us may seem meet, within any such colony or colonies, province or provinces."¹

The rights of the Company had been renewed and their position recognized but with distinct limitation and a display of lack of confidence. They were never to regain their old place of supremacy.

In 1839 Mr. Adam Thom was appointed Recorder of Rupert's Land, with the power to sit as judge of the court and to act as executive over Assiniboia. He became very unpopular on account of his arbitrary methods of administering justice. It was claimed that he was partial to the Company and acted only with their interests in view. The proceedings of the court were conducted in the English language. This was a real grievance to the greater part of the population who understood only French. No interpreter was provided for these people.²

The methods used by the Council were also unsatisfactory. There were no adequate means of acquainting the people with the laws. New regulations or ordinances were supposed to be posted on the church doors where they could be examined by everybody. Copies from these notices were often made by the settlers living in different parts of the country, so it was considered that every one had sufficient notification.³ This was about the best that could be done, for there were no newspapers or printing presses in the country, and consequently no means of publishing the laws in permanent form where they could be accessible at any time. The colonists claimed, however, that not even this primitive method of publishing the laws was always used and that they were kept in the dark concerning the operations of the Council. On more than one occasion they pled ignorance of a law or regu-

1. Hudson's Bay Company. Return to an Address of the Honorable the House of Commons, August 8, 1842, p. 28.

2. Ross, Red River Settlement, p. 377.

3. Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, Aug. 17, 1857, p. 71.

lation, which the Council claimed to have passed with all due formality.¹

The course adopted immediately after the institution of the new system of government justified the predictions of the people that the whole thing was merely a scheme to protect the trading rights of the Company. It was rumored that a Canadian named Register Larant had been guilty of illegal trading in furs. The officers of the Company broke into his house and seized the furs which they found there. Shortly afterward a similar seizure was made from another Canadian; a third culprit was made prisoner at Manitoba Lake, taken to York Factory and threatened with deportation to England. These things were done on mere suspicion, as there was no proof that the furs were not to be taken to the Company's store. So much ill feeling was aroused by these high handed proceedings that the Company at home were forced to disallow them and to re-imburse the parties whose furs had been confiscated.²

The Canadians were not appeased by the retraction but persisted in their course of opposition to the Company. They exercised a great deal of influence over the French half-breeds and from now on that class were united with them. The English half-breeds had been steadfast in their loyalty to the Company but shortly after this time they, too, were added to the list of malcontents by reason of a slight put upon one of their numbers by a Company officer.³

Thus, as we have shown, by 1840 the Canadians and the half-breeds, both French and English, had what they considered just causes for complaint and had had some experience in trying to secure their rights by actual revolt. The Scotch, the more steady and sober element of the population were not so outspoken in their complaints, nor riotous in making demands but they, too, had their grievance in that they had never been allowed a minister of their own faith in accordance with a promise made to them as far back as the time of Lord Selkirk. The lack of market for farm produce bore heavily on them for they were the main part of the farming population.

In spite of this condition of affairs the rule of the great corporation was to continue a number of years in seemingly the same strength. But it was only strong in the semblance, for all

1. For an example, see protest of American Importers, Appendix, No. 8, p. 328.

2. Ross, *Red River Settlement*, pp. 237-238.

3. A young English half-breed became a suitor for the hand of a young lady, whose father, a Company officer, had placed her in boarding school at the settlement under the guardianship of the Company's chief officer there. She had another suitor, a Scotchman, whom her guardian favored, although she herself preferred the first mentioned lover. In order to end the matter, the guardian sent for the half-breed and gave him a severe reprimand for presuming to aspire to the hand of a young lady so much his superior in society. That was enough to turn all of his countrymen against the Company and from that time they joined with the other half-breeds in any disturbance.

the time the force which was finally to break the monopoly—free trade—was steadily increasing.

During the years 1844 and 1846 especially there was considerable ferment in the colony owing to the determined effort which the Company made to stamp out all illegal trade, which was increasing very decidedly on account of the near approach of the American traders. There seems to have been an attempt at first to compromise with the Americans by buying off their opposition as is shown by the following extract from the minutes of the Council held at Norway House June 18, 1840: "That the sum of £300 sterling be paid by draft on the Governor and Committee to Ramsay Crooks, Esquire, in consideration of the opposition having been removed from the frontiers of Lake Superior, Lac la Pluie and Red River District, conformably to the terms of an arrangement entered into between the Hudson's Bay Company and the American Fur Company the said amount to be charged to the Lac la Pluie Outfit, 1839." In the next resolutions of the same meeting there is evidence that the rival companies had arrived at an understanding by which all independent traders were to be crushed. The resolutions are: "Minutes of Council, Norway House June 18, 1840, Information having been secured through Mr. Keith from Ramsay Crooks, Esquire, Pres. of the American Fur Company intimating the probability of Mr. W. A. Aitkins establishing a trading post on the borders of Lac la Pluie District near Vermillion Lake with a view of carrying on a trade with the natives of that quarter, and Mr. Crooks having requested permission to oppose Mr. Aitkin in order to restrain his encroachments upon the trade of Lac la Pluie District, it is—

Resolved 44: That Mr. Crooks be requested to oppose him accordingly,

45: That Chief Factor Mr. Donell be instructed to make the necessary arrangements for meeting the expected opposition with vigour; and that any additional supply in men and goods required for that purpose be furnished him from Red River by C. F. Finlayson."

In the meeting of June 10, 1843, provision is again made for payment to Ramsay Crooks, so the agreement must have lasted until that time at least. But the next year there is a change in the course of events for Norman W. Kittson, who had established a post for the American Fur Company at Pembina sent six Red River carts loaded with furs to Mendota.¹ These furs were of course secured largely from hunters north of the boundary line. The Company instantly became more vigilant than ever in attempting to enforce their rights.

If a man were suspected of having furs in his possession, a

1. The Red River carts were curious two-wheeled vehicles composed entirely of wood and drawn by oxen.

deputation of special constables headed by a Company clerk came to his home and demanded admittance. If refused, they broke into the house and made a thorough search for furs. They usually carried with them a long pole which they used to bring to light any furs that might be secreted in the tall chimney of the house. Any furs found were taken to the Company's store. An unpublished journal of one of these free traders which covers these years tells of many such occurrences.¹ The petty traders were watched more closely than ever. Their caravans were searched under the direction of Cuthbert Grant who acted as deputy sheriff. In the words of a petition drawn up a few years later, "On our annual commercial journeys into Minnesota, we have been pursued like felons by armed constables, who searched our property, even by breaking open our trunks: all furs found were confiscated."²

The settlers were forbidden to take furs for food supplied to the Indians, although the latter might be famishing.³ It is said that a hunter was imprisoned for having given one of his overcoats to a destitute Indian for its value in rat skins.⁴

In addition to measures such as these, the Council instituted a series of regulations, which had for their object the destruction of all competition in the fur trade.

One of their first acts was to devise a land deed which would tend to discourage settlement and protect the fur trade. Any person taking out such a deed bound himself: (1) not to trade in furs, not to aid any one else in such trade, and not to distill liquor without license from the Company. (2) Not to sell the land or any portion of it without the written consent of the Governor and the Company. (3) Not to import goods into Red River to any port but York Factory, from any port but London nor from any place in London but from ware houses belonging to the Company, nor in any ship but the Company's ship.

No half-breed who had been trafficking with the Indians, no petty trader who had been dabbling in the fur trade, and no importer from the United States could take out such a deed without promising to give up what had been his means of gaining a livelihood. The scheme did not have the effect intended, for the people went on settling on the land without applying for deed or title of any sort. The Company did not dare to bring matters to a crisis by attempting to enforce the regulation. The deed was actually used in some cases, however, as was shown by papers produced in the Parliamentary Investigation of 1857.⁵

1. The Garrioch Journal, Gunn, Fight for Free Trade in Rupert's Land, Miss. Valley Hist. Assoc. Proc., 1910-11, IV., 84.

2. Petition to Legislative Assembly of Canada. Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, Aug. 17, 1857, p. 438.

3. Ibid. P. 438.

4. Minn. Hist. Soc. Collections, I., 217.

5. For a copy of one of these land deeds, see Appendix, No. 3.

In addition to the land deeds, there were various other regulations bearing directly on the subject of the fur trade. Mr. John M'Laughlin, a young Irishman who had been engaged in the free trade in the colony and had been the consistent opponent of the Company presented at the Inquiry of 1857 what he claimed were the original or copies of these documents.¹ Officers of the Company denied the authenticity of most of the papers and offered the following letter from Andrew McDermot, an uncle of Mr. McLaughlin's to show that that young man was not reliable: "My nephew, who went home last year, has not made his appearance yet. I am sorry to say that he is a very impudent young man. He might well know that, whatever he might gain with the Company by being polite, he could gain very little by bullying them to come to terms. When he left here I advised him for the best, but he did not follow my advice in one instance. And all the stuff he collected about this settlement was furnished him by people in the service, and others who could be little suspected for such a thing."²

The attempt to impugn the authenticity of Mr. M'Laughlin's documents by the production of this letter failed: (1) The letter was written to the Secretary of the Hudson's Bay Company and for that reason may not have been entirely unbiased, especially as Mr. McDermot was very friendly with all of the Company officers; (2) Although Mr. M'Laughlin may have been impudent in attacking the great Corporation, it did not follow necessarily that he was not telling the truth about them; (3) Documents secured from persons in the service of the Company were likely to be authentic. (4) Mr. M'Laughlin managed to present a very respectable amount of evidence that the most of these papers were genuine.

The Company produced no documentary evidence beyond this one letter. They showed in the course of the investigation that Mr. M'Laughlin had been engaged in a lengthy controversy with them, hoping by this means to prove that his testimony was actuated by resentment, and to draw the attention of the Investigating Committee away from the real matter at issue, the truth or falsity of his charges. The Company showed here their old dread of getting into print by making no effort to prove their state-

1. Mr. McLaughlin had resided at Red River from 1844 to 1849, carrying on business as a general trader. He had dealt in furs with the Indians and had consequently incurred the animosity of the Company. He had also taken part with them in the altercation concerning a charge for over-freight brought by the firm of McDermot & Sinclair. The matter was finally ended by the Company paying a sum of money to Messrs. McDermot & Sinclair but in the meantime Mr. McLaughlin had gone to England in order to present the matter there and had gone about it in such a way that the Company had him arrested on the charge of publishing a libel against them with the intent to extort money. The case was finally dismissed and young McLaughlin was only prevented from action against the Company for false imprisonment by the prudence of his father.

2. Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, Aug. 17, 1857, No. 4910.

ments by reference to the documents in the Hudson's Bay Company offices in London.

One of the first documents presented was a regulation directed against the petty traders, who by this time were becoming bolder and were carrying on a considerable business by openly outfitting independent traders. Mr. M'Laughlin brought forward what he affirmed to be a true copy¹ of a proclamation issued December 7, 1844, by Governor Christie to the following effect: "Whereas certain persons are known to be trafficking in furs, I hereby give notice that, in order to preclude, if possible, the necessity of adopting stronger measures for the suppression of this illicit trade, the Hudson's Bay Company's ship henceforward will not receive at any port goods addressed to any person whatever, unless he shall, at least a week before the day appointed for the departure of the winter express, lodge at the office of Upper Ft. Garry a declaration to the following effect: 'I hereby declare that since the 8th day of December instant I have neither directly nor indirectly trafficked in furs on my own account, nor given goods on credit or advanced money to such as may be generally suspected of trafficking in furs; moreover, if before the middle of August next I shall appear to have acted contrary to any part of this declaration, I hereby agree that the Hudson's Bay Company shall be entitled either to detain my import of next season at York Factory for a whole year, or to purchase them at the original cost of the goods alone.'"²

There was presented also the original of a second proclamation issued the same day to provide for carrying out the terms of the first. This proclamation follows: "Whereas under the fundamental laws of Rupert's Land, it is notoriously illegal to traffic with other countries, or in imported commodities, unless under the protection of the written license of the Hudson's Bay Company; and whereas, under the general law of England, an illegal transaction cannot be aided by a court of justice, whether to make the debtor pay what he owes, or the agent account for what he has received, I hereby give notice, that in order to guard the fair and honest dealer against otherwise unavoidable embarrassment and loss, I shall forward to every maritime importer who has lodged a declaration against trafficking in furs a license to the following effect: 'On behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company, I hereby license . . . to trade, and also ratify his having traded in English goods within the limits of the Red River Settlement, this ratification and this license to be null and void from the beginning in the event of his hereafter trafficking in furs, or

1. He stated that Mr. Isbister had the original.

2. Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, Aug. 17, 1857, No. 4895.

generally of his usurping any one whatever of all the privileges of the Hudson's Bay Company.'"¹

It will be noticed at once that there is no specific guarantee in these proclamations that a person suspected of illegal trade should have the benefit of a regular judicial trial. The way was left open for arbitrary decisions.

In telling of this law Mr. M'Laughlin said that although he did not know of any instance in which the effects of any importer were confiscated in consequence of his having violated the stipulations of the license, he did know of one case in which an order was not complied with and the goods of a trader was detained in London.²

Edward Ellice, who was a member of the investigating committee of 1857 attempted to bring out the fact that this regulation was probably disallowed by the Company in London, but it must have been in force for some time after its passage for there was produced as evidence a freighter's license which bore the date July 29, 1845.³ Mr. Ellice did not offer to prove his contention by producing the minutes of the Company's meetings.

Governor Simpson denied that he had ever heard of any regulation concerning freighter's licenses but declared that the Company took all goods that came to them if there was room in their shipping.⁴ At the same time, however, he was forced to admit that the Company had refused to carry British manufactures for Mr. James Sinclair on the grounds that he wanted them for the fur trade, thus acknowledging that the Company had on one occasion at least enforced a similar regulation.⁵

The next in point of time of the disputed documents which Mr. M'Laughlin brought to the attention of the Committee in 1857 was the original of a proclamation of Governor Christie issued December 20, 1844 to the following effect: "All letters which are intended to be sent by this conveyance (winter express) must be left at this office on or before the first of January; every letter must have the writer's name written by himself in the left hand corner below, and if the writer is not one of those who have a declaration against trafficking in furs, his letter must be brought

1. Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, Aug. 17, 1857, No. 4786.

2. This may have been the case of Mr. Sinclair, alluded to later.

3. It is true, however, that the regulation might very well have been disallowed in London and still have been in force in the colony at that time. This was one of the chief causes of complaint. Means of communication were so poor, that the officials in the colony could pass a law detrimental to the interests of the settlement and long months had to elapse before news of it reached London, and a still longer time before word of its recall could be brought back to Red River.

4. Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, Aug. 17, 1857, p. 103.

5. Another bit of evidence which goes to show that the law was passed, just as Mr. McLaughlin claimed, in that according to the Minutes of the Council, June 10, 1845 (to be noticed later), exemption from certain duties was to be granted to all importers who had not been suspected of trading in furs after December 8, 1844. This is the same date as the one named in the above Proclamation, after which the importer was to declare that he had not dealt in furs.

open, its inclosures, if any, being open also, to this office and here closed."¹

A letter, December 29, 1844 from R. Lane, a clerk in the service of the Company to Andrew M'Dermott, the uncle of Mr. M'Laughlin was produced to show that this proclamation was authentic. The letter reads:

"My Dear Sir:—As by the new regulation regarding the posting of letters, it would be necessary that Mr. M'Laughlin should send up his letters for my perusal, a thing which cannot be agreeable to him, will you have the goodness to tell him that in his case I shall consider it quite sufficient his sealing the letters in my presence without any perusal on my part, and for that purpose I shall call in at your house tomorrow evening. Believe me, yours very sincerely, R. Lane."²

This letter is very strong proof that such a regulation must have been passed by the Council, and when Governor Simpson was confronted with it he conceded that the handwriting was very likely that of Mr. Lane but refused to acknowledge that he had any recollection whatever of such a ruling by the Council. The skillful questioning of Mr. Roebuck and Mr. Gladstone, two of the most aggressive members of the Select Committee, finally forced him to admit that there must have been something of the sort, but he contended to the last, just as he did in regard to any of the alleged high handed measures that it must have been disallowed at home.³ He did not produce any documents to prove his statement, however.

Mr. M'Laughlin himself testified that there was general objection to the proclamation from one end of the settlement to the other and that the settlers refused to submit to it. The officials endeavored to enforce it in one case, at any rate, by refusing to take the letters of Mr. James Sinclair because he would not bring them open to the fort.⁴

Another witness, the Rev. Corbett, asserted that he had heard the settlers say again and again that they were afraid to send their letters by the Company's post for fear they would be inspected by the authorities but that they also feared if their objections were too widely voiced that they would be unable to secure a market for their produce in the country. They were very anxious to see postal communication established with St. Paul in order that they might send their letters in that direction without danger of their being inspected. Rev. Corbett claimed that he had

1. Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, Aug. 17, 1857, No. 4772.

2. *Ib.*, No. 1895.

3. *Ib.*, p. 98.

4. *Ib.*, No. 265.

such apprehensions that his letters might be opened that he obtained a special stamp with his own initials in order to detect the fact if they were tampered with. In spite of this assertion he was unable to cite any case that had come within his knowledge of letters having been actually opened.¹

Naturally the question must have come up often during this period of disturbance extending from 1844 to 1846 as to how justice was to be administered in case of the infringement of any of the numerous regulations. According to a copy of the Minutes of Council April 3, 1845 presented by Mr. M'Laughlin to the Select Committee there was some friction over the enforcement of revenue regulations. The meeting was called in consequence of certain American importers having refused to pay the import duty. The collector asked for instructions from the Council as to the method to be used to enforce such payment. The Council declined to share his responsibility but passed a resolution providing that all cases of revenue, prohibition or license should be tried by the Governor and Council, and a jury, that in such cases the plaintiff should have power to summon the defendant and the defendant the plaintiff as a witness and that Adam Thom, John Bunn, and Alexander Ross be appointed a commission to examine witnesses according to English principles of equity, and that the results of this examination be placed before the jury either with or without evidence.²

The last provision left the way open for any arbitrary decision the commission might see fit to make, but this seems to have been the common mode of administering such cases after this time.³

It is evident that there was still further opposition to the authorities, from a copy of the Minutes of Council of June 19, 1845. According to this document the Council passed a law providing that if any person endeavored to influence the testimony of any member of his family who may have been called upon to testify against him, he should be held guilty of the offense with which he was charged and be liable to punishment for attempting to tamper with the course of justice. Liquor was the article of trade most in demand with the Indians; it was always used wherever there was competition and in this same law the Council sought to deprive the free traders of its use,⁴ by providing for

1. Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, Aug. 17, 1857, p. 149.

2. *Ib.*, No. 4807.

3. Such at any rate was the testimony of Mr. M'Laughlin.

4. They had already (June 10, 1845) decreed that any intoxicating drink found in a fur trader's possession beyond the limits of the settlement might be destroyed by any person on the spot. The law of June 19 simply rounded out the previous one.

tinging the "native spirits" of the Company with a peculiar hue not easily imitated.¹

Mr. M'Laughlin said that he had never heard of a case in which a person was punished for attempting to influence the testimony of any member of his family.² If enforced, this law might have borne very heavily on the half-breeds who were very much attached to one another and whose family connections were very numerous.

No attempt seems to have been made to enforce the regulation in regard to tinging the liquor with a peculiar hue. This would have been difficult on account of the widespread practice of diluting the liquor freely with water.

Rev. Corbett handed into the Committee an extract from the Minutes of a meeting of the Governor and Council of Rupert's Land, held at Red River June 10, 1845. This was a most important meeting and the severity of the measures adopted show what the alarm over the illicit fur trade must have been. The following resolutions were adopted:

(1). That, once in every year, any British subject, if an actual resident, and not a fur trafficker, may import, whether from London or St. Peter's, stores free of any duties now about to be imposed, on declaring truly that he has imported them at his own risk.

(2) That, once in every year, any British subject, if qualified as before, may exempt from duty, as before, imports of the local value of ten pounds, on declaring truly that they are intended exclusively to be used by himself within the Red River Settlement, and have been purchased with certain specified productions or manufactures of the aforesaid settlement, exported in the same season or by the latest vessel at his own risk.

(3) That, once in every year, any British subject, if qualified as before, who may have personally accompanied both his exports and imports, as defined in the preceding Resolution, may exempt from duty, as before, imports of the local value of £50, on declaring truly that they are either to be consumed by himself, or to be sold by himself to actual consumers within the aforesaid settlement, and have been purchased with certain specified productions or manufactures of the settlement, carried away by himself in the same season or by the latest vessel at his own risk.

1. Governor Christie justified the proceedings in the following proclamation: "Finally in taking this second step in a well weighed cause of negative coercion, of which the still distant close will, if necessary, usher in a different system of proceeding, I confidently expect the cordial sympathy of all good citizens in aiming at the suppression of the illicit trade in furs; a trade as prejudicial to the solid prosperity of the settlement as it is pernicious to the permanent welfare of the Indians."—Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, Aug, 17, 1857, No. 4902.

2. *Ib.*, p. 272.

(4) That all other imports from the United Kingdom for the aforesaid settlement, shall before delivery, pay at York Factory a duty of 20% of their prime cost, provided, however, that the Governor of the settlement be hereby authorized to exempt from the same all such importers as may from year to year, be reasonably believed by him to have neither trafficked in furs themselves since the 8th day of December 1844, nor enabled others to do so by illegally or improperly supplying them with trading articles of any description.

(5) That all other imports from any part of the United States shall pay all duties payable under the provisions of 5 and 6 Vict. C. 49, the imperial statute for regulating foreign trade of British possessions in North America; provided, however, that the Governor-in-Chief, or, in his absence, the President of the Council, may so modify the machinery of said Act of Parliament as to adapt the same to the circumstances of the country.

(7) That henceforward no goods shall be delivered at York Factory to any but persons duly licensed to freight the same, such licenses being given only in those cases in which no fur trafficker may have any interest direct or indirect.¹

(8) That any intoxicating drink, if found in a fur trafficker's possession, beyond the limits of the aforesaid settlement, may be seized and destroyed by any person on the spot.

Whereas the intervention of middlemen is alike injurious to the Honorable Company and to the people; it is Resolved.

(9) That henceforward furs shall be purchased from none but the actual hunters of the same.²

As a whole these regulations were directed against the petty traders. The second, however, limited even the import of goods intended for private consumption. A settler, not a fur trader, might bring in once a year goods for his own use, to the value of ten pounds, provided he paid for them with certain specified productions, which of course were not to include furs. Any other goods that he might want to bring in were to be subject to the new duties. The third resolution limited the amount of the imports of the petty traders while the fourth and fifth laid heavy duties on the imports of those who were also fur traffickers. Probably the majority of them were dealing in furs at this time so if the collection of these duties were enforced it would mean serious hindrance to the business of the colony. The final resolution would bear heavily on the half-breeds whom the Company had been employing as middlemen, the half-breeds securing the peltries from the Indians and then disposing of them to the

1. For a copy of one of these licenses, See Appendix No. 7.

2. Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, Aug. 17, 1857. Appendix No. 4, p. 373.

Company with some profit to themselves. In this way they learned of the enormous profits of the trade. They were not allowed to export furs, so they had been taking advantage of the situation by disposing of the more valuable furs to the Americans at a much greater profit than they could secure from the Company. The new ruling would cut off a valuable source of profit.¹

Governor Simpson asserted that these regulations, if passed at all, were probably disallowed by the Company at home and were at all events never enforced, but he offered no proof beyond his own recollection of the matter, which the following extract from his testimony shows to have been extremely uncertain:

“200. Mr. Roebuck.) I think you are or have been governor of Rupert's Land. In 1845, were you at the Red River settlement?—It is very likely I was there in 1845; I do not exactly recollect.

201. You had a council there, I suppose?—Yes, in all probability.

202. That council was held on the 10th of June?—Very likely.

203. I see that you passed certain resolutions at that time; have those resolutions been allowed or disallowed?—If you will allow me to see the resolutions I may have some recollection of them. I cannot exactly call them to mind. We pass resolutions for our own operations.

204. You do not bear in mind whether any of those resolutions were allowed or not?—I think the Company did disallow some of our resolutions, but I forget exactly what they were.

205. Will you be kind enough to inform us why, amongst your resolutions, you resolved this, ‘That all other imports from the United Kingdom for the aforesaid settlement shall, before delivery, pay at York Factory a duty of 20% on their prime cost, provided, however, that the governor of the settlement be hereby authorized to exempt from the same all such importers, or any of them, from year to year, as can be reasonably believed by him to have neither trafficked in furs themselves since the 8th day of December 1844, nor enabled others to do so illegally or improperly supplying them with trading articles of any description.’ Do you recollect passing any such resolution as that?—I do not recollect such a resolution; it may have been so.—

209. Laws are made to be enforced?—But I do not think that was.

230. Mr. Edward Ellice.) Is it so now?—Certainly not.

231. Has it ever been so in your recollection?—Not in my recollection. I never recollect to have heard of it.—

1. James Edward Fitzgerald, *Hudson's Bay Company and Vancouver's Island*, London, 1849, p. 211.

2033. Mr. Gladstone.) How can you be very certain that the regulation is not in force now; it appears to have been in force at one time without your knowledge, how do you know that it may not be in force without your knowledge still?—I do not think it was ever in force.

2034. Mr. Roebuck.) You do not deny that it has been in force? I do not deny it. I have no recollection of it. It was disallowed if so.

2035. Mr. Edward Ellice.) But you say that if passed, it has not been enforced as against the importers?—No.

2036. Lord Stanley.) You would have known if any action had been taken upon it?—I should have known as a matter of course.¹

Mr. M'Laughlin testified that he thought the higher rates were paid in several cases, but that he could not remember positively whether they were the 20% duties or differential duties levied on goods imported from the United States in accordance with the provisions of the Act of Parliament mentioned in the Resolutions. He said that the duties were imposed arbitrarily on mere suspicion that the importer trafficked in furs and that they were always paid under protest. He offered as proof of his statements a petition brought forward in 1848 by a number of American importers.

The petition shows that special duties were imposed on American imports June 15, 1845 and Jan. 15, 1847 and were actually paid in some instances although under protest. It received no attention from Mr. Thom to whom it was presented, but in 1849 it seems that no further attempts were made to enforce its provisions.²

According to the testimony of Rev. Corbett, however, there was an effort as late as 1855 to make American importers pay a heavy duty with an avowed purpose of using the proceeds to improve the roads.³ He returned to England in that year, traveling to St. Paul in company with about 200 carts. He informed the Committee that when they reached the boundary line, the settlers held a council as to whether they would pay the new duty on their return. They argued, "The roads are not improved, we are obliged to make our own bridges as we cross; we are obliged to wade across with our carts; we will not pay the import duty." This resolution was made public and doubtless became known to the Company officer. Rev. Corbett said that he learned later that they were firm in their resolution, and paid only the former rate of 4% on the goods which they carried back

1. Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, Aug. 17, 1857, pp. 103-104.

2. For a copy of the petition, see appendix No. 8.

3. Rev. Corbett could not remember whether the proposed duty was 10 per cent or 20 per cent.

with them.¹ The authorities had undoubtedly thought it unwise to attempt to force payment.

As the most of these repressive measures affected the half-breeds more than any other class, they raised the question many times as to whether the Company had the right to prevent them from trading in furs, claiming that as natives of the soil they had the rights to their products. In August, 1845, immediately after the time when the Council had passed the most stringent measures a number of their leading representatives sent the following letter to Governor Christie:

"Red River Settlement,
August 29, 1845.

"Sir,

"Having at this moment a very strong belief that we, as natives of this country, and as half-breeds, have the right to hunt furs in the Hudson's Bay Company territories, whenever we think proper, and again sell those furs to the highest bidder; likewise having a doubt that natives of this country can be prevented from trading and trafficking with one another; we would wish to have your opinion on the subject, lest we would commit ourselves by doing anything in opposition either to the laws of England or the Honourable Company's privileges, and therefore lay before you, as Governor of Red River settlement a few queries which we beg you will answer in course.

1. Has a half-breed, a settler, the right to hunt furs in this country?

2. Has a native of this country (not an Indian) a right to hunt furs?

3. If a half-breed has the right to hunt furs, can he hire other half-breeds to hunt furs?

4. Can a half-breed sell his furs to any person he pleases?

5. Is a half-breed obliged to sell his furs to the H. B. Co. at whatever price the Company may think proper to give him?

6. Can a half-breed receive any furs as a present from an Indian, a relative of his?

7. Can a half-breed hire any of his Indian relatives to hunt furs for him?

8. Can a half-breed trade furs from another half-breed, in or out of the settlement?

9. Can a half-breed trade furs from an Indian, in or out of the settlement?

10. With regard to trading, or hunting furs, have the half-breeds or natives of European origin, any rights or privileges over Europeans?

11. A settler having purchased lands from Lord Selkirk or

1. Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, Aug. 17, 1857, pp. 143-145.

even from the H. B. Co., without any conditions attached to them, or without having signed any bond, deed or instrument whatever where he might have willed away his right to trade furs, can he be prevented from trading furs in the settlement with settlers, or even out of the settlement?

12. Are the limits of the settlement defined by municipal law, Selkirk grant, or Indian sale?

13. If a person cannot trade furs, either in or out of the settlement, can he purchase them for his own or family use, and in what quantity?

14. Having never seen any official statements, nor known, but by report, that the Hudson's Bay Company has peculiar privileges over British subjects and half-breeds resident in the settlement, we would wish to know what those privileges are, and the penalties attached to the infringement of the same?

James Sinclair
Baptist LaRoque
Thomas Logan
John Dease
Alexis Gaulat
Louis Letendre de Batoche
William McMillan
Antoine Monan
Bat. Wilkie
John Vincent
William Bird
Peter Garoch
Henry Cook
John Spence
John Anderson
Thomas McDermot
Adall Throttier
Joseph Monkman
Baptist Farman."¹

On September 5, Governor Christie returned an answer to this letter. He answered the first ten questions with the statement that the half-breeds as British subjects had no rights above those born in England or Scotland. As to the eleventh question he stated that the restrictions in the land deeds were not intended to bind individuals already bound by the fundamental law of the country but to act as a special guarantee that their obligations would be fulfilled. The twelfth question he regarded as unimportant. For the thirteenth and fourteenth he referred them to the Charter, the Land Deed and the Acts of the Council and if

1. Fitzgerald, Hudson's Bay Company and Vancouver's Island, pp. 206-208.

after the examination of these documents any of them were still in doubt as to the legal rights of the Company, he would be pleased to grant them a personal interview on the subject.¹

As might have been expected this letter did not tend to make the relations between the authorities and the dissatisfied populace any more friendly. The prevailing discontent was increased by the attitude which the government took on another important matter. In 1843 Mr. James Sinclair sent a small quantity of tallow to London in one of the Company's vessels. He made a profit on the transaction, and a number of his countrymen determined to try the same thing. The Governor at Red River informed them that the freight on tallow would be £8 per ton. He had already offered Mr. Sinclair the same rate, but that gentleman had applied privately to the authorities in London for rates and received in reply the information that the Company were very glad indeed that the colonists wanted to attempt an export trade and that the freightage would be £2 per ton.²

Accordingly about twenty of the leading half-breeds of the settlement addressed the following letter to the Governor and Committee in London:

"Red River Settlement

December 30, 1843.

Honoured Sirs,

Presuming on the liberal manner in which your Honours met Mr. James Sinclair's views of exporting tallow on his own account to England, in your ships, at the moderate freight of 40 francs per ton, We, the undersigned, have determined to turn our attention to collecting a quantity of the article sufficient to become a matter of some consideration in the London market, as well as a source of profit and employment to a large portion of the population at the settlement, who are incapable of directing themselves to agricultural occupations, and whose orderly conduct and attachment to the Honourable Company so materially depends on a market being afforded for the proceeds of the chase.

After giving the subject a careful consideration, we are of the opinion that, if your Honours would favor us so far as to lower the very high freight charged at present on the goods we import from London, we can send a considerable quantity of tallow to England, with a small profit to ourselves and considerable benefit to the prosperity of the settlement. It would be presumptuous in us to pretend a knowledge of the extraordinary expense of fitting out a ship for Hudson's Bay, but £8 per ton is so much more than the freight exacted on goods to far more distant parts

1. Fitzgerald, *Hudson's Bay Company and Vancouver's Island*, pp. 208-210.

2. Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, Aug. 17, 1857, p. 279.

of the world, as to induce us to indulge a hope that your Honours will take our case into your favorable consideration."¹

It seems that they never received any answer to this communication. The next year Mr. Sinclair sent a much greater quantity of tallow to York Factory.² He learned later that it was detained there on account of lack of room in the Company's ship. The very same thing occurred the next year and Mr. Sinclair despairing of getting his tallow to England finally disposed of it to the Company at their own price, July 25, 1845. Governor Simpson asserted that a part of the Company's own goods was detained that year because there was no room for them in the ship,³ but Capt. Herd who had for almost twenty years commanded a ship of the Company's sailing between London and York Factory, stated that as a usual thing the ship was not full on the return voyage, perhaps not full once in seven years. He did not remember anything about the return cargo in 1844 and 1845. He said that it was very often necessary to take about 200 tons of stone ballast at York on account of the lightness of a cargo consisting of furs. When questioned as to why some heavy article like tallow might not be used in place of stone ballast, he replied that he had always understood that there was not enough tallow produced at Red River to supply the demand there to say nothing of exporting any. He stated positively that he had never heard of a case in which the application to bring home produce in the Company's ship had been refused.⁴

The authorities seem to have declared frequently that the half-breeds had no tallow or hides to export and yet they continually complained that the half-breeds spent their time hunting on the plains rather than attending to agricultural pursuits. There is obviously an inconsistency here.

In 1844 when the half-breeds were clamoring for a market, Alexander Ross attempted to bring up a bill in the local council providing for an export trade. He failed utterly, for, in his own words, "The measure was offensive in a certain high quarter and the council considered it the wisest policy to look upon it in the same light." The president of the Council settled the matter in a peremptory manner by declaring it not a subject for consideration by this Council but for the Council of Rupert's Land. "From that day," declares Ross, "the half-breeds turned their thoughts towards the Americans and American Government."⁵

In taking this attitude on the export trade question, the Company was fighting for existence as a fur-trading monopoly. Mr.

1. Fitzgerald, *Hudson's Bay Company and Vancouver's Island*, pp. 201-202.

2. Mr. McDermot seems to have been interested in this venture also.

3. Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, Aug. 17. 1857, p. 279-280.

4. *Ib.*, p. 257.

5. Ross, *Red River Settlement*, p. 337.

Sinclair was a fur trader, as were most of the half-breeds who demanded an export trade in tallow and hides. If they were allowed to export large amounts of their produce they could secure more trading goods and consequently become still more formidable competitors of the Company in the Indian trade. The fur magnates had seen the signs of the times and in the specific regulations of the Councils and the measures directed against individuals were merely seeking to retain their ancient privileges. The general policy which they pursued during this period and to a less extent earlier in their history shows the same purpose.

Where they held a monopoly in trade, the Company exercised almost complete control over the Indians. After a trading post was established in their midst, the Red Men lost the independence they had formerly enjoyed and became dependent on the Company for the means of subsistence,—food, clothing, and ammunition. When competition entered, the Company endeavored in every way possible to retain this power. It was claimed that they often threatened to stop the supplies of the Indians unless they brought all their peltries to the Company's post.¹ If an Indian's supplies were cut off it would mean that he was in danger of immediate starvation, unless he could secure food from some other quarter. In case supplies were actually refused by the Company, the extremity of the measure probably led to the very result which an effort was being made to prevent. The Indian naturally turned to others from whom he could get supplies—the petty traders, for instance. His only means of payment was the promise to bring the next furs which he secured to his benefactor instead of taking them to the Company post. So when there was competition it was almost impossible to keep the Indians in a state of subjection.

It was asserted, too, that the Company officers endeavored to prevent the Indians from trafficking in furs among themselves, from making presents of furs to one another, or even from wearing them. The story goes that on one occasion some one in authority in the Company asked Mr. Smithurst, a missionary, to try to persuade the Indians not to wear furs, but he refused to

1. June 29, 1847, five retired servants of the Company, whose periods of service extended from 1799 to 1844 and who had been located in the various parts of the territory, were examined at the request of Mr. Isbister on a number of matters connected with the Company. Their answers to the question, "Is an Indian allowed to do with his furs as he thinks proper?" follow:

(1) The natives at that time had liberty to do as they chose with their furs, except in cases where they were in debt at any of the forts.

(2) At that time there were several rival companies, and the Indians generally had power to do with their furs as they thought proper.

(3) He has no other resource than to give them in trade to the Company's agents.

(4) No; they are not.

(5) No; they are not.

Hudson's Bay Company, Return to an Address of the Honorable the House of Commons, Apr. 23, 1849, p. 82.

use his influence for any such purpose.¹ The charge was made, however, that certain of the missionaries had accepted favors from the Company in return for such services, but the facts seem to show that the missionaries were devoted, faithful men, not subject to undue influence. The contributions which they received from the Company do not appear to have made them dependent. On the other hand they were quite the contrary, as the general attitude of the Company shows. They taught the Indians to be more independent and to demand higher prices for their furs.

It is said that on one occasion when a number of the agents of the Company and some of the clergymen of the settlement had assembled to discuss how the system of the Hudson's Bay Company worked in the colony that some of the former expressed their opinion in these words: "If missionaries and missionary settlements increase, chief factors and fur trading posts must decrease." This was accepted as a statement of a generally acknowledged fact, no one in the assembly taking exception to it.²

There was a great deal of objection raised by the authorities at Red River to the establishment of the missions at Portage la Prairie and Headingly. The missionaries persevered and finally succeeded in establishing their stations, although at the latter place they met with some difficulty, for immediately after the station was formed, the deposit required of each settler before he could take possession of a tract of land was raised from the original amount of £2 to £12. This sum was later increased to £15, in spite of the remonstrance of the missionaries and settlers alike.³

Wherever a mission was established, a settlement formed naturally, so the missionary question was connected closely with the policy of the Company concerning colonization. Provisions were made in the grant of 1838 for future colonization, but nothing was done toward carrying them out. The population of the settlement amounted in 1843 to 5,143 and by 1856 had reached only 6,523. This very low rate of increase is explained somewhat from the fact that there had been removals to other localities, some 120 persons having moved to Portage la Prairie and over 500 half-breeds to Pembina.⁴ But even taking these and other withdrawals into consideration there had been nothing like general settlement of the country. There had been practically no accessions from foreign countries. This was at the very period when Minnesota was enjoying such phenomenal growth and the contrast was duly noted in many quarters.

1. Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, Aug. 17, 1857, p. 264.

2. *Ib.*, p. 139-140.

3. *Ib.*, p. 139.

4. Report of the Exploration of the Country between Lake Superior and Red River Settlement, p. 302.

The reason given by the authorities for their discouragement of colonization was that new settlements would increase the local expenses of Red River Government. This objection was met with the statement that as population increased, the means of maintaining the Government would be increased proportionally. In the light of this fact it seemed as if the fear expressed as to increased expense was only a pretext to conceal the real reasons why the Company opposed colonization.

In the first place, the Company was primarily a fur trading concern and as such could have little to do with colonization. The men in the service were fur traders and had no time to busy themselves with the petty affairs of the colonists. The Company had lost money on all the transactions undertaken for their benefit. But it was not merely that the colony was an inconvenience and expense; it was a much more serious matter that colonization was incompatible with monopoly in trade. In spite of all the efforts of the powerful organization, the insignificant Red River colony had gone into the fur trade so extensively as to occasion serious apprehensions as to the consequences. It was obvious that if facilities were offered for settlement, and the country filled with people that the monopoly could be no longer continued.

Aside from the fact that settlers would engage in fur trade and thus violate the monopoly, there were other reasons why their advance was to be feared. If the public generally participated in the trade, competition would become so fierce that although the trade would be greatly stimulated for a short time it would soon be absolutely destroyed. The settlers themselves would kill the animals instead of leaving that task to the Indians. They would hunt at all seasons of the year while the Company had been very careful to ensure the preservation of the fur bearing animals by discouraging their destruction during the breeding season.

In his testimony before the Select Committee in 1857, Edward Ellice stated that the increase of civilization south of the boundary line was putting an end to the fur trade there but he refused to reverse the proposition and admit that civilization had not reached across the line on account of the maintenance of the fur trade. On the contrary he averred that the existence of the fur trade prevented colonization in no respect, but in the end he was forced to acknowledge that as settlement advanced the fur trade would be driven back, thus virtually conceding that the existence of the Company as a fur trading monopoly depended on keeping the country unsettled.¹ After an admission like this from one of the principal members of the Company, it is not to be wondered that

1. Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, Aug. 17, 1857, p. 342.

they had opposed the establishment of mission stations and devised land deeds that would hinder settlement. It was their policy at all times to represent in England that the climate was so rigorous, the soil so poor and the crops so uncertain that a large population could never be supported in the territory. That prevented any thought of emigration to their country.

It appears that in one case at least the Company went so far in their policy of opposition to colonization that they ordered the breaking up of a flourishing settlement. R. King, a surgeon with an Arctic expedition, extending from 1833 to 1836 and passing through the Hudson's Bay Company territory told of seeing a prosperous settlement about forty miles from Cumberland House. About thirty persons, mostly half-breeds, had gathered there and had, in Dr. King's opinion, something like 1000 acres under cultivation. According to his story, when he reached the colony a number of the settlers came to him and told him that they had been ordered off because the project was against the Company and asked him as a government officer to help them keep their farms. Of course he could do nothing for them but he said that appearances indicated that they were telling the truth. He was given to understand that the project had been started by the chief officer at Cumberland House who had been "hauled over the coals" and ordered to another post when the authorities learned what he was doing. Dr. King said that this colony was quite distinct from the extensive agricultural experiment carried on by the Company at Cumberland House itself, which was abandoned because it was declared unprofitable. No such reason could be given for destroying the little colony, for the desire of the colonists to keep their farms shows that they considered them successful. Although Dr. King did not know whether the order of the Company was carried out to the letter, he stated that the time he left the colony it appeared very much as if it would be.¹

IV.

The End of the Monopoly.

The illicit trade and the efforts of the Company to suppress it led to certain well-defined results, all of which tended to weaken their power and break down their monopoly. There was a concerted movement against the government of the Company, carried on both in Red River and England; the struggle for trade brought on certain abuses which placed the Company in disrepute; in consequence of the operations of the American fur traders and the close approach of American settlements there grew up in the

1. Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, Aug. 17, 1857, pp. 317-319.

colony a decided American sentiment; the general notice which the affairs of the Company were receiving attracted the attention of the Canadians and they determined to secure possession of the Hudson's Bay Company territories. We will notice these things in order.

In 1846 the prevailing discontent reached such a stage that a number of prominent half-breeds determined to bring their grievances to the attention of the Government at home. A committee consisting of William Dease, J. Baptiste Payette, J. Louis Rielle,¹ Charles Montigny, and Cuthbert M'Gillis was chosen to draw up a petition to the Queen asking for redress of grievances and to elect a messenger to take the petition to England. They entrusted the wording of the petition to the Rev. G. A. Belcourt who had several times previous to this acted as a peace maker between the riotous settlers and their rulers by reason of the great influence which he possessed over the half-breeds. He justified his championship of the half-breeds by saying that it was necessary in order to preserve peace, for there would soon have been open sedition unless some effort were made to better conditions.² By June 1, 1846, the petition had been signed by 977 persons. It was taken to England by the determined opponent of the Company, James Sinclair, who carried with him the instructions from the Committee of which the following were the main points: He was to represent the true state of affairs in the colony, making every effort to promote the welfare of his people, but by moderate means and without advancing any claims which could not be proved. He was to ask that the Company be obliged to put silver money in circulation in the country in place of the bills of exchange payable only in London, which the Governor had threatened to withdraw in case the illicit trade was not stopped. It was to be his duty to request that the Company be required to furnish a market for the produce of the country at reasonable prices and to represent that they had been guilty of an abuse of power in forbidding the inhabitants of the country to exchange furs among themselves, in making arbitrary seizures of furs, and in imprisoning fur traders on mere suspicion that they were going to smuggle furs out of the country.³

In the petition itself the first complaint is that settlers had been drawn to this remote quarter of the earth by "pompous promises" which were as yet unfulfilled. They cite the lack of a market for their produce as one of the most important of the unfulfilled promises.⁴ Their next grievance was that the mon-

1. Father of Louis Riel, the rebel of later years.

2. For a copy of a letter which he wrote on the subject, see Appendix No. 9, Hudson's Bay Company, Return to an Address of the Honorable the House of Commons, April 23, 1849. pp. 48-49.

For a copy of these instructions, see appendix No. 10.

4. One of the promises which Lord Selkirk made to his settlers was that they were to have a market for all their produce, Ross, Red River Settlement, p. 30.

opoly of the Company was weighing on them more heavily all the time so they could no longer exchange furs for imported goods or vice versa without being imprisoned or having their goods seized on the mere suspicion that they were about to exchange them for furs. They asserted that this severity had been pushed to the point of keeping them from supplying Indians perishing of hunger with the necessities of life, since furs were usually the only means of payment which the Indians possessed in such circumstances. They were forbidden to do this notwithstanding the fact that these very furs were often brought to the Company store afterward and sold at their own price. The petition closed with the following supplications:

(1) That justice might be administered by judges or magistrates chosen from among the people themselves in order that the present system of partiality to the Company might be prevented.

(2) That they might have the same liberty of trade which was maintained by law in all the other British possessions. This they considered necessary to the peace of the country for, as they averred, the people would not go on indefinitely seeing their riches exploited for the benefit of foreigners while they themselves were held in a kind of commercial slavery.

(3) That land be sold to those wishing to emigrate to the country and that a sum be taken from the proceeds of the sale to help pay for their transport.¹

The petition was presented to the Colonial Office, Feb. 17, 1847, together with a memorial signed by A. K. Isbister, Thomas Vincent, G. Sinclair, D. V. Stewart, John M'Leod, and James Isbister.² The memorial which served as an introduction for the petition, presented the following points:³

(1) The Government should enquire into the discontent and misery prevalent among the natives of Rupert's Land.

(2) The trade monopoly of the Company had enabled them to amass a great fortune to "the utter impoverishment, if not ruin of the natives."

(3—9) That the Company had done nothing to better the conditions of the Indians but on the contrary through their fur trading policy had reduced them to destitution in many cases and had made a general famine imminent.

(10) and (11) That those inhabitants of the colony who had engaged in independent trading had been subjected to many persecutions, their furs being seized or they themselves being im-

1. Hudson's Bay Company, Return to an Address of the Honorable the House of Commons, April 23, 1849, pp. 4-5. For the petition in full, see appendix No. 2.

2. Mr. Alexander K. Isbister, a native of Rupert's Land, who had resided for some years in England and where he afterward became a prominent educator, took charge of the interests of the colonists and spared no effort in their behalf.

3. In the correspondence concerning the memorial, it was divided into numbered paragraphs for the sake of clearness. The same numbers are used here.

prisoned. It had been impossible to obtain redress for these wrongs in the local courts and the memorialists thus felt themselves under the necessity of applying to the Government for protection.

(12) Hunters from Red River had been warned off of American hunting grounds but had been offered the alternative of becoming American citizens.¹ Thus they were either to suffer great want or else to be lost to the colony altogether.

(13-15) The memorialists stood ready to bring forward evidence to corroborate their charges and to suggest means by which the Indians might be saved from the fate to which the selfish policy of the Company had doomed them and the colonists made "happy, contented, and grateful subjects."²

Shortly after the receipt of the petition, Earl Grey, Colonial Secretary of State, requested Mr. Isbister to make his charges somewhat more specific by furnishing additional information on the subject. He also wrote to the Governor of the Company in London, to the Governor General of Canada, and the Governor of Assiniboia, presenting the charges and asking for a report on them.

In answer to this request Governor Pelly—the London Governor—gave the following explanation of the preferment of charges against the Company: Some of the Red River Settlers had been carrying on an illegal trade in furs, employing as their agents the half-breeds, particularly those of Canadian origin. The Company had adopted certain measures for stopping this practice and in proportion as these measures proved effectual they offended the persons who were making a profit from the trade. Now these same persons were affecting commiseration for the Indians and parading a long list of alleged grievances.³

Governor Pelly entered a denial of the charges in detail and forwarded a number of documents bearing out his assertions. On the other hand Mr. Isbister sent in a still more imposing list of documents corroborating the charges.

February 12, 1848, Col. Crofton who had recently returned from the military command of Red River, where he had also served as Governor, sent his report on the charges. He stated that it was his opinion that the memorial was due to one or two discontented men who since Papineau's Rebellion had been stirring up disloyal feelings among the half-breeds. According to his observation the government of the Company was mild and

1. Capt. E. V. Sumner, 1st. Dragoons, U. S. Army received instructions from the headquarters of the Third Military Department, dated May 7, 1845 to warn the half-breeds not to hunt south of the line. Mr. Kittson sent a copy of these instructions to the authorities at Red River. Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, Aug. 17, 1857, p. 273.

2. For the memorial, see appendix No. 4.

3. Hudson's Bay Company, Return to an Address of the Honorable the House of Commons, April 23, 1849, pp. 20-22.

protective and admirably suited to the state of society. He denied the specific charges advanced in the memorial with the exception of the one concerning the prevention of smuggling. As to that, he stated that he had known some instances when Indians and half-breeds had smuggled furs across the line to exchange them for American goods, but that they did so at their own risk and never thought of invoking the law in defense of their acts. He recalled some instances in which furs had been forfeited and the smugglers fined.¹

The next year Major Griffiths, Col. Crofton's successor, made substantially the same report. He viewed the petition not as an attempt to obtain redress of grievances but to share in the trading privileges of the Company and threw the blame of the whole movement on the French half-breeds.

In June 1848, the Earl of Elgin, the Governor General of Canada, sent in a report in which he enumerated the difficulties attending any investigation in the Company's territory. He stated, however, that the information which he had been able to secure was highly favorable to the Company. In spite of this fact, he recommended that as it was highly desirable that the Government possess some means of probing the charges to the bottom, it would be advantageous to establish a military officer in the territory who could see that order was maintained and justice executed and at the same time give the Government accurate information as to the true state of affairs in the territory.²

Finally in January, 1849, Earl Grey came to the conclusion that it was unnecessary to prosecute the inquiries further and on the strength of the reports received from the Governor General of Canada, Colonel Crofton, and Major Griffiths sent word to Mr. Isbister that he did not consider that conditions demanded an investigation by Parliament and for that reason the matter would be dropped. At the same time and in the same manner he disposed of the charges which had been brought against the Company by Mr. William Kennedy in regard to conditions in the Eastern department.³

Although the Company would seem to have been exonerated by the outcome of the investigation, their position had, nevertheless, been considerably shaken. Their affairs could never be

1. Hudson's Bay Company, Return to an Address of the Honorable the House of Commons, April 23, 1849, pp. 101-102. In his testimony before the Committee in 1857, Col. Crofton told of an occasion when one of the soldiers under his command was reported to him for having traded some tobacco to an Indian for a paltry fur. He said that he "did not see the offence distinctly, but they"—presumably Company officers—"pointed out to me that was against the law of the place, and of course I punished the soldier." Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, Aug. 17, 1857, p. 171.

2. Hudson's Bay Company, Return to an Address of the Honorable the House of Commons, April 23, 1849, pp. 8-9.

3. *Ib.*, pp. 113-114.

cloaked in quite the same mystery as before. The burden of proof had rested with them and in the eyes of many Englishmen, Mr. Isbister had made out a better case against them than had been made in their defense. The testimony which cleared them had come from their paid officers—Governor Pelly, Colonel Crofton and Major Griffiths. The Governor General of Canada had based his report largely on information received from Colonel Crofton.

Among the colonists the feeling was pretty general that their cause had been considerably advanced in spite of the adverse decision. A copy of the Confirmation of the Charter by Act of Parliament in 1690, which had been unearthed in the course of the investigation, was carried back to Red River and became public there. This Act had confirmed the exclusive privileges of the Company in their original territory for a period of seven years. The Act had never been renewed and according to the interpretation of the colonists the exclusive trading rights of the Company had expired in 1697 in the original territories and as the license of 1842 had referred only to the Indian country there was now no legal basis for the Company's claim to the sole right to trade in furs in the Red River Settlement.¹

Mr. M'Laughlin who was in London shortly after this time wrote back to the colonists in 1850 that Mr. Isbister had roused very powerful friends to their aid and if they proved themselves worthy they would certainly be supported in any contention against the Company. He informed them that the newspapers and members of Parliament were continually declaring that they had the right to sell their productions of their country to whomsoever they pleased.² This strengthened the opinion already prevalent in the country.

In addition to their general policy, the authorities at Red River had not hesitated to adopt stringent measures towards individuals who had dared complain of the policy of the Company or call their power into question. Mr. James Sinclair had long been known as one of the principal agitators against the Company and had as early as August 25, 1845, received the following letter from Governor Christie:

"Ft. Garry, Red River Settlement,

"August 25, 1845.

"Sir,

"I beg to state, that in a private letter from Mr. Secretary Smith, dated the 18th. April last, and received on the 25th. instant,—I am requested to acquaint you, that no goods will be

1. Hudson's Bay Company, Return to an Address of the Honorable the House of Commons, April 23, 1849, p. 47.

2. Appendix, No. 11.

shipped in your name on board the Hudson's Bay Company's ship for York Factory this season.

"I remain, Sir,

"Your most obedient Servant,

"Alexander Christie."¹

"Mr. James Sinclair."

Mr. Sinclair was a merchant and this meant a serious business loss to him. It explains, too, his subsequent activity with respect to the petition.

Father Belcourt was to be punished for the part he had taken in drawing up the petition. In 1848 he was arrested by an officer of the Company on the charge of trading in furs with the Indians. His trunks were broken open and searched, although he indignantly denied all the charges against him and maintained that the arrest was made merely as an act of vengeance for the part he had taken in the late agitation. . . Governor Simpson threatened to cease all communication with the Red River clergy unless Rev. Belcourt was recalled from his mission but Mr. Isbister laid the case before the Society of St. Thomas of Canterbury, an organization the object of which was to defend the rights of the Catholics. According to the account which Rev. Belcourt himself gives of the affair, Governor Simpson made a speedy retraction, rather than explain his attitude before this body and requested that the clergyman be sent again to Red River.² But Rev. Belcourt preferred to locate in Pembina where he continued his good work among the Indians and half-breeds and his policy of opposition to the Company.

No measures were taken against Mr. Isbister who had done more than any one else, perhaps, to bring the Company into disrepute, for the simple reason that he was not a resident of Red River and could not be reached in the same way as persons like Mr. Sinclair and Rev. Belcourt.

In September 1846, there had been sent to the colony under secret instruction several companies of the 6th Royal Regiment of Foot, under the command of Col. Crofton, who was to act as Governor. This act was probably due to the disturbances in the colony over illegal fur trading coupled with the uneasiness over the Oregon question and a consequent desire to protect the frontier in case of hostilities. Immediately on the arrival of the troops a number of those who had been stirring up discontent went across the line into the United States. The soldiers succeeded by their presence in restoring order and also in lessening the cause of discontent by providing a market for the produce of the country. They remained until 1848 when their place was

1. Fitzgerald, *Hudson's Bay Company and Vancouver's Island*, p. 230.

2. *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, Vol. I., p. 243.

taken by a small squad of pensioners under the command of Major Caldwell, the new Governor.¹

It seemed for the time being as if order was restored, although the illegal trade continued. In 1849 Major Caldwell determined to make an example of certain traders. He caused the arrest of William Sayer, a French half-breed, on the charge of accepting furs from an Indian in exchange for goods. Sayer was soon released on bail. Three other half-breeds, M'Gillis, Laronde, and Goulle were arrested on the same charge but were not imprisoned. Sayer's trial was set for May 17, and early in the morning of that day the French Canadians and half-breeds began to assemble with the avowed intention of resisting any infliction of punishment on the offenders. A rumor had been current that the pensioners were to be out under arms to protect the court and this provoked anger and violence. Alexander Ross who witnessed the proceedings says that he counted as many as 377 guns in the crowd. Others had missiles of various sorts. A very slight provocation might have precipitated a riot.

At eleven o'clock, court was opened and Sayer summoned to appear. He was surrounded by a body of armed friends and refused to answer the summons. The court occupied itself with other business until one o'clock and then called for Sayer again. Mr. John M'Laughlin attempted to intervene to settle matters but was peremptorily ordered by the half-breeds to stay out of the affair. After consultation the court sent word to Sayer and his friends that they might appoint a leader and select some of their number to speak in Sayer's defense. Accordingly Sayer entered the court room guarded closely by a man named Sinclair and eleven other half-breeds.²

After Sayer's entrance, about twenty of the half-breeds placed themselves on guard at the door at the court yard gate in order to be ready to rescue Sayer at any moment. After some delay caused by Sinclair challenging some of the jurors, the trial proceeded and Sayer confessed that he had traded in furs with an Indian. The court pronounced him guilty but he proved that some connected with the Company had given him permission to do so. He was discharged promptly on this pretext and the other cases were dropped.

Nothing was said about the rights of the half-breeds with respect to the fur trade in the future and they got the idea that as a result of this trial all trade was open to them. As soon as the trial was over one of the jurymen hurried to the door and after cheering cried out in a voice that all could hear "Trade is free!" The Canadians and half-breeds took up the cry until

1. Ross, *Red River Settlement*, pp. 364-366.

2. Undoubtedly this was James Sinclair.

the whole court yard resounded with it.¹ To these people this seemed only a confirmation of what they had always believed—that the privileges which the Company claimed were unjust and illegal.

Besides the illicit fur trade carried on by the settlers and the efforts of the opponents of the Company in England, there were other forces breaking down the power of the Company. One of these was the alleged use of liquor in trading operations despite their promises to the contrary and the remonstrances of missionaries against the practice. They were condemned both in England and America on this score. When they secured the license of 1821 and again at the time of its renewal in 1838, they entered into an agreement to take such measures as would lead to the abolition of the practice of selling or distributing liquor among the Indians. According to most accounts they succeeded in accomplishing this result pretty generally in the northern districts but where there was competition, notably in the Red River country, liquor continued to be a very important factor in all trades with the Indians.

Governor Simpson is authority for the statement that the average annual importation of liquor into the country up to the year 1837 did not exceed 3,612 gallons. In 1847 Mr. Isbister examined the annual returns of the custom house and found that in the previous year 9,075 gallons of spirits were brought into the colony by the way of Hudson Bay alone. This did not take into account what was brought from Canada which Mr. Isbister estimated at as much more or what was supplied from the Red River distillery the production of which it seems impossible to ascertain.² Of course the presence of the troops in the settlement necessitated the importation of more liquor in 1846, but it is a question whether the entire increase can be laid to that cause, rather than to the competition which the Company was meeting with at this time.

Although Governor Simpson asserted positively in his testimony of 1857 that the Company never used liquor as a medium of barter, he admitted that when there was opposition liquor was sometimes given as a present to the Indians after the bargain had been concluded. In his own words, "Where we have opposition, we must in order to get furs, do as other parties do, but we never sell liquor."³ To most people this looked like a distinction without a difference.

Rev. Corbett who had resided at Red River from 1852 to 1855, informed the Select Committee that he had often seen In-

1. Ross, *Red River Settlement*, pp. 372-376.

2. *Hudson's Bay Company, Return to an Address of the Honorable the House of Commons*, April 23, 1849, p. 61.

3. Report from the Select Committee on the *Hudson's Bay Company*, Aug. 17, 1857, p. 61.

dians and half-breeds in a wild state of intoxication not only in their encampments in the neighborhood of Ft. Garry but actually within the gates of that post. He felt sure that they must have obtained the liquor at the fort. He told of one occasion on which a number of Indians and half-breeds of his own district, Headingley, took their furs down to Ft. Garry and returned with a quantity of rum and other supplies. They took complete possession of the house of one of the settlers and after warming themselves began handing the rum around. They were soon engaged in a general fight which became so furious that the owner of the house began to wonder how he could ever get them to leave. Finally he decided to pull down the stove piping and stove, which he did. The house filled so completely with ashes and smoke that the drunken Indians and half-breeds rushed out of doors pell-mell.¹ Occurrences like this must have been very effective in making the more orderly and lawabiding of the settlers desire the abrogation of the Company's privileges and the substitution of a form of government under which such disturbances could not take place.

There was a very strict prohibition laid on the use of spirits in trading operations with the Indians in the licenses issued by the American Government to the fur traders. The British claimed that this law was constantly evaded and that it would have been much easier for the Hudson's Bay Company to enforce its regulations in regard to the liquor, if it had not been for its reckless and illegal use by the Americans. On the other hand, it is said that Mr. Kittson often remonstrated against the increasingly large quantity of rum used by the Hudson's Bay Company among the Indians, and constantly deprecated its demoralizing effects.

The complaints of Mr. Kittson and others interested in this section led to a correspondence in 1849—50 between representatives of the Governments of the two countries on the subject. December 8, 1849, H. H. Sibley, then representative in Congress from Minnesota territory, wrote to the Secretary of State calling attention to the complaints which had come in from the frontier in regard to the use of an immense amount of spirits by the Hudson's Bay Company. He asked to have the matter laid before the proper British authorities, for the reason that the peace of the frontier was in danger as long as the practice continued. Feb. 12, 1850 the American Minister to England, Abbot Lawrence, in a communication to the British Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Viscount Palmerston, in which was inclosed a copy of Mr. Sibley's letter, asked that the British Government co-operate with the Government of the United States in repressing the evil by issuing suitable instructions to the Hudson's Bay Company.

1. Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, Aug. 17, 1857, p. 147.

April 11, Mr. Lawrence received a reply from Lord Palmerston, stating that the matter had been referred to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, who had demanded an explanation from the Company and had received in return a letter from Governor Pelly containing an emphatic denial of the charge. Governor Pelly declared that all of the efforts of the Hudson's Bay Company to suppress the evil were neutralized by the fact that liquor was used so extensively by the American traders.¹

In the midst of all this accusation and denial, one fact seems to stand out clear—liquor was used wherever there was competition. Although the Company might not have been guilty to such an extent as their enemies claimed, nevertheless, they could not entirely clear themselves of the charge. Many Englishmen felt that the cause of humanity and civilization demanded that the Company be removed from their position of power. Members of the Aborigines Protection Society became particularly active in investigating such charges against the Company. Their publications influenced public opinion greatly.

We noticed Ross's remark in connection with the rejection of his bill for export trade in 1844 that from that day the half-breeds turned their thoughts toward the Americans and the American Government. This influence of the Americans was felt in more ways than one. Their traders secured annually a large amount of the furs that would otherwise have gone to the British Company. They forced their rivals to pay higher prices. The low prices which the Hudson's Bay Company had been in the habit of paying were in fact largely responsible for the extensive smuggling.

It has been estimated that the value of the goods bartered for the furs was under one-twentieth of the value of these furs in England.² A servant of the Company, Alexander Simpson, declared that in one year the gross value of the furs traded by the Company amounted to £211,000 and the net profits to £119,000. The prices of the articles of trade were estimated to the Indians in the beaver skins according to a fixed scale.³ In some cases this scale was 200% or more above the London price.⁴ It was claimed that at times a silver fox skin might be obtained for three or four tin kettles.

In 1839, silk was substituted for beaver fur in the manufacture of hats. Beaver began to decline in price and continued to do so for several years, but in spite of this fact the Company increased the price which they paid for the furs.⁵ They were

1. For this correspondence, see appendix, No. 5.

2. Hudson's Bay Company, Return to an Address of the Honorable the House of Commons, April 23, 1849, p. 18.

3. For a description of the trading process, see appendix, No. 12.

4. Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, Aug. 17, 1857, p. 34.

5. *Ib.*, pp. 34, 35.

compelled to do this on account of competition, and could afford to do it because manufactured goods were becoming cheaper at the time and according to most authorities because their profits had been excessive in previous times.

Mr. M'Laughlin testified in 1857 that he had given as much as 100% more than the Hudson's Bay Company when he was carrying on trade in competition with them. He exhibited a contract which he had entered into, March 14, 1845, at Ft. Union on the Missouri with a representative of the American Fur Company to carry on a trade with the Indians north of La Souri River. Appended to the contract was the following table of prices showing the difference between the American prices and those of the Hudson's Bay Company:

		s.	d.
Otter skins	\$3.50	6.	
Fisher skins	2.00	2.	
Martin skins	1.75	2.	
Mink skins	.40		10
Lynx skins	2.00	2.	
Wildeat skins	.10		3
Black bear skins	3.50	7.	
Black cub skins	2.00	4.	
Brown bear skins	4.50	7.	
Brown cub skins	2.50	2.	
Seasonable robes	2.50	5.	
Summer robes	1.25		will
Yearling robes	.75		not
Parchment skins	.10 per lb		take
Wolf skins	.75	2.	
Red fox skins	1.00	2.	
Cross fox skins	3.00	4.	
Silver fox skins	15.00	10.	
Prairie fox skins	.25		
Beaver skins	3.25	6.	

Price lists of the Company similar to this were reported or published frequently in England during the various investigations of the Company's affairs. Their officers always denied the correctness of these lists, but on the other hand refused to make public their price lists on the grounds that if other people saw the profits of the trade they would want to enter into competition with the Company.¹

Granting that Mr. M'Laughlin's prices are approximately correct, we can readily understand that the Americans were gaining great influence in the Red River settlement. As a matter of

1. Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, Aug. 17, 1857, p. 349.

course the Indians and half-breeds looked to those who paid them the highest prices as their best friends and natural protectors. Indeed it got to be very common after the Sayer trial, when they did not get the price they wanted at Ft. Garry, for them to announce boldly that they would take their furs to Pembina.¹

This attachment for the Americans was shared by many Scotch settlers but for a somewhat different reason. They felt that the stability of the American Government would afford security against the violence and dominance of the half-breeds.² In the census for 1849 there were 137 more males than females in the colony, but in 1856 there were 73 more females than males. This change is explained by the fact that many young men had gone down into the United States to get employment which they were not able to secure at Red River.³ A part of them stayed only during the winters and the words which they spoke in praise of the Americans on their return helped to keep up the strong American tendency.⁴

British pride was touched by the knowledge of these facts, and in spite of the expressions of loyalty found in the communications from the Red River settlers to the Home Government, serious apprehensions were aroused that unless something were done to hold the country it would be eventually lost. Again and again do we find this opinion expressed. In the words of Chief Justice Draper of Canada, "the effect of all the commercial intercourse of the country being necessarily with the United States, will be to make all the interests of the inhabitants American, all their dealings American and the Americans will come up there for the purpose of obtaining payment for any goods which they furnish; the whole tendency of that must be to make the people look more to the country with which they are continually dealing, than to one which they have nothing at all to do with."⁵

Certain specific events have given reasonable grounds for this fear. About the time of the discussion over the Oregon question, American influence in the settlement became so strong that a petition was actually drawn up by the settlers and sent to Washington to be presented to Congress, but where it was refused admission. The general purport of the petition was said to have been an expression of complaint against the government of the Hudson's Bay Company and a desire for annexation to the United

1. Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, Aug. 17, 1857, p. 311.

2. Life and Travels of Thomas Simpson, p. 88.

3. Lake Superior and the Red River Settlement, p. 109.

4. Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, Aug. 17, 1857, p. 383.

5. *Ib.*, p. 230.

States, together with a promise of assistance to the Americans against the Company in case of war."¹

A letter written from Red River in 1848 by a person well acquainted with the half-breeds stated that they had decided, if they continued to be excluded from the fur trade, to transfer their allegiance to the United States.² An event which took place the next year gave especial alarm to every one who feared this growth of American power.

We have already noticed the expedition of Capt. Pope in 1849. On his return from Pembina to Ft. Snelling he was accompanied by a number of half-breeds who made remonstrance to the Governor of Minnesota concerning alleged acts of aggression by the Hudson's Bay Company. In commenting on this petition Capt. Pope suggested that the Government establish two military posts on the frontier for the purpose of protection. He also made the statement that the 7000 people of the Red River settlement were "only awaiting the slightest encouragement to settle and develop the rich resources of this portion of Minnesota."³

To the English these two statements taken together indicated a deliberate policy on the part of the American Government to take possession of all of that part of the country. This belief was strengthened by a treaty entered into in 1851 between the United States Government and the Indians and half-breeds who claimed the upper part of the Red River valley. The treaty provided for the purchase of the lands from the Indians in consideration of the payment of a certain sum of money at once and an annual payment for twenty years.⁴ To the British it looked as if the object was to get the half-breeds from Red River settlement to go across the line to lay claim to lands and then keep them there by annual payments.⁵

Trade was carried on openly between Red River and St. Paul after 1849 and in increasing amounts all the time. As we noticed, six carts had been sent in 1844 but by 1856 this number had grown to something like 500. This profitable trade which was one of the causes of St. Paul's rapid growth attracted attention in other quarters. Chicago merchants had established a line of steam boats running from Chicago to the western end of Lake Superior, where the town of Superior was established in 1856. The place grew with marvelous rapidity and in 1857 a project

1. Hudson's Bay Company, Return to an Address of the Honorable the House of Commons, April 23, 1849, p. 101 and Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, Aug. 17, 1857, pp. 131-132. Mr. Isbister gave an account of this petition to the Committee. He stated that Mr. McLaughlin was in a position to give authentic information on the subject but that gentleman's testimony was never called for on that point.

2. For a translation of this letter, see appendix, No. 13.

3. Senate Executive Document, No. 42, 31st Cong., 1st Sess., p. 29, 32.

4. Ross, Red River Settlement, p. 411.

5. Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, Aug. 17, 1857, p. 136.

was started to open a trade route between Lake Superior and Red River in order to share in the profits of the now well-known "Red River trade." General Cass was said to have introduced a petition in the Michigan State Legislature asking that the Government explore and improve such a route, representing that such a thing could be done at a very reasonable cost.¹

About the same time a Democratic Convention was held in St. Paul, and according to a report published in a Toronto newspaper there were present delegates from the Red River district who had been elected by British subjects. Naturally the question had arisen as to their rights in such a convention and it was finally decided that as this whole country would soon be settled by white people and as the Hudson's Bay Company would not aid in such settlement no good reason existed as to why these people should not have the benefit of American institutions if they wanted them.²

But the American influence and the American power were not to extend any further. Rumors had been circulating in Canada for some time as to the profits of the Red River trade and the encroachments of the Americans. An association of Toronto merchants was formed for the purpose of reviving something like the old North West Company to draw back to Canada the wealth she lost in 1821.³ A number of traders went out from Toronto and other parts of Canada to engage in trade against the Company. The Toronto merchants sent Capt. William Kennedy⁴ in January, 1857, to Red River to look over the situation and report the feasibility of attempting to break down the monopoly of the Company. On his return to Toronto after an absence of several months he published a report in which he strongly condemned the policy of the Company and represented that great profits could be secured by opening up a trade between Canada and Red River.⁵

During the month of April 1857, there was presented to the Canadian Parliament a petition signed by "Roderick Kennedy and 574 others", residents of Red River. The most important points in the petition are:

(1) The land deeds offered by the Company would reduce the colonists to slavery.

(2) Persecution of those who have been engaged in fur trade

1. Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, Aug. 17, 1857, pp. 109, 185.

2. The Hudson's Bay Question, (Reprinted from the Colonial Intelligencer) F. W. C. London, 1857, p. 6.

3. Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, Aug. 17, 1857, p. 7.

4. The same Capt. Kennedy who was joined with Mr. Isbister against the Company in 1846-47.

5. The Hudson's Bay Question (Reprinted from the Colonial Intelligencer) F. C. W. London, 1857, p. 15.

has been carried to such an extent as to endanger the peace of the country.

(3) Colonists are compelled to pay from 100 to 400% on the prime cost of articles imported by the Company, while they are prohibited from exporting their own productions.

(4) Colonists have no share in making the laws and no means of exercising any control over either the Council of Assiniboia or the Council of Rupert's Land.

(5) A belief was expressed that the Hudson's Bay Company territory was a part of Canada according to the terms of the treaty of 1763 and that the dominion of the Company should be exchanged for that of Canada immediately.¹

The last point was an expression of a view that was wide spread in Canada at this time and which the petition shows to have gained support in Red River Valley—namely, that this territory did not by rights belong to the Company and that it should be annexed to Canada. In all probability the Canadians pressed this claim, not so much from a desire to relieve distress in Red River as from a determination to share in the advantages of the trade. The members of the Board of Trade of the City of Toronto busied themselves in the matter by presenting a petition to the Canadian Parliament, April 20, 1857, which declared that the Company had no legal rights in the Chartered territory and that it would be injurious to interests of the inhabitants and unjust to the Canadians to renew their rights in the Licensed territory.²

In the meantime there was taking place in England an important investigation of the affairs of the Company which gave the Canadians an opportunity to bring their claims into prominent notice. The license over the Indian country was due to expire in 1859. Some time before that date, the Company officers gave notice that they intended to apply for a renewal. The Colonial Secretary determined to make a thorough examination before any definite steps were taken. He invited the Canadian Government to present any views or claims that it might desire to have considered. Accordingly Chief Justice Draper was sent as a Canadian Representative.

February 3, 1857, it was ordered in the House of Commons to appoint a Select Committee, "to consider the state of those British possessions in North America which are under the administration of the Hudson's Bay Company or over which they possess a license to trade." February 13, a Committee, consisting of nineteen members was appointed. They continued their investigations until July 31, holding twenty sessions, and examining in all 24 witnesses. Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Roebuck were the

1. Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, Aug. 17, 1857, pp. 437-439. For the petition in full see appendix No. 1.

2. *Ib.*, p. 435.

most aggressive members of the Committee and the most active in bringing out points against the Company. Mr. Edward Ellice took a very prominent part in the proceedings, first as a member of the Committee, endeavouring to bring out facts favorable to the Company and finally as a very skillful witness for the Company.

The witnesses were drawn from practically every source from which information could be secured. Sir George Simpson, for thirty seven years resident Governor of the Company's territories, was a most able defender of its policy in Rupert's Land. Edward Ellice represented the stock-holders and upheld the general system of management. Mr. Isbister was the earnest supporter of the interests of the Red River colonists. Chief Justice Draper, John Ross, the President of the Canadian Grand Trunk Railway, and Alfred Roche, who had been in the Government service in Canada, advocated the Canadian claims. The fiery Irishman, John M'Laughlin, paid off an old grudge against the Company by the character of his evidence. The Rt. Rev. David Anderson, Bishop of Rupert's Land, gave an impartial account of the conditions in Red River from the view point of the clergy. On the other hand, Rev. G. O. Corbett was particularly bitter against the Company. Explorers like Sir George Back, Dr. King, Lieut. Col. Lefroy, and Sir John Richardson were for the most part favorable to the Company. Mr. Wm. Kernaghan, a Chicago merchant, represented those persons who were interested in seeing the Red River trade diverted to the Great Lakes.

The Committee made their final report July 31, the main points of which were:

(1) It was recommended that Canada be allowed to annex portions of the territory most suitable for settlement and that the authority of the Company cease entirely in such portions.

(2) In case that Canada was ready to assume jurisdiction over this territory immediately, it was recommended that a temporary government be established.

(3) It was considered advisable that the Company be allowed to continue in their exclusive trading privileges in the portion of the territory not suited to settlement.

(4) A hope was expressed that at the next session of Parliament a bill could be presented which would lay the foundations for a satisfactory settlement of the whole question.¹

This report together with the proceedings of the Committee and the Minutes of Evidence were bound together in one large volume which is still a perfect mine of information on every subject connected with the Company.

While these investigations were progressing in London, a

1. Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, Aug. 17, 1857, iii. and iv.

somewhat similar though much less searching inquiry had been going on in Canada. A select Committee was appointed in the Canadian Legislative Assembly to enquire into the validity of the Company's Charter and the availableness of the country for trade and settlement. June 8, 1857, the Committee made their report which consisted of the evidence of the three witnesses whom they had examined on these points. The witnesses furnished a great deal of general information concerning the interests and feelings of the colony. Their opinion was that the Charter was void and that much valuable trade would be lost unless an effort was made to secure it.¹ A copy of this report was forwarded to the Select Committee sitting in London and they gave it due consideration when they made their final report.²

Later in the same year the Canadian Government sent out an exploring expedition to survey a route between Lake Superior and the Red River settlement. A favorable report was made and the construction of a road begun but no official steps were taken toward transferring the country to Canada. It was pretty generally agreed that the only way of effecting this result would be by purchase from the Company. There was nothing else for the Company to do but to give it up—Canada was clamoring for the territory, the Red River settlement was involved in new disturbances, the American influence was growing, and the ever-increasing Red River trade had broken down all semblance of monopoly. In 1863 the majority of the share holders disposed of their shares to the International Financial Association.

After this change in ownership it was easier to effect a settlement. In 1867 Parliament passed an Act which provided for the transfer of jurisdiction to the newly-organized Dominion of Canada. The terms were very liberal to the Company, providing for the payment of £300,000 and the retention of certain lands by the Company. From that date the Company has been merely a trading corporation in the lands where it once held complete sway.

1. Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, Aug. 17, 1857, pp. 385-402.

2. When news of the character of the evidence given before the Committee reached Red River there was considerable excitement among the people and a meeting of protest was held May 25. The resolutions adopted are found in appendix No. 14.

APPENDIX

No. 1.

“Petition of the Inhabitants and Natives of the Settlement situated on the Red River, in the Assiniboin Country, British North America.

To the Honourable the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada, in Parliament assembled.

The Petition of the undersigned Inhabitants and Natives of the Settlement situated on the Red River, in Assiniboin Country, British North America,

Humbly sheweth,

That many years ago a body of British emigrants were induced to settle in this country under very flattering promises made to them by the late Earl of Selkirk, and under certain contracts.

All those promises and contracts which have led them to hope that, protected by British laws, they would enjoy the fruits of their labors, have been evaded.

On the coalition of the rival companies, many of us, Europeans and Canadians, settled with our families around this nucleus of civilization in the wilderness, in full expectation that none would interrupt our enjoyment of those privileges which we believe to be ours by birthright, and which are secured to all Her Majesty's subjects in any other British colony.

We have paid large sums of money to the Hudson's Bay Company for land, yet we cannot obtain deeds for the same. The Company's agents have made several attempts to force upon us deeds which would reduce ourselves and our posterity to the most abject slavery under that body. As evidence of this, we append a copy of such deeds as have been offered to us for signature.

Under what we believe to be a fictitious charter, but which the Company's agents have maintained to be the fundamental law of “Rupert's Land,” we have been prevented the receiving in exchange the peltries of our country for any of the products of our labour, and have been forbidden giving peltries in exchange for any of the imported necessities of life, under the penalty of being imprisoned, and of having our properties confiscated; we have been forbidden to take peltries in exchange even for food supplied to famishing Indians.

The Hudson's Bay Company's clerks, with an armed police, have entered into settler's houses in quest of furs, and confiscated all they found. One poor settler, after having his goods seized, had his house burnt to the ground, and afterward was conveyed prisoner to York Factory.

The Company's first legal adviser in this colony has declared our navigating the lakes and rivers between this colony and Hudson's Bay with any article of our produce to be illegal. The same authority has declared our selling of English goods in this colony to be illegal.

On our annual commercial journeys into Minnesota, we have been pursued like felons by armed constables, who searched our property, even by breaking open our trunks; all furs found were confiscated.

This interference with those of aboriginal descent had been carried to such extent as to endanger the peace of the settlement.

Thus, we, the inhabitants of this land, have been and are constrained to behold the valuable commercial productions of our country exported for the exclusive profit of a company of traders who are strangers to ourselves and our country.

We are by necessity compelled to use many articles of their importation, for which we pay from one hundred to four hundred per cent on prime cost, while we are prohibited exporting those productions of our own country and industry, which we could exchange for the necessaries of life.

This country is governed and legislated for by two distinct Legislative Councils, in constituting of which, we have no voice, the members of the highest holding their offices by virtue of rank in the Company's service. This body passes laws affecting our interest; as, for instance, in 1845 it decreed that 20 per cent. duty would be levied on all imports of all who were suspected of trading in furs; this duty to be paid at York Factory. Again, in 1854, the same body passed a resolution imposing a 12½ per cent. on all the goods landed for the colony at York Factory.

The local legislature consists of the Governor, who is also judge, and who holds his appointment from the Company: there are appointed by the same body, and are, with one or two exceptions, to a greater or less extent dependent on that body. This Council imposes taxes, creates offenses, and punishes the same by fines and imprisonments, (i. e.) the Governor and Council make the laws, and execute their own sentence. We have no voice in their selection, neither have we any constitutional means of controlling their action.

Our lands are fertile, and easily cultivated, but the exclusive system of Hudson's Bay Company effectually prohibits the tiller of the soil, as well as the adventurer in any other industrial pursuit, from devoting his energies to those labors which while conducting to the individual prosperity and wealth, contribute to the general advantage of the settlement at large.

Under this system our energies are paralyzed, and discontent is increasing to such a degree, that events fatal to British interest,

and particularly to the interest of Canada, and even to civilization and humanity may soon take place.

Our country is bordering on Minnesota territory: a trade for some years has been carried on between us. We are there met by very high duties on all articles which we import into that territory, the benefits of the Reciprocity Treaty not being extended to us. Notwithstanding this, the trade has gone on increasing, and will continue to do so; we have already great cause to envy those laws and those commercial advantages which we see enjoyed by our neighbors, and which, wherever they exist, are productive of prosperity and wealth.

As British subjects, we desire that the same liberty and freedom of commerce as well as security of property, may be granted to us as is enjoyed in all other possessions of the British Crown, which liberty has become essentially necessary to our prosperity, and to the tranquility of this colony.

We believe that the colony in which we live is a portion of that territory which became attached to the Crown of England by the Treaty of 1763, and that the dominion heretofore exercised by the Hudson's Bay Company is an usurpation antagonistic to civilization and to the best interests of the Canadian people, whose laws being extended to us, will guarantee the enjoyment of those rights and liberties which would leave us nothing to envy in the institutions of the neighboring territory.

When we contemplate the mighty tide of immigration which has flowed towards the north these six years past, and has already filled the valley of the Upper Mississippi with settlers, and which will this year flow over the height of land and fill up the valley of the Red River, is there no danger of being carried away by that flood, and that we may thereby lose our nationality? We love the British name! We are proud of that glorious fabric, the British Constitution, raised by the wisdom, cemented and hallowed by the blood of our forefathers.

We have represented our grievances to the Imperial Government, but through the chicanery of the Company and its false representations we have not been heard, and much less have our grievances been redressed. It would seem, therefore, that we have no other choice than the Canadian plough and printing press, or the American rifle and Fugitive Slave law.

We, therefore, as dutiful and loyal subjects of the British Crown humbly pray that your Honourable House will take into your immediate consideration the subject of this our petition, and that such measures may be devised and adopted as will extend to us the protection of the Canadian Government, laws and institutions, and make us equal participators in those rights and liber-

ties enjoyed by British subjects in whatever part of the world they reside, Wherefore, your petitioners will ever pray,

(Signed)

Roderick Kennedy,
and 574 others."¹

No. 2.

(Translation from the French.)

"We, the undersigned humble and loyal subjects of her Majesty Victoria, Queen of the United Kingdom of England, Scotland, and Ireland, etc., inhabiting a remote corner of her vast domain on the Red River, Department of the Hudson's Bay, have dared, with complete confidence to apply to your Lordship to lay at the foot of the throne and to support with your influence the representations and the demands which we set forth with humble deference in the present petition.

Drawn by pompous promises to this spot in the vast territory of Hudson's Bay, our fathers hoped that the plans of the late Lord Selkirk would be punctually carried out; that according to the contracts in favor of the colonists, their commodities, etc., would be sold at a satisfactory price, fixed in the said contracts, and that the toil of the laborer would not be paralyzed by his inability to sell his productions. All these promises have been evaded, all hopes frustrated.

The monopoly, which has weighed heavily on us for about one hundred and seventy-six years, is getting heavier all the time, to the degree that we are no longer permitted to exchange the peltries of our country for imported goods, or vice versa, under pain of being imprisoned, or of seeing our goods seized on the mere suspicion that they are to be exchanged for furs. This severity had been pushed to the extent of prohibiting us from receiving payment for food procured by Indians perishing of hunger, at long distances from all succour, considering that such payment can only be made in furs, and notwithstanding the assurance that we will deliver up the said furs at the very store of the Company and at whatever price they wish to give. A severity, so revolting, not to say inhuman, has irritated all and although we are in part disposed to suffer for a still longer time in order to prevent disturbances and to evade the direful consequences of an irritation very nearly general, not being able to address our complaints to the Governor of the Company, in whom the people no longer have confidence, we take the only means which remain to us of avoiding carnage and bloodshed, by de-

¹ Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, Aug. 17, 1857, p. 437.

positing at the foot of the throne our humble and respectful supplications.

(1) As British subjects, we desire ardently to be governed according to the principles of that constitution which makes happy all the numerous subjects of our august Sovereign.

Justice being administered by a judge paid by the Company, the Councillors who make the laws being, creatures of the Company, or interested only in not displeasing it in any way, being all of them, moreover, elected by the Governor and Committee of the said Company, it follows that the people feel a lack of confidence, and do not believe at all in the possibility of winning a suit in any case which concerns the Company, or a friend, or a favorite of theirs. This disposition of minds, so dangerous to the peace and public tranquility, will not exist if the people, as is the case elsewhere in the British possessions, had a part in making the laws and if they were independent of the Company.

We dare humbly to express the thought that justices of the peace or magistrates, chosen from among those whom the people respect and consider upright, would be a mode of justice sufficient for a long time yet, or at least until the municipal revenues are great enough to meet the expenses demanded by a regular court of justice.

(2) As British subjects we desire and demand urgently that there be accorded to us that liberty of trade, so necessary to the prosperity of states and so powerfully maintained by the laws in all the other possessions of our august Sovereign.

By reason of the monopoly accorded to the Hudson's Bay Company, the natives have the painful imposition of seeing exported all the wealth of their country for the exclusive profit of foreign traders, and all the colonists find themselves under the necessity of using imported goods, without being able to export in exchange any of the productions of their country; if sometimes certain individual traders have wished to attempt to transport some of the goods of the country, the Company has caused them so much embarrassment, that they have been compelled to desist, and always to the detriment of the country. Under such a rule people are reduced to a kind of slavery; the efforts of the most energetic of those persons who are industrious and who are endowed with ability along commercial lines are neutralized; and under this state of affairs, public discontent can only go on increasing all the time until there is an explosion fatal to all the parties. . . A word of clemency from the lips of our Sovereign will spare us these dangers by establishing happiness and peace in our country; then in giving to trade the energy which it draws from liberty, will deposit on our soil the germ of prosperity.

(3) We beg also that our municipal Council may be permitted to sell lands to those who emigrate from a foreign country

to ours; and we make urgent demand that for a time and at a rate fixed according to the pleasure of her Majesty, a sum may be taken from this sale, in order to better means of transportation.

Placed in the center of North America, about six hundred miles from Hudson's Bay, the waterway which communicates with that place is obstructed in various places by impracticable passages, where all the goods are carried . . . , which requires a great many men, a great deal of time and expense and definitely renders impossible the export of a great part of produce.

Our lands are fertile and easy to cultivate. The laborer only awaits the hope of being able to sell in order to give himself up to the work which can make this country a granary.

We are near the boundary line; we can go over to the neighboring territory; we are invited there; but we admire the wisdom of the British Constitution, and we desire its privileges.

The sincere desire which our august Queen has of making her subjects happy is known as far as this place and even beyond; we hope everything then from her clemency. In granting our prayers, she will make us happy; and we beg, etc., etc."¹

(With 977 names attached).

No. 3.

"Deed of land to Joseph Monkman, 12th day of March 1844.

This Indenture, made the Twelfth day of March, in the year of our Lord One thousand Eight hundred and Forty-four, between the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England, trading into the Hudson's Bay, of the one part, and Joseph Monkman, of Red River Settlement, yeoman, of the other part.

Whereas the said Joseph Monkman is desirous of becoming a settler upon the land hereinafter described or intended so to be, being certain part of a territory, in North America, belonging to the said Governor and Company, and held under the Crown by Charter. Now, therefore, this indenture witnesseth, that in consideration of the said Joseph Monkman having derived right to the title formerly held by the late Michel Kilcool to the possession of the lands hereby demised, and in consideration also of the covenants hereinafter contained on the part of the said Joseph Monkman, they, the said Governor and Company do hereby grant, demise, and lease unto the said Joseph Monkman, his executors, administrators, and assigns, All that piece or parcel of land distinguished in the survey of the Red River Settlement as

1. Hudson's Bay Company, Return to an Address of the Honorable the House of Commons, April 23, 1849, p. 4.

No. 142, and therein described, the whole containing one hundred and twenty-five statute acres or thereby, and well known to the said Joseph Monkman, with the necessary appurtenances thereto, To have and to hold the said piece or parcel of land hereby demised or intended so to be, and every part thereof, with the appurtenances, unto the said Joseph Monkman, his executors, administrators, and assigns, from the day next before the day of the date of these presents, and for and during the full term of one thousand years, thence next ensuing; yielding and paying therefore yearly and every year, during the said term, and upon the Michaelmas day in each year, the rent or sum of three pepercorns, the first payment whereof to be made upon the twenty-ninth day of September next ensuing the date hereof. And the said Joseph Monkman, for himself, his heirs and executors, and administrators, doth hereby covenant and agree with the said Governor and Company, in manner following, that is to say, That he the said Joseph Monkman shall or will, within forty days from the date hereof, settle and establish himself or themselves and continue to reside upon the said hereby demised land, and shall or will within five years from the date of these presents, bring, or cause to procure to be brought into a state of cultivation one-sixth part of the said hereby demised land, and thenceforth continue the same in such state. And that the said Joseph Monkman, his executors, administrators, or assigns, shall or will from time to time, and at all times during the said term, contribute in a due proportion to the expense of all public establishments, whether of an ecclesiastical, civil, military, or other nature, including therein the maintenance of the clergy, the building and endowment of schools, which are or shall or may be formed under the authority of the Charter or charters hereinbefore referred to. And also that he or they at the proper seasons in every year, and in or toward the making and repairing of such roads and highways as lie within two miles from the hereby demised premises, shall or will employ himself or themselves, and his or their servants, horses, cattle, carts, and carriages, and other necessary things for that purpose, where and when required so to do by the surveyor or overseer for the time being, appointed for the making and amending public roads, bridges and highways, within such limit as aforesaid; such requisition, nevertheless, in point of time not to exceed six days in each year computed day by day, and from Michaelmas to Michaelmas; and shall or will use his or their endeavors for the benefit and support of the clergyman to whom or whose communion he or they shall belong, by employing himself, or themselves, and his or their servants, horses, cattle, carts, and carriages, and other things necessary for the purpose, not exceeding at and after the rate of three days in the spring, and three days in the autumn of each year, and in every

other respect, when and whereby the said clergyman shall appoint. And also that the said Joseph Monkman, his executors, administrators and assigns, shall not nor will, without license of the said Governor and Company for that purpose first obtained, carry on or establish, or attempt to carry on or establish in any part of North America, any trade or traffick in or relating to any kind of skins, furs, or peltry, nor dressed leather, nor in any manner directly or indirectly aid or abet any person in carrying on such trade or traffic; nor shall nor will at any time or times during the said term, distil or cause or procure to be distilled, spirituous liquors of any nature or kind soever, either upon the land hereby demised, or within any other part of the territories belonging to the said Governor and Company in North America, nor during the said term, knowingly suffer or permit any other person or persons whomsoever, to distil any such liquors upon the said demised land, or any part thereof. And also that he the said Joseph Monkman, his executors, administrators and assigns, shall not nor will at any time export beyond the territories of the said Governor and Company any effects, being the produce of the said land, or acquired by the said Joseph Monkman, his executors, administrators and assigns, within the territories of the said Governor and Company, and intended to be exported by him the said Joseph Monkman, his executors, administrators and assigns, other and except at Port Nelson (one of the ports belonging to the Company), and in ships or vessels or in a ship or vessel belonging to or in the service of the said Governor and Company to be conveyed to the port of London, and there to be lodged and deposited in some or one of the warehouses belonging to or used for that purpose by the said Governor and Company, and with power to sell or dispose of the same effects on the account of the said Joseph Monkman, his executors, administrators, and assigns. And also shall not nor will import any goods or effects into the territories of the said Governor and Company in North America, nor any part thereof, other than except from the said port of London, and through some or one of the warehouses belonging to or used by the said Governor and Company for the warehousing of goods in the said port of London, and other than and except in a vessel or vessels, ship or ships belonging to the said Governor and Company, or in their service. And also that he or they shall or will pay and allow to the said Governor and Company in respect of all such produce, goods and commodities, whether exported or imported, all charges as and for and in the nature of gaugage, wharfage, warehouse room, and commission for sale, which shall be or constitute the average or ordinary price or prices in similar cases, together with such charge for the freightage as shall at any time or respective times be fair and reasonable; and shall and will allow, or pay as in the nature of a custom or duty,

any sum not exceeding five pounds, for and upon every one hundred pounds in value or amount of the produce, goods and commodities which shall or may be conveyed to or from Port Nelson from or to the port of London as aforesaid, and so in proportion for a less quantity in value or in amount than one hundred pounds, unless the same kind of produce, goods, and commodities shall be subject to a higher rate of duty on importation at Quebec, and then in cases of importation. That he or they shall and will pay and allow unto the said Governor and Company sums at and after the same rate as shall be paid or payable at Quebec, such value or amount to be from time to time fixed and ascertained in all cases of import by and upon the actual bona fide invoice prices, and in all cases of export by the net proceeds of sales at London aforesaid. And the said Joseph Monkman, for himself, his heirs, executors, and administrators, doth hereby further covenant with the said Governor and Company, and their successors, that the said Joseph Monkman, his executors, administrators, and assigns, will use his and their best endeavours to maintain the defense and internal peace of the territories of the said Governor and Company in North America, and shall and will be chargeable therewith according to such laws and regulations as are now in force in respect of the same territories, or as shall from time to time be made by competent authority; and also that he the said Joseph Monkman, his executors, administrators, or assigns, shall not nor will at any time or times during the said term, or by any direct or indirect, mediate or immediate manner, ways or means, infringe or violate, or set about or attempt to infringe or violate, or aid, assist, or abet, or set about or attempt to aid, assist, or abet, or supply with spirituous liquors, trading goods, provisions or other necessities, any person or persons whomsoever, corporate or incorporate, or any prince, power, potentate, or state whatsoever, who shall infringe or violate, or who shall set about or attempt to infringe or violate the exclusive rights, powers, privileges, and immunities of commerce, trade, and traffic, or all or any of the exclusive rights, powers, privileges and immunities of or belonging or in any wise appertaining to, or held, used, or enjoyed by the said Governor and Company and their successors under their charter or charters, without the license or consent of the said Governor and Company and their successors for the time being first had and obtained. And lastly, that the said Joseph Monkman, his executors, administrators, or assigns, shall not, nor will at any time during the said term, underlet, or assign, otherwise alienate, or dispose, or part with, the actual possession of the said land hereby demised, or any part thereof, for all or any part of the said term, or any interest derived under the same, without the consent in writing of the said Governor and Company for the time being first had and

obtained. And also that he the said Joseph Monkman, his executors, administrators, or assigns, shall or will, within six calendar months from the date hereof, as to these presents, and within six calendar months from the date of each respective assignment or under-lease, to be made under or through these presents; and with respect to each such assignment and under-lease respectively, cause these presents and every such assignment or under-lease, when made, to be registered in the register of the said territories in North America, or of the district in which the said hereby demised land shall be situate, and wherever such register shall be kept at the time. Provided always, nevertheless, and it is hereby declared and agreed, that the said Joseph Monkman, his executors, administrators, or assigns, shall not in all things well and truly observe and perform all and every the covenants and agreements herein contained, on his or their behalf to be observed and performed, then, and in either of such cases, and either upon or after the first breach, or any subsequent breach or breaches of covenant, and as to any subsequent breach or breaches, notwithstanding there may have been any waiver or waivers, or supposed waiver or waivers thereof, by the acceptance of rent or otherwise, it shall or may be lawful to and for the said Governor and Company, and their successors or assigns, to enter into or upon the hereby demised premises, or any part thereof, in the name of the whole thereof, and to have, hold, retain, and enjoy the same as in their former state, and also to put an end to, and determine the same term of one thousand years, or so much thereof as shall be then unexpired, and all and every person or persons then occupying the same premises or claiming title thereto, to put out and amove anything hereinbefore contained to the contrary notwithstanding. In witness whereof. the said parties of these presents have hereunto set their hands and seals, the day and year first above written.

For the Governor and Company aforesaid,

Dun. Finlayson, Governor of Assiniboin (L. S.)

Joesph Monkman, (L. S.)

Signed, sealed, and delivered in the presence of George Taylor, of Red River Settlement, Surveyor, and John Black of the same place, Clerk in the service of the said Governor and Company.

George Taylor, Witness.

John Black, Witness."

No. 4.

“To the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

The humble Memorial of the undersigned Deputies from the Natives of Rupert's Land, North America.

Most respectfully sheweth,

That your memorialists are natives of Rupert's Land, North America, entrusted with the duty of presenting the accompanying petition from their fellow countrymen, the Indians and Half-breeds, residing in and near the colony of the Red River, praying for the redress of certain grievances.

That, from the harsh administration of the Hudson's Bay Company, discontent and misery prevail among the natives of Rupert's Land, to an unparalleled extent; and your memorialists are most anxious that Her Majesty's Government should, as early as possible, inquire into the condition of the unfortunate people, who are compelled to appeal to their Sovereign for protection, against the ruinous effects and consequences of the monopoly which the Hudson's Bay Company have so long enjoyed under a charter, that, according to some of the highest legal authorities, has long since lost its force. Your memorialists, trusting that a wise and paternal Government, distinguished for its attachment to a liberal policy and the principles of commercial freedom, will not suffer to pass unheeded the prayers of an oppressed and injured race, proceed to lay before your Lordship the grievances which gave rise to the accompanying petition, and humbly solicit your earnest attention to the same.

They complain, in the first instance,—That, by the practice of exclusive trading with the natives, which the Hudson's Bay Company assert is secured to them by the Royal Charter, that Company has, for nearly the last 200 years, to the utter impoverishment, if not ruin, of the natives, amassed a princely revenue, which, as your memorialists believe, now amounts to nearly a quarter of a million sterling per annum. Though one of the leading objects contemplated by the incorporation of the Company was the introduction of Christianity amongst the Indians, and the securing a due provision for their moral and religious improvement, little or none of the vast sums the Company has been permitted to accumulate has been devoted to such purposes.

That, on the contrary, with a view of keeping the natives in a state of utter dependence, and of perpetuating the wandering and precarious life of the hunter, on which they erroneously consider the existence of the fur trade to depend, they have permitted generation after generation of the hapless race consigned to their care to pass their lives in the darkest heathenism. There

is not at present, nor, as your memorialists confidently believe, has there ever been, a single school, church or other establishment for religious and general instruction, established by the Company, throughout the whole of their extensive territories. What little has been done for the religious and moral improvement of the natives is wholly due to the persevering exertions of the Church Missionary Society, and since the year 1839, of the Wesleyan Society of London. The Church Missionary Society receives no assistance whatsoever from the Company; and owing to the heavy expenses attending the establishment of Indian Missions, its operations are necessarily very circumscribed. What assistance the Wesleyan missionaries receive from the Company, if indeed they receive any, your memorialists are not prepared to say. The other objects for which the Charter was granted, namely, for the improving of the country by opening up its mineral and agricultural resources, and facilitating the means of internal navigation and transport, so as to fit it for a future colony, have been equally overlooked, with a like view of adding to the aggrandizement of the Company.

That the Company, after having entered into a solemn obligation with the British Government to discontinue the supply of spirituous liquors to the Indians, and after having actually abolished the trade in ardent spirits in some districts, for obvious purposes, for the first few years before and after the renewal of their last license, have again introduced this deadly and demoralizing poison, thus undoing the slight amount of good which the missionaries were beginning to effect, and interposing the greatest obstacle to their future success.

That, owing to the numerous hunting excursions which the demands of the fur trade render necessary, and to the great slaughter of the animals consequent thereon, the only present resources of the country have been gradually diminishing to such an extent, that the larger part of the native population can no longer find the means of supporting life from the produce of the chase, or the natural productions of the soil. In the more northern parts of the country, from which all missionaries are rigorously excluded, and where the richest furs are obtained, but where the animals which supply the food of man have almost become extinct, as well as in many other districts, the Indians are exposed to the most frightful destitution. Numbers of them die yearly of famine, whilst others in the extremity of want and despair, are tempted to commit the most revolting crimes to preserve a wretched existence. It is impossible for your Lordship's memorialists adequately to describe the sufferings of the natives who inhabit these portions of the country, arising from the exorbitant prices demanded by the traders for the wretched and almost valueless articles given in a mockery of exchange for the richest

and most valuable furs. Without tents of any kind to protect them from the severity of an arctic climate, unable, from their migratory pursuits, to abide in permanent habitations, half naked, owing to the exorbitant prices demanded for the clothes furnished by the Company, whilst they are at the same time restricted from exchanging the produce of their toil with any other parties, kept constantly in the Company's debt, which they spend their whole lives in an ineffectual effort to clear off, exposed yearly to all the horrors of famine, and the attendant crimes of murder and cannibalism; the wretchedness of the peoples' condition can scarcely admit of addition. The scarcity which prevails in the northern districts is gradually but surely extending to the south, and unless the Government of this country interpose its parental interference to wean the Indians from their present wandering habits, and endeavour to turn their attention to agricultural pursuits, the whole of the northern tribes must, at no distant period, when the resources of the chase shall have failed them, be subjected to all the horrors of a wide-spread famine, from which they never can emerge.

That, from the line of conduct pursued by the Company, it does not appear probable to your Lordship's memorialists that sufficient precaution will be taken by them to avert so overwhelming an evil. Their agents in the country are, for the most part, men of very limited information, and loose moralists; wholly imbued with the mere spirit of trade, few of them are possessed of these generous sympathies and enlarged views which are necessary for undertaking and carrying out any comprehensive scheme of social amelioration. Their deity is gold, to obtain which they trample down Christianity and benevolence.

That, feeling the utter inadequacy of the remuneration for their furs from the Company, many of the more enterprising of the natives have formed a resolution to export their own produce and import their own supplies, independently of the Company. They argue that, even supposing the Charter to be still valid, and that it vests in the Company an exclusive right of trade to the Hudson's Bay as against all other traders from Britain, none of its provisions are or can be binding on the natives to trade with the Company exclusively or can prevent them from carrying their furs or property out of the country to the best market. Where this course has been adopted, however, the Company's agents have seized the furs of such parties as refused to sell them at the prices fixed by the Company, and, in some instances, have imprisoned the recusant natives. Against such gross aggressions on the rights and liberties of the natives, your memorialists most vehemently protest. Being unable to obtain redress from the local courts of the country, your memorialists feel entitled to claim the protection of the British Government, and humbly en-

treat your Lordship to take the case into your kind consideration.

It is likewise the painful duty of your Lordship's memorialists to advert to the precarious state of the public peace among the native population, particularly in and about the Red River. The majority of the Indians and half-breeds in that district depend mainly on the yearly buffalo hunts; the colony itself verging on the boundary line of the United States, the whole of the hunting grounds are within the American territories. From these grounds the American Government has warned off the hunters of the Red River, in favour of the natives of the plains; who are under its protection, and for this purpose detachments of American troops are stationed throughout the plains to warn off all persons intruding from the British side, but at the same time proffering them the alternative of becoming American citizens. The Hudson's Bay Company, on the other hand, claim whatever is hunted on the British side of the line, detaining the goods and imprisoning the persons of those who refuse to accede to their prices. Owing to these conflicting claims, the natives, who are the original owners of the soil, have their energies and hopes completely paralysed, and are doomed to starvation, in a land which is their own both by birth and by descent.

Deeply convinced that the present appalling conditions of the native population—their ignorance, their barbarism, and the sufferings and crimes consequent thereon, are ascribable to the present system of misgovernment, and also being fully satisfied that the existing evils would be remedied and the still more fearful ones now pending averted by the adoption of a system founded upon more humane and enlightened views, your memorialists most earnestly desire to impress upon your Lordship the solemn and sacred duty of inquiring into the condition of this deeply suffering people (the last remnant of a noble race) before inquiry and remedy prove too late. Hitherto no efforts have been made in their behalf by the Government of this country, at least such as have been made public, are destitute of truth, and were evidently framed with a view to mislead colonial authorities, and avert further inquiry. To show this, we need only request your Lordship's attention to the report of Sir George Simpson, and beg of you to contrast them with the work published in 1845, intitled, "The Life and Travels of Thomas Simpson, by his brother, Alexander." Though both brothers participated in the profits of the monopoly, and must therefore presume to be less than impartial witnesses, your Lordship will find that the book (published by Bently, New Burlington street) strongly sustains and corroborates the statements which we have the honor of laying before you.

The spirit and tendencies of the Hudson's Bay Company are,

for reasons that will readily appear, opposed to the spread of information among the native population, and unfortunately they possess too many facilities for carrying into effect the short sighted and pernicious policy by which they have been uniformly guided in their intercourse with the natives. They are without direct or positive accountability to the Legislature of this country, and as regards their operations in the distant region over which they exercise jurisdiction, are practically beyond the reach of public opinion. Their sole aim is, avowedly, to draw the greatest possible revenue from the country, to attain which the considerations of humanity and religion are overlooked; while, as your Lordship will perceive by the statements now submitted, the lives of the unoffending native race, who for no fault of their own, and for no reason that can be given, are deprived of their inheritance and their natural rights, and thus of the power of helping themselves, and are being virtually sacrificed year by year to the same selfish and iniquitous object. What must be the ultimate fate of this unhappy people, under such a system, it is easy to foresee as it is painful to contemplate.

Your memorialists feel assured that upon a due consideration of the statements now brought forward, supported as they are by a weight of testimony which places their accuracy beyond dispute, your Lordship will extend to them that humane and considerate attention to which their great and urgent importance entitles them. What further corroboration may be deemed necessary in support of the above allegations, your memorialists are ready to supply, as well as to suggest such remedies as are calculated to remove the evils complained of—such remedies as a people, both willing and able to help themselves, but deprived of the power, alone require, to restore to them the blessings of peace and prosperity, and render them happy, contented and grateful subjects.

(Signed),

A. K. Isbister.

T. Vincent.

G. Sinclair

D. V. Stewart.

J. M'Leod.

J. Isbister.

17 February, 1847."

No. 5.

"Papers delivered in by Mr. A. Isbister, Mar. 5, 1857.

Correspondence between Mr. Abbot Lawrence and Viscount Palmerston, respecting a complaint alleging that the Hudson's Bay Company furnish large Quantities of Spirits to the Indians on the Northwestern Frontier of the United States.

No. 1.

Mr. Lawrence to Viscount Palmerston.

United States' Legation,
138 Piccadilly, 12 February, 1850.

My Lord,

Representations have been made to the Government of the United States, from reliable sources, that the Hudson's Bay Company annually furnish to the Indians on the northwestern frontier of the United States large quantities of spirituous liquor, endangering thereby the peace of the border, as well as corrupting the Indians themselves. It has been the policy of the United States to prevent, as much as possible, the use of spirituous liquors among the natives. The interests of Her Majesty's Government are believed to be identical with those of the United States in this respect. As complaints of this nature have been frequently made to the Government of the United States, and it has become satisfied that they are well founded, I have been instructed to to make this practice the subject of a friendly remonstrance to Her Majesty's Government, and request it to co-operate with the Government of the United States in the repression of the evil, by issuing suitable instructions to the Hudson's Bay Company, or in such other manner as may best accomplish the desired result. I have the honour, therefore, to ask your Lordship to lay this remonstrance before the proper department of Her Majesty's Government, and to request its co-operation in a measure dictated by policy, as well as demanded by humanity.

I enclose a copy of the letter to the Secretary of State of the United States, accompanying my instructions on this subject, and

I have, etc,

(Signed) Abbot Lawrence.

Enclosure in No. 1.

Mr. Sibley to Mr. Clayton.

House of Representatives,
Washington, 8 December, 1849

Sir,

There exists on our northwestern boundary a state of things which calls imperatively for the interference of the Government. I

refer to the immense amount of spirituous liquor which is imported by the Hudson's Bay Company annually, not only for their trade in the British possessions, but which is furnished to the Indians who reside and hunt within the limits of the United States. That this evil exists to a very great extent, and renders null all the efforts of our Government to prevent the introduction of ardent spirits into the Indian country, is a fact which can be established by incontestable testimony, and has already been made the subject of memorials to the proper department. My object in making the communication which I have now the honor to address you is, to ascertain whether there would be any impropriety in having the matter brought to the notice of the British Government, in the shape of a friendly remonstrance from you to the Minister of that power. I know of no other way to accomplish the proposed end, which is the repression of an evil of great magnitude, threatening the peace of our northwestern frontier.

I have, etc.

(Signed)

Henry H. Sibley.

No. 2.

Viscount Palmerston to Mr. Lawrence.

Foreign Office, 11 April, 1850.

Sir,

I did not fail to refer to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies your letter of the 12th of February last, remonstrating against the practice alleged to be pursued by the Hudson's Bay Company of furnishing annually to the Indians who reside and hunt within the limits of the United States, large quantities of spirituous liquors; and I have now the honour to transmit to you herewith a copy of a letter which Earl Grey has received from Sir John Pelly, the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company.

In that letter, Sir John Pelly states that spirits are never given to the Indians by the Hudson's Bay Company in the way of trade, either on the frontier or in any other part of the territories of the Company. Sir John Pelly states, however, that persons residing at the Red River Settlement and at Pembina, within the American frontier, carry on an extensive and illicit traffic in furs with the Indians residing within the territories of the Hudson's Bay Company, and that great quantities of spirituous liquors are sold to the Indians in the course of that traffic; and Sir John Pelly adds, that although the Hudson's Bay Company employ all the means in their power to suppress this traffic, their efforts

have been in a great measure defeated by the encouragement which it receives on the American side of the border.

I am, etc.

(Signed)

Palmerston.

Enclosure in No. 2.

Sir John Pelly to Earl Grey,

Hudson's Bay House, London,

9 March, 1850.

My Lord,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Under Secretary Hawes' letter of the 6th, instant, accompanied by the copy of a letter from the office of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, enclosing a remonstrance from the Government of the United States against the practice alleged to be pursued by the Hudson's Bay Company of furnishing large quantities of spirituous liquors to the Indians on the north-western frontier of those States. Mr. Hawes adds a request on the part of your Lordship that I would make a report to you on the allegations contained in those papers.

To the allegations contained in this remonstrance, and in the letter of Mr. Sibley, on which it appears to be founded, I have no hesitation in giving the most unqualified denial. Spirits are never given to the Indians by the Hudson's Bay Company in trade, either on the frontier or in any other part of their territories.

The average quantity of the spirits supplied annually to each of the frontier posts, according to the best information to which I have access at present, does not exceed twenty gallons. A small portion of this not very extravagant supply rendered harmless by dilutions, is given to the Indians as a "regale" when they bring the produce of their hunt to the station, in conformity with a custom of long standing, which it has been found impossible to discontinue without altogether abandoning the fur trade in a large district of country. Whether this can endanger the peace of the frontier, I leave your Lordship to judge.

Far be it from me, however, to say that the spirits are not used, and that in large quantities, in trading with the Indians on the frontier. The Hudson's Bay Company are well aware that an illicit traffic in furs is carried on to a great extent within the Company's territories by persons residing, some at Red River Settlement, and others at Pembina, within the American frontier; that the articles chiefly used by those persons in this traffic is spirits,

and that the furs so procured invariably find their way to the fur traders at St. Peter's. This is the evil which endangers the peace of the frontier, if it be endangered, and which the Hudson's Bay Company is using every means in their power to suppress; but their efforts toward this end have been in a great measure neutralized by the encouragement given to it from the American side of the border.

The American Government, I am aware, has established stringent regulations against the use of spirits in the Indian Trade, but it is a well known fact that those regulations are evaded, and that spirits are even clandestinely introduced into the Company's territories by citizens of the United States. In a country situated as these frontier districts are, it is not an easy matter to give effect to regulations or laws, to the breach of which there is so strong a temptation in the gain to which it leads; but I can confidently assure your Lordship of the readiness of the Hudson's Bay Company to use the most strenuous exertions to carry out any measures which her Majesty's Government and the Government of the United States may agree upon as best adapted to repress the evil in question.

I am not sorry, my Lord, that this subject has been brought under your Lordship's notice, as it affords me an opportunity of correcting the erroneous statements which have been made in Parliament, and promulgated through the press, respecting the quantities of spirits imported into their territories by the Hudson's Bay Company.

Your Lordship will probably be surprised when I inform you that, from the year 1842 to 1849 inclusive, the average quantity annually imported by the Company into the whole of the territories under their control, to the east and west of the Rocky Mountains, is only 4396½ gallons; a quantity, which, if distributed only to the men employed in the service in daily allowances, would amount to less than two table-spoonfuls to each man. It is to be observed, too, that out of the above mentioned quantity the troops stationed at Red River Settlement in 1846, 1847 and 1848 (whose consumption in daily rations alone was upwards of 4500 gallons) had to be supplied, and also the corps of pensioners who succeeded them. There cannot, therefore, have been much left for the demoralization of the natives.

I have, etc.,

(Signed)

J. H. Pelly."

No. 6.

Supplies from Colony, 1841, to Norway House.
Minutes of Council of Hudson's Bay Co., June 18, 1840, Resolution 37.

30 Bushels Rough Barley
12 Cwt. Corn Beef
30 Cwt. Biscuit
42 Oak Boards
40 Firkins Butter, 56 lbs. each
10 Half firkins, 28 lbs. each
6 Maccarons
80 lbs. Cheese
15 Kegs Eggs
650 Cwt. Kiln dried Flour
70 Well cured Hams
50 Bales dried meat, 90 lbs. each
400 Bags Com. Pemican
45 Cwt. Salted Pork
40 Kegs Potatoes
3 Bushels Onions
1000 pairs hacking shoes
200 Portage Straps
2 Kegs Salted Suet
15 Assortments Garden Seeds.

Minutes of Council of Hudson's Bay Company, June 10, 1843.
34. That the following supplies be provided at the Colony for exportation to Norway House, Summer 1844, made up in sound and transportable packages, and purchased at the usual prices:

35 Bushels rough Barley
3 Bushels French Beans
12 Cwt. good corned Beef
50 Cwt. Biscuit
34 Oak Boards, 12 feet long, 7 in. broad by $\frac{3}{4}$ in.
60 Firkins Butter, 56 lbs. each
10 Half firkins Butter, 28 lbs. each
6 Maccarons Butter
240 Lbs. Cheese
10 Bushels Indian Corn
15 Kegs Eggs
600 Cwt. best dried Flour 1st and 2nd quality
2 Casks salt Cabbage
200 Cwt. best kiln dried Flour 1st quality
60 Hams
50 bales of dried meat
500 bags of Com. Pemmican. (45 Cwt. of salt-pork)

Estimated Requisition of Country Produce, 1845. From Red River.

12 Cwt. corned beef
 3 Cwt. smoked beef
 3 Bushels Barley, rough
 50 Cwt. Biscuit, fine
 60 Boards, Oak 12½ ft. 7x¾ in
 10 Boards, Oak 15 ft. 7x¾ in
 (for sleds)
 70 Firkins, 56 lbs. Butter, salt
 10 Firkins 28 lbs. Butter, salt
 6 Tinnets 10 lbs. Butter, salt
 (or Maccaroons)
 220 Cheese, sweet milk
 10 bus. Corn, Indian, hulled
 15 Kegs, Eggs
 200 Cwt. Flour 1st quality
 550 Cwt. Flour 1st and 2nd quality
 6 Cwt. Grease, Soft
 50 Hams
 50 Bales, Meat; dried
 400 Bags, Pemmican
 70 Cwt. Pork, salted
 8 bus. Onions

No. 7.

Freighter's License.

Copy of a license which had been issued to an importer July 29, 1845 by Governor Christie. The license is practically the same as the one provided for in 1844, except that it is slightly more specific.

"I hereby license....., of Red River Settlement, to carry on the business of a freighter between Red River Settlement aforesaid and York Factory; provided, however, that this shall be null and void for every legal purpose from this date, if he traffic in anything whatever beyond the limits of the said settlement excepting in so far as he may do so under any municipal regulation, or if he traffic in furs within Rupert's Land or without, or if he become or continue to be the employer, or agent, or the partner of any person who may traffic or usurp or may have trafficked or usurped as aforesaid, or of any such person's debtor."¹

¹. Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company. Aug. 17, 1857. p. 272, No. 4892.

No. 8.

Petition of American Importers.

“We, the undersigned American importers, most respectfully lay before the Governor and Council of Assiniboia certain claims for drawback upon imports from the United States, paid the Collector of Customs under protest, which we hope your honourable body will order to be refunded, as at the time of importing these goods your humble petitioners were not aware of any revenue law being in force other than the one known as the 4% law, and applicable to imports either way; that as *ignorantia facti excusat*, and a sufficient publicity not having been given, your petitioners do not consider themselves liable to this extra impost, and would with submission urge their reasons for so believing: 1st. That this duty, founded on the Canadian tariff, was never promulgated, and was framed for peculiar purposes; 15th June 1845, to suit the exigencies of that period; 2nd. That it remained a dead letter for two years, and as no action had been taken on it during that time it should be now considered as null; 3rd. That several of your petitioners had sent for goods before aware of its existence, and have sustained losses in consequence; that many of them are yet ignorant of the duties payable upon the different descriptions of merchandise, so that as likely as not the articles imported might be under prohibition, or such as would entail positive loss to the importer; 4th. That these goods were brought at a time when the settlement stood greatly in need of them; 5th. That a colony situated as this is, isolated from the world, and possessing no export advantages, should not be taxed the same as Canada; for whilst we admit that there should be a protection extended to British manufacture here, as well as in other English colonies, still the tariff should always be regulated to suit the condition of the country, for what may be admitted free in one country might be heavily assessed in another, and both under the same government. Your petitioners respectfully consider that a trade carved out by themselves, and attended with so much risk and labour, should rather be fostered and encouraged than have restrictions thrown in its way; they would therefore beg of you to rescind the 7th resolution passed 15th January 1847, except in so far as relates to the exportation of cattle, as the wants of Her Majesty's troops stationed here could in no way so improve the condition of the American importers as to justify its adoption, as it is a well known fact that most of our exports to the United States consist in leather, mocassins, buffalo tongues, and Indian curiosities, articles which meet with no demand from the military, and afford employment to many families in the settlement. Your petitioners would earnestly urge upon the consideration of your honourable body, the necessity of assimilating the

duties imposed upon American imports to the English tariff, or at least in so far remodelling the same that they will not amount, as at present, almost to a prohibition, and respectfully suggest that five per cent, or six be the maximum rate on all foreign imports, without any differential duty, except on such articles as may interfere with the existing laws of the United States or England, or your honourable body may deem injurious to the welfare of the settlement.”¹

No. 9.

“Enclosure No. 21. Translation of a letter from Rev. Mr. Belcour to Mr. A. K. Isbister.

Quebec, Lower Canada, 21 December 1847.

Sir;

As I was leaving the Red River at the end of October last, I had the pleasure to catch a hasty and partial glance at your pamphlet on the subject of the petition of the inhabitants of the Red River district against certain proceedings of the Hudson's Bay Company. As I do not find a single copy of it in this place, you will confer a favour on me by sending me a few impressions of it, so that I may be enabled to make the Archbishop of Quebec perfectly acquainted with the matter. I ought to tell you, that for the sake of peace I have been obliged to take this step. I believe that I both may and ought conscientiously and lawfully take it. Of two evils one must choose the less; and it was necessary for me either to consent to become a witness to the excesses of an outraged and irritated people, or to consent, by drawing up this petition, to expose myself to the animadversions of the Company. I now endure this animosity on the part of the Governor, who, far from acknowledging the good services that I have really rendered, by preventing the shedding of blood, by means of my influence with the people, persecutes me to the uttermost. What you have learned, as well from the petition itself as from the instructions placed in the hands of Mr. James Sinclair, the Commissioner, contains nothing but truths verified by facts. It is perhaps for this reason that the Company finds it so difficult a task to defend itself. The Governor, Sir George Simpson, having complained of this step, as regards myself, to the Archbishop of Quebec, has gone so far as to tell his Grace that he demanded my recall to Canada; failing which, he threatened to let the effect of his resentment fall on all the clergy of the Red River. Now, by recalling me, or causing me to be recalled, he prevents, as much as in him lies, the advancement of civilization among the Indians.

1. Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, Aug. 17, 1857, p. 266.

Having been for 17 years a missionary in this country, I have acquired a knowledge of the languages of the people. I now find myself forced to leave these missions desolate, there being no missionary acquainted with the native tongues to take my place. If I have done wrong in advising the colonists to present a petition, why do they satisfy themselves by exposing my culpability? And if the Company have actual rights, which are unjustly disputed, why do they not demonstrate them, without heaping their vengeance on an individual who has done them important service in similar troubles, and who, by his influence over the people, might, in case of need, arrest the progress of disorder? They ought to know, that in order to manage a populace, or whole people, it is necessary to show them that we are seeking their interest, without which conviction on their part it is impossible to direct them; that if in doing this we have clashed with the interest of some body of men, or some individual, it is only an accidental collision, or at times, an inevitable consequence in affairs of a critical character. It remains for the parties injured to protest and to prove against the measures which have injured it. I have thought that, considering the interest you have taken in this affair, to the great satisfaction of this people, you will feel affected by the proceeding of Sir George Simpson, which surprises me so much the more, as I thought him more capable of generous sentiments, and more grateful for services conferred; for if his heart were as generous even as men in general, he would have remembered that day in which he came, escorted by the leading men of the country, to seek me in my poor cottage to appease the troubles of the time, and to facilitate those measures that he looked upon as necessary to the security of his own life. But such is the misery of man, that, however devoted he may become, he will sometimes commit those littlenesses. *Omnis homo mendax*.

You will afford me real pleasure by relating to me all that has been written in England on this business. I am tenderly attached to the poor people, who on their part were in despair at my departure; and this, nevertheless, without wishing ill to the Company, anxious only to regard, as the error of its officers, the unjust acts which are committed here, being in fact, unable to believe that an intention to oppress the weak can exist in so respectable a body.

If you think it advisable that this letter should be published, I shall be very glad, in order that the truth may be known.

I am, &c.

(Signed) G. A. Belcour,
Mr. Isbister.

P. S.—You may address your letter, if you honour me with

one, to Quebec, to the care of the Rev. Charles F. Cazeau, Secretary to the Archbishop of Quebec.

G. A. B.'''

No. 10.

“Enclosure in No. 11. Copy of Instructions to the Delegates by Members of the Committee.

We, the undersigned members of a Committee elected by the people in order to redact a petition, to elect a messenger, and commit to writing instructions to the same, in conformity with the desires and unanimously known interest of the people, have inscribed the following observations:

It will be a duty to the commissioner to take the opportunity of every favourable circumstance to give a true state of the manner in which this colony and this country in general is governed; to expose sincerely the desires of its inhabitants, and the possible improvement for their welfare. He shall make use of moderation, speaking of those whose interests are opposed to ours with discretion, and in honest terms. He shall have a peculiar care in advancing nothing but what could be duly proved.

He must note, previously, that the Company having brought from the succession of Lord Selkirk his rights upon this colony, we do consider the same Company as being obliged to fulfil the contracts of it, and to promote the prosperity of the said colony.

He shall represent,—

1st. That several individuals are complaining that the Company have obliged them to pay lands, without giving them any contract in legal form, and in spite of their will, the officers of the Company retaining upon the wages of their servants the price of the same lands, which price has been placed not in the municipal trunk (bank), but in that of the Company; is it then that the Company might have the property of the lands? This appears to us inseparably united to the rights of the Crown.

2d. The Company gives in circulation, bills; the exchange thereof cannot be received but in London, a thing which is impossible to the greatest number of us. Could we not have a right to require that exchange of them be done in this country, and in the most central part of the colony?

3d. Already the chief factor, named Governor of the Assiniboin, has made us to understand that he might suddenly stop the course of the money-papers, which would expose us to losses, and occasionate great difficulties in our transactions. In order to avoid a danger of which we have threatened, and that the least pretext in a quick-minded man might lead to execution, the commissioner shall invoke the influence of his Lordship, in order

1. Hudson's Bay Company. Return to an Address of the Honorable the House of Commons, April 23, 1849, p. 99.

to obtain that silver money be put in course in this country; the bank-houses or Company-house being too far off from us.

4th. Le portage of certain goods on the Company's ship having been refused under eluding pretexts, and with the visible end of discouraging, could not the Company be obliged to take, on their bond, everything that would be exported from the colony at the risk and expenses of private traders? Seeing that the Company's exclusive right to the only important branch of commerce, until now, take off for another ship a chance of an advantageous load, when it would consist in articles exclusive from furs.

5th. That if the Company must have for some time again the exclusive right in the trade of this country, would it not be a duty of justice that they would be obliged to purchase at reasonable prices all that the inhabitants have to sell; and does it not look unjust, that having kept exclusively for them all the advantages, they could not be obliged to take the changes?

6th. The same exclusive right would seem to put us, in reason, to require from the Company to bring to the shop of the colony the things necessary, and in a sufficient quantity for the want of the inhabitants; then it is common to us, wanting things the most important to life in this country; viz. gunpowder, thread for nets, tea, &c.; the same articles being sometimes taken off from the colony shop to be transported to trade posts afar, and even on the American territory, and this to the great discontent of the settlers.

7th. We think the Company is guilty of an abuse in extending their claims as far as to forbid to the inhabitants of this country to exchange between themselves furs; and we believe that they have acted unjustly by confining in gaol individuals who were not attempting, who had not even the idea to take off from the country the furs that they had, and also in putting under a caution and seizing the goods imported, under that pretext that they were intended to be exchanged for furs. We have believed, that in law we could not be punished for the intention, but that the infraction of the law only could deserve punishment.

8th. That the wise laws forbidding to deliver intoxicating liquors to the Indians being in force amongst the settlers, we feel it repugnant to see an exception for the Company in the penalties of that law; that it would be forbidden to the settlers to sell beer to the Indians under penalty of fine, and that the Company be free to sell strong liquors to the same Indians. That partiality excites indignation against the legislators.

9th. The Commissioner shall beseech his Lordship to supply by his credit to the wants of formalities from the part of a people which lives too far off to be aware of them, and to have the goodness to do so, that the attention of our good Queen be rather

fixed upon the truth of our observations, and the sincere intention that we have to keep the peace and spare the life of Her devoted subjects."¹

No. 11.

"To the Metis and Colonists of Red River.

This is written to inform you that your cause in this country is making progress and gaining ground. I was really surprised on arriving here how generally it had aroused the interest of the people of Great Britain. Persevere and be fearless in your present attitude. Especially do not resort to violent means, but be firm and resolute in maintaining your rights. As the English papers and especially the British Parliament keep saying that you have full power to carry on trade with whomsoever you please and in all products of your country.

Do not listen to the ridiculous stories told you to intimidate you. You have Right on your side. Your compatriot Mr. Isbister has aroused the interest of very powerful friends on this side of the sea, who will support you if you show yourselves worthy of the interest they feel towards you.

Don't be afraid, friends. Go ahead!!

Your very sincere friend,

John M'Laughlin."²

No. 12.

The Hudson's Bay Company Trading Form.

"Thus, an Indian arriving at one of the Company's establishments with a bundle of furs, which he intends to trade, proceeds, in the first instance, to the trading room; there the trader separates the furs into lots, and, after adding up the amount, delivers to the Indian a number of little pieces of wood, indicating the number of made-beaver to which his hunt amounts. He is next taken to the store-room, where he finds himself surrounded by bales of blankets, slop-coats, guns, knives, powder horns, flints, axes, &c. Each article has a recognized value in made-beaver. A slop-coat, for example, is 12 made-beavers, for which the Indian delivers up 12 of his pieces of wood; for a gun he gives 20; for a knife, 2; and so on, until his stock of wooden cash is expended."³

1. Hudson's Bay Company, (Red River Settlement). Return to an Address of the Honorable the House of Commons, April 23, 1849, pp. 48-49.

2. Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, Aug. 17, 1857, p. 263.

3. *Ib.*, 35.

No. 13.

"Letter Received from the Red River dated,

Sept. 8, 1848.

They have confidence that if the Company obtain the confirmation of their Charter, that the Charter will be at least modified in such a way as to exclude from the right of trade only foreigners and by no means natives of the country. That if the Metis see that they are forbidden the enjoyment of the products of their country to the profit of foreign adventurers exclusively and by an act of Parliament at that, they are determined to place before the Congress of the United States the reasonableness of their complaints and of their demands, and the refusal given them by the British Parliament; then they will decide to ask said Congress to kindly take possession of their country and will submit themselves to the laws of the United States. Now I know from good authority that this offer will be accepted. There are already some Metis established at Pembina, and just as sure as the Company obtains a power as despotic as that which it has exercised for so long a time, all will finally go over from this side of the line and finding themselves stronger they will then show who was wrong to have scorned their complaints."¹

No. 14.

Resolutions adopted at Red River, May 25, 1857.

"Resolved. . . . That a portion of the evidence, as given in the Toronto Globe, purporting to be that given by Sir George Simpson and Dr. Rae before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, being read to this meeting, and found to be not only utterly at variance with truth, but also calculated to act prejudicially to our interests, and gave a most untrue and unfavorable opinion of this country, this meeting feels itself called upon to express its astonishment and indignation at the prolonged persistence in a course of false representation on the part of Sir George Simpson and his colleagues, in order to perpetuate a fur monopoly that has been fruitful only of poverty and degradation.

"That, respecting the free trade of this country, this meeting feels bound to say, that should the fur trade be longer retained in the exclusive hands of monopolists, the disorder predicted by Sir G. Simpson and his colleagues as likely to spring up from opening the trade, will inevitably follow, unless, indeed, the Government can have troops in the country and support a monopoly. It is the feeling and opinion of this meeting that there is nothing to prevent the fur trade from being carried on in the same way that trade is pursued in all civilized communities; and

1. Fitzgerald, Hudson's Bay Company and Vancouver's Island, p. 329.

that one way by which to prevent the disorders apprehended would be, vigorously to exclude such as threaten disorders because they cannot have the exclusive possession of it.....

“That it is a duty on our part to contradict, in most unqualified terms, the statements respecting the use of spirituous liquors in this country. So far from its even being withheld as an article of trade, not only have many of us, when in the service of the Company, obtained furs in barter for it, but even a settler among us had his stock of this article taken from him, and the same was afterwards used by the Hudson’s Bay Company as an article of trade. The entire valley of the Saskatchewan is so flooded with this fruitful source of mischief to the Red Man, that it is almost the exclusive commodity with which the Hudson’s Bay Company procures the large stock of provisions obtained from the Saskatchewan.

“That nothing can be farther from the truth than the statement that the Hudson’s Bay Company have been in the habit of taking our surplus produce; for, for thirty five out of over forty years that this colony has been farming, they have not taken even a tenth of what we could have supplied them. It is equally untrue, that for the last seven years they have been obliged to import grain from the United States in order to supply their own wants. As to our wheat crops being uncertain, we can state that, during the last ten years, we have not known a total failure of crops from any cause whatever, and *never* known them to fail from the causes given by some of the witnesses before the Select Committee.....”¹

1. The Hudson’s Bay Question (Reprinted from the Colonial Intelligencer) F. W. C., Report of Committee of House of Commons, London, 1857.

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THE DAKOTA TERRITORIAL CENSUS OF 1885.

From the Original Records on File at Bismarck, N. D.

Census Returns for the Counties of Allred, Bowman, Buford,
Dunn, McIntosh, McKenzie, Mercer, Mountraille, Oliver, Renville,
Stanton, Towner, Villard, Wallace, Ward, Wells and Wynn.

ALLRED COUNTY.

Males	12	Attended school during	
Females	1	1885	0
Married	2	Woodchopper	5
Single	11	Hunter	3
Under 21 years of age.....	0	Riverman	3
		Wood dealer	1
Born in Dakota Territory			0
Born in other parts of the U. S.....			9
Foreign born			4
Total population			13

ALLRED COUNTY

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Ashland, Walter	M	30	.....	Woodchopper	Virginia	Virginia	Virginia
Ellis, John	M	21	.....	Woodchopper	Missouri	Missouri	Missouri
Pool, Henry	M	29	.....	Woodchopper	Kentucky	Kentucky	Kentucky
Moore, Emery	M	36	.....	Woodchopper	Missouri	Missouri	Missouri
Hays, Felix	M	29	.....	Riverman	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Boys, Henry	M	21	.....	Riverman	Georgia	Georgia	Georgia
Oleson, Ole	M	27	.....	Riverman	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Blatchford, John	M	39	Head	Woodyard	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Massachusetts
Blatchford, Etta	F	30	Wife	Woodyard	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Massachusetts
Knolghter, Iweden	M	27	.....	Hunter	Bavaria	Bavaria	Bavaria
Hays, Edward	M	26	.....	Hunter	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Hennenway, John	M	29	.....	Hunter	Maine	Maine	Maine
Bostwick, Samuel	M	30	.....	Hunter	Maine	Maine	Maine

BOWMAN COUNTY.

Males	94	Attended school during	
Females	78	1885	0
Married	47	Rancher	5
Single	115	Hunter and Trapper	17
Under 21 years of age	100	Cowboy	17
		Teacher	1
Born in Dakota Territory	12		
Born in other parts of the U. S.	88		
Foreign born	72		
Total population	172		

BOWMAN COUNTY

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Simonds, Jake	M	32	.....	Trapper	Norway	Norway	Norway
Orphy, Eben	M	42	.....	Trapper	Poland	Poland	Poland
Wyth, Acheman	M	39	.....	Cowman	Germany	Germany	Germany
Wyth, Rosa	F	37	Wife	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
Wyth, Albert	M	16	Son	.....	Nebraska	Germany	Germany
Wyth, Jay	M	14	Son	.....	Nebraska	Germany	Germany
Wyth, Joseph	M	12	Son	.....	Nebraska	Germany	Germany
Wyth, Mary	F	8	Daughter	.....	Nebraska	Germany	Germany
Wyth, Louise	F	4	Daughter	.....	Nebraska	Germany	Germany
Wyth, Locot	M	1	Son	.....	Dakota	Germany	Germany
White, Porter	M	47	.....	Hunter	Delaware	Delaware	Delaware
White, Etta	F	42	Wife	.....	Delaware	Delaware	Delaware
White, Luzene	F	20	Daughter	.....	Delaware	Delaware	Delaware
White, Alfred	M	16	Son	.....	Delaware	Delaware	Delaware
White, Zachariah	M	12	Son	.....	Delaware	Delaware	Delaware
White, Obed	M	8	Son	.....	Delaware	Delaware	Delaware
White, Henrietta	F	6	Daughter	.....	Delaware	Delaware	Delaware
White, Estella	F	3	Daughter	.....	Delaware	Delaware	Delaware
Brown, Jas.	M	47	.....	Trapper	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Elton, V. W.	M	36	.....	Trapper	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Simonson, Ole	M	39	.....	Trapper	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Simonson, Eldy	F	36	Wife	.....	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Simonson, Ole, Jr.	M	16	Son	.....	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Simonson, Eldy	F	14	Daughter	.....	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Simonson, Hans O.	M	12	Son	.....	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Simonson, Opegard	M	9	Son	.....	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Simonson, James	M	6	Son	.....	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Simonson, Otto	M	4	Son	.....	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Murphy, Pat	M	30	.....	Cowboy	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Whalen, Mary	F	19	.....	Teacher	New York	Ireland	Ireland
Nelson, Ole	M	30	.....	Hunter	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Nelson, Annie	F	19	Wife	.....	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Nelson, John	M	10	Son	.....	Dakota	Sweden	Sweden
Nelson, Mary	F	7	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Sweden	Sweden
Brown, Jack	M	5	Son	.....	Dakota	Sweden	Sweden
Brown, Millie	F	28	Daughter	.....	New York	New York	New York
Brown, Jennie	F	25	Daughter	.....	New York	New York	New York
Smith, Pat	M	10	.....	Trapper	Dakota	New York	Sweden
Smith, Jane	F	40	Wife	.....	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Smith, Thos.	M	10	Son	.....	Dakota	Ireland	Ireland

BOWMAN COUNTY—continued.

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Campbell, Tom	M	29	.....	Cowboy	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Carlson, John	M	31	.....	Hunter	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Johnson, Ole	M	26	.....	Trapper	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Grimes, Tom	M	27	.....	Cowboy	Maine	Maine	Maine
Murray, John	M	21	.....	Hunter	Minnesota	Ireland	Ireland
Hanson, Hans	M	29	.....	Hunter & Trapper	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Hanson, Mattie	F	24	.....	.....	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Hawkinson, Pete	M	23	Wife	.....	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Myers, Chas.	M	26	.....	Trapper	Minnesota	New York	New York
Enskeda, Hans	M	38	.....	Cowboy	Minnesota	Holland	Holland
Enskeda, Mary	F	34	.....	Cattlemen	Holland	Holland	Holland
Enskeda, Amos	M	14	Wife	.....	Holland	Holland	Holland
Enskeda, John	M	12	.....	.....	Holland	Holland	Holland
Enskeda, Erza	M	5	.....	.....	Holland	Holland	Holland
Enskeda, James	M	10	.....	.....	Holland	Holland	Holland
Enskeda, Tubol	M	7	.....	.....	Holland	Holland	Holland
Enskeda, Eliza	F	8	.....	.....	Holland	Holland	Holland
Enskeda, By	M	2	.....	.....	Holland	Holland	Holland
Bullock, B. B.	M	38	.....	Cowboy	New York	New York	Nova Scotia
Bullock, Mrs.	F	28	Wife	.....	New York	New York	New York
Bullock, Mary	F	7	Daughter	.....	New York	New York	New York
Bullock, Josephine	F	5	Daughter	.....	New York	New York	New York
Bullock, Eldridge	M	3	Son	.....	New York	New York	New York
Bullock, Emma	F	2	Daughter	.....	New York	New York	New York
Bullock, Stella	F	1	Daughter	.....	Dakota	New York	New York
Natyr, Peter	M	52	.....	Trapper	Dakota	New York	New York
Natyr, Sarrah	F	47	Wife	Trapper	Australia	England	England
Natyr, Orfy	F	20	Daughter	Trapper	England	England	England
Natyr, Erza	M	18	Son	.....	Australia	Australia	England
Natyr, John	M	12	Son	.....	Australia	Australia	England
Natyr, Peter	M	8	Son	.....	Australia	Australia	England
Natyr, Lucy	F	6	Son	.....	Australia	Australia	England
Natyr, Bell	F	4	Daughter	.....	Australia	Australia	England
Sampson, J. D.	M	28	.....	Hunter	Minnesota	Australia	England
Sampson, Mrs.	F	27	Wife	.....	Australia	England	England
Sampson, Lulu	F	7	Daughter	.....	Australia	England	England
Sampson, Lena	F	5	Daughter	.....	Australia	England	England
Sampson, Lena	F	3	Daughter	.....	Dakota	England	England
Sampson, Etta	F	1	Daughter	.....	Dakota	England	England
McGundley, S.	M	40	.....	Cowman	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
McGundley, Sarrah	F	37	Wife	.....	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland

BOWMAN COUNTY—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
McGundley, Fred	M	20	Son	.....	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
McGundley, Cora	F	14	Daughter	.....	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
McGundley, Ella	F	8	Daughter	.....	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
McGundley, Mandy	F	5	Daughter	.....	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
McGundley, Lulu	F	1	Daughter	.....	Indiana	Ireland	Ireland
Smith, John	M	70	.....	.....	Minnesota	Ireland	Ireland
Smith, Olvis	M	39	.....	.....	Scotland	Scotland	Scotland
Smith, Hattie	F	34	.....	Cowboy	Scotland	Scotland	Scotland
Smith, Olvis	M	12	Wife	.....	Maine	Scotland	Scotland
Smith, John	M	8	Son	.....	Maine	Scotland	Scotland
Smith, Hattie	F	7	Daughter	.....	Connecticut	Scotland	Scotland
Smith, Caleb	M	4	Son	.....	Connecticut	Scotland	Scotland
Smith, Joseph	M	2	Son	.....	Minnesota	Scotland	Scotland
Modette, O. D.	M	38	.....	.....	Vermont	Maine	Canada
Modette, Mrs., O. B.	F	28	Wife	.....	Vermont	Missouri	Canada
Modette, Thos.	M	8	Son	.....	Vermont	Vermont	Vermont
Modette, Zachariah	M	4	Son	.....	Minnesota	Vermont	Vermont
Modette, Otto	M	2	Son	.....	Dakota	Vermont	Vermont
Gilbert, Zach.	M	24	.....	Cowboy	New York	New York	New York
Gilbert, Alex.	M	35	Head	Cowboy	New York	New York	New York
Gilbert, Lu.	F	33	Wife	.....	New York	New York	New York
Gilbert, Lucy	F	10	Daughter	.....	Connecticut	Connecticut	Connecticut
Gilbert, Zach.	M	8	Son	.....	New York	New York	New York
Gilbert, Alex.	M	5	Son	.....	New York	New York	New York
Gilbert, Otto	M	1	Son	.....	New York	New York	New York
Mitchell, Ben	M	28	Head	.....	Colorado	New York	New York
Mitchell, Mrs. B.	F	26	Wife	.....	Dakota	New York	New York
Mitchell, Henry	M	6	Son	.....	Illinois	New York	New York
Mitchell, King	M	4	Son	.....	Illinois	Illinois	Ireland
Mitchell, Lucele	F	3	Daughter	.....	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois
Mitchell, Orel	F	36	Sister	.....	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois
Mitchell, Mathilda	F	1	Daughter	.....	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois
King, S. D.	M	42	Head	.....	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois
King, Anna	F	40	Wife	.....	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois
King, Alf.	M	20	Son	Stockman	Indiana	Ohio	New York
King, Allen	M	18	Son	.....	New Jersey	New Jersey	New Jersey
King, Johnathan	M	14	Son	.....	New Jersey	Indiana	New Jersey
King, Timotheus	M	10	Son	.....	New Jersey	Indiana	New Jersey
King, Martha	F	6	Son	.....	New Jersey	Indiana	New Jersey
King, Ella	F	4	Daughter	.....	New Jersey	Indiana	New Jersey
Stanley, H.	M	48	Head	Cowboy	Connecticut	Indiana	New Jersey
					Maine	Maine	Maine

BOWMAN COUNTY—continued.

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Stanley, Abbie	F	40	Wife	.....	Maine	Maine	Maine
Stanley, Luella	F	20	Daughter	.....	Maine	Maine	Maine
Stanley, Cinda	F	16	Daughter	.....	Maine	Maine	Maine
Stanley, Etta	F	12	Daughter	.....	Maine	Maine	Maine
Stanley, Orville	F	10	Son	.....	Maine	Maine	Maine
Stanley, Luzene	M	6	Daughter	.....	Maine	Maine	Maine
Stanley, George	M	4	Son	.....	Maine	Maine	Maine
Conroy, Albert	M	28	.....	Cowboy	Germany	Germany	Germany
McDonovan, Pat	F	36	Head	Cowboy	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
McDonovan, Bridget	F	32	Wife	.....	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
McDonovan, Jane	F	10	Daughter	.....	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
McDonovan, Johnny	M	8	Son	.....	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
McDonovan, Otto	M	6	Son	.....	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
McDonovan, Silas	M	6	Son	.....	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
McDonovan, Louisa	F	3	Daughter	.....	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Foran, Zach	M	42	Head	Hunter & Trapper	Minnesota	Ireland	Ireland
Foran, Martha	F	36	Wife	.....	Illinois	Kentucky	Virginia
Foran, Ira	M	14	Son	.....	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois
Foran, James	M	18	Son	.....	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois
Foran, John	M	6	Son	.....	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois
Foran, Susie	F	3	Daughter	.....	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois
Foran, Ophelia	F	3	Daughter	.....	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois
Maxwell, Otto	M	39	Head	Cowboy	England	England	England
Maxwell, Mary	F	28	Wife	.....	England	England	England
Maxwell, John	M	8	Son	.....	England	England	England
Maxwell, Henry	M	6	Son	.....	England	England	England
Maxwell, Harriet	F	1	Daughter	.....	England	England	England
Samuelson, S.	M	38	.....	Cowboy	Norway	Norway	Norway
Samuelson, Louisa	F	32	Wife	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Samuelson, Ella	F	12	Daughter	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Samuelson, Ole	M	10	Son	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Samuelson, Peter	M	6	Son	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Samuelson, Mary	F	3	Daughter	.....	New York	Norway	Norway
Simonsen, B. J.	M	22	.....	Cowboy	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Helmsworth, T.	M	32	.....	Cowboy	Germany	Germany	Germany
Bulcher, Otto	M	38	.....	Cowboy	Germany	Germany	Germany
Bulcher, Alreda	F	34	.....	Cowboy	Germany	Germany	Germany
Bulcher, Hans	M	12	Wife	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
Bulcher, Margaret	F	8	Daughter	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany

BUFORD COUNTY.

Males	446	Laborer	2
Females	78	Railroad Employe	4
Illiterate	17	Cook	4
Married	77	Beggar	1
Single	447	Officers and soldiers	306
Under 21 years of age.....	62	Teamsters	25
Attended school during		Wood chopper	10
1885	16	Herder	2
Farmer	11	Musician	27
Wooddealer	2	Post Trader	1
Hotel Keeper	1	Interpreter	1
Lawyer	1	Blacksmith	2
Druggist	1	Saddler	1
Clerk	5	Wheelwright	1
Bookkeeper	1	Bartender	1
Born in Dakota Territory		43	
Born in other parts of the U. S.		273	
Foreign born		208	
Total Population		524	

BUFORD COUNTY

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Mathews, Robert	M	37	Head	Farmer	Ohio	Ireland	Ireland
Mathews, Margaret	F	27	Wife		Canada	Ireland	Ireland
Mathews, Robert, Jr.	M	4	Son		Dakota	Ohio	Canada
Mathews, Eliza	F	2	Daughter		Dakota	Ohio	Canada
Newton, George	M	27	Head	Laborer	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Newton, Annie	F	21	Wife		Wisconsin	Ireland	Ireland
Newton, Geo. Jr.	M	2 mo.	Son	Farmer	Dakota	Pennsylvania	Wisconsin
Dunn, Winfield	M	36	Head	Herder	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Ohio
Martin, Edwin	M	36		Farmer	Wisconsin	Wisconsin	Wisconsin
Truax, John	M	28			Canada	Canada	Canada
English, Daniel	M	35	Head		Canada	Canada	Canada
English, Elizabeth	F	28	Wife		Canada	Canada	Canada
English, Thos.	M	14	Son		Canada	Canada	Canada
English, Jos.	M	11	Son		Canada	Canada	Canada
English, Annie	F	9	Daughter		Canada	Canada	Canada
English, Dan. Jr.	M	6	Son		Canada	Canada	Canada
English, Hugh	M	4	Son		Canada	Canada	Canada
English, William	M	2	Son		Dakota	Canada	Canada
Schurback, Louis	M	28		Farmer	England	England	England
Bell, Big	M	45		Beggar	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Shute, Daniel	M	24		Farmer	Wisconsin	Ireland	Ireland
Stagner, John	M	28		Laborer	England	England	England
Scott, Stephen	M	50	Head	Wood Dealer	Canada	Canada	Canada
Scott, Sophia	F	24	Wife		Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Scott, Stephen, Jr.	M	3	Son		Dakota	Canada	Dakota
Gibbs, Charles	M	28		Wood Dealer	Minnesota	Minnesota	Minnesota
Cates, Philip	M	36	Head	Farmer	Minnesota	Minnesota	Maine
Cates, Frances	F	67	Mother		Minnesota	Maine	Maine
Jones, John	M	31		Farmer	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Borden, Richard	M	43		Farmer	Canada	Canada	Canada
Roper, James	M	36		Farmer	New York	New York	New York
Bell, Joseph	M	28	Head	Farmer	Iowa	Iowa	Iowa
Bell, Elizabeth	F	23	Wife		Iowa	Iowa	Iowa
Bell, Douglas	M	23	Head		Iowa	Iowa	Iowa
Bell, Hannah	F	20	Wife	Farmer	Iowa	Iowa	Iowa
Bell, Robert	M	4	Son		Iowa	Iowa	Iowa
Bell, Oscar	M	2	Son		Montana	Iowa	Iowa
Bell, —	M	1 mo.	Daughter		Montana	Iowa	Iowa
Sarson, John	F	30	Head		Dakota	Iowa	Iowa
Anderson, Gustave	M	35	Head		Minnesota	Minnesota	Minnesota
Heddrick, Geo. W.	M	29	Head	Post Trader	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
	M				Indiana	Germany	New York

BUFORD COUNTY—continued.

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Heddrick, Clinton	M	20	Brother	Bookkeeper	Indiana	Germany	New York
Forbes, Thos. K.	M	25	Servant	Clerk	Minnesota	Canada	New York
Snell, Herbert	M	25	Servant	Clerk	England	England	Minnesota
Adams, William	M	22	Servant	Bar Tender	Minnesota	Minnesota	Minnesota
Wittenreiter, Carl	M	24	Servant	Clerk	Germany	Germany	Germany
Parshall, Wm. D.	M	40	Servant	Teamster	Minnesota	Minnesota	Minnesota
Stewart, John	M	24	Servant	Teamster	Canada	Canada	Canada
Egan, Thos.	M	22	Servant	Teamster	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Myers, Henry	M	45	Servant	Teamster	Germany	Germany	Germany
Disslere, A.	M	25	Servant	Teamster	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Egan, Michael	M	22	Servant	Teamster	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Harris, J. H.	M	30	Servant	Teamster	Minnesota	Canada	Canada
Disslere, John	M	27	Servant	Teamster	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Potter, Jason	M	28	Engineer	Engineer	Connecticut	Minnesota	Minnesota
Boyd, James	M	40	Fireman	Fireman	Minnesota	Connecticut	Connecticut
Calmer, John	M	24	.....	Fireman	Minnesota	Minnesota	Minnesota
Calmer, John	M	24	.....	Cook	Kentucky	Kentucky	Kentucky
Wateau, William	M	40	.....	Cook	Canada	Canada	Canada
Pijman, William	M	23	.....	Teamster	Canada	Canada	Canada
Spaar, Charles	M	30	.....	Blacksmith	North Carolina	North Carolina	North Carolina
Stoyell, George	M	42	.....	Cook	Minnesota	Minnesota	Minnesota
Last, Benn.	M	45	.....	Teamster	Tennessee	Tennessee	Tennessee
Bastian, Peter	M	52	.....	Wood Chopper	Germany	Germany	Germany
Hinton, Henry	M	25	.....	Cook	France	France	France
Sanders, Thomas	M	28	.....	Teamster	Minnesota	Minnesota	Minnesota
Thompson, Christian	M	30	.....	Wood Chopper	Rhode Island	Rhode Island	Rhode Island
Banhan, Philip	M	45	.....	Wood Chopper	Rhode Island	Rhode Island	Rhode Island
Herbut, James	M	35	.....	Wood Chopper	Rhode Island	Rhode Island	Rhode Island
Laingin, Joseph	M	33	.....	Wood Chopper	Wisconsin	Wisconsin	Wisconsin
Scheurbach, Lucas	M	23	.....	Wood Chopper	Canada	Canada	Canada
Scott, William	M	35	.....	Wood Chopper	.....	.....	.....
Bronghere, Sam	M	30	.....	Wood Chopper	Rhode Island	Rhode Island	Rhode Island
Ullan, Ole	M	35	.....	Wood Chopper	New York	Ireland	Ireland
Murray, Edward	M	28	.....	Wood Chopper	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Smith, Charles	M	23	.....	Wood Chopper	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Jarvis, Eli	M	26	Head	Hotel Keeper	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Jarvis, Ermine	M	32	Wife	.....	Canada	Canada	Canada
Jarvis, Alexander	F	32	.....	.....	Canada	Canada	Canada
Jarvis, Fred	M	13	Son	.....	Minnesota	Minnesota	Minnesota
Jarvis, Hattie	M	12	Son	.....	Minnesota	Minnesota	Minnesota
Jarvis, Mathilda	F	10	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Minnesota	Minnesota
Jarvis, William	M	8	Son	.....	Minnesota	Minnesota	Minnesota
Jarvis, William	M	5	Son	.....	Minnesota	Minnesota	Minnesota

BUDFORD COUNTY—continued.

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Jarvis, Josephine	F	2	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Canada	Minnesota
Bangs, William	M	27	Head	Herder	Kansas	Maine	New York
Bangs, Jennie	F	23	Wife	.....	Scotland	Scotland	Scotland
Bangs, Alice	F	2	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Kansas	Scotland
Bangs, William	M	4	Son	.....	Wyoming	Germany	Scotland
Watlin, Fredrich	M	30	Head	Druggist	England	Germany	England
Watlin, Jennie	F	26	Wife	.....	Dakota	Germany	England
Watlin, Fredrich	M	2	Son	.....	Germany	Germany	England
Schacht, Martin	M	59	Head	Ordinance Sergeant	Germany	Germany	Germany
Schacht, Katherine	F	56	Wife	.....	New York	Germany	Germany
Galvin, James	M	35	Head	Comisory Sarg.	Dakota	New York	New York
Galvin, Nellie	F	20	Wife	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Galvin, May	F	2	Daughter	.....	Illinois	New York	Dakota
Hallin, Max	M	40	Head	Q. M. Sargt.	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois
Schneider, August	M	31	Head	Signal Serv. Officer	Germany	Germany	Germany
Schneider, Eliza	F	28	Wife	.....	New York	England	England
Schneider, Laura	F	8	Daughter	.....	New York	Germany	England
Stewart, Alex.	M	18	.....	Teamster	Canada	Canada	Canada
McGetchin, Archie	M	30	.....	Lawyer	Pennsylvania	Ireland	Ireland
Clark, D. H.	M	35	.....	Adj. Quar. Master	New York	New York	New York
Blanchford, Chas.	M	28	.....	Clerk	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Mercer, John	M	40	Head	Clerk	Canada	Canada	Canada
Mercer, Lena	F	35	Wife	.....	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Mercer, Sarah	F	14	Daughter	.....	Kansas	Canada	Ireland
Mercer, Kate	F	12	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Canada	Ireland
Mercer, John, Jr.	M	11	Son	.....	Dakota	Canada	Ireland
Mercer, Lena	F	9	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Canada	Ireland
Mercer, Maggie	F	6	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Canada	Ireland
Mercer, Richard	M	2	Son	.....	Dakota	Canada	Ireland
Mercer, Mose B.	M	33	Head	Blacksmith	Canada	Canada	Canada
Rungon, Mary	F	26	Wife	.....	Canada	Canada	Canada
Rungon, May	F	3	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Canada	Canada
O'Burn, Frank	M	35	.....	Wheelwright	England	England	England
Blackford, G. F.	M	39	Head	Train Master	England	England	England
Chapin, D. M.	M	50	Head	Saddler	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Chapin, E. A.	F	35	Wife	.....	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Whitmore, E. W.	M	51	Head	Capt. 15th Inft.	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Massachusetts
Whitmore, Mary E.	F	36	Wife	.....	Texas	New York	Texas
Whitmore, Ed. S.	M	14	Son	.....	New York	Massachusetts	Texas
Corbitt, Ida	F	20	Servant	.....	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Gibbreth, E. C.	M	45	Head	Capt. 11th Inft.	Virginia	Vermont	Ohio

BUFORD COUNTY—continued.

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Gilbreth, Susan C.	F	42	Wife	.....	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland
Gilbreth, William S.	M	18	Son	.....	Mississippi	Virginia	Maryland
Gilbreth, Etta	F	14	Daughter	.....	Maryland	Maryland	Virginia
Gilbreth, Mammie	F	6	Daughter	.....	Montana	Maryland	Virginia
Welsh, Maggie	F	18	Servant	.....	Minnesota	Minnesota	Minnesota
Hellner, George	M	31	Head	Teamster	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Hellner, Emma	F	28	Wife	.....	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Hellner, Lizzie	F	2	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Sweden	Sweden
Turner, "Doctor"	M	52	Head	.....	Georgia	Sweden	Sweden
Turner, Harriette	F	37	Wife	Army Doctor	Maine	Maine	Maine
Turner, Charles	M	10	Son	.....	Dakota	Georgia	South Carolina
Turner, Samuel	M	6	Son	.....	Dakota	Georgia	Maine
Towell, Etta	F	22	Servant	.....	Wisconsin	Wisconsin	Wisconsin
Johnson, Dr.	M	30	Servant	Army Doctor	Texas	Kentucky	Pennsylvania
Miller, Nellie	F	31	Servant	.....	England	England	England
Whistler, J. N. G.	M	63	Head	Cpl. 15th Inf.	Wisconsin	Maryland	Massachusetts
Whistler, E. C.	F	60	Wife	.....	New York	New York	New York
Whistler, Margaret	F	24	Daughter	.....	New York	Wisconsin	New York
Whistler, Julia	F	22	Daughter	.....	New York	Wisconsin	New York
Nevit, Berthie	F	22	Servant	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
McDonald, A.	M	25	Servant	.....	Canada	Canada	Canada
Belle, J. M.	M	47	Head	Capt. 7th Cav.	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Belle, Emma	F	34	Wife	.....	England	England	England
Johnson, Jennie	F	17	Servant	.....	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Nelson, Emma	F	18	Servant	.....	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Manney, J. A.	M	30	Servant	.....	Tennessee	Tennessee	Tennessee
Wheeler, W. H.	M	33	Servant	Lieut. 15th Inf.	Ohio	Vermont	Massachusetts
Pock, Eliza	F	35	Servant	Lieut. 15th Inf.	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama
Kinzie, Geo. H.	M	38	Head	Cook	Illinois	Canada	Connecticut
Kinzie, Mary	F	26	Wife	Lieut & Adj 15 Cav.	St. Helena	St. Helena	St. Helena
Kinzie, Juleaetta	F	10	Daughter	.....	New Mexico	Illinois	St. Helena
Kinzie, Mollie	F	8	Daughter	.....	New Mexico	Illinois	St. Helena
Kinzie, Addie	F	6	Daughter	.....	Texas	Illinois	St. Helena
Kinzie, George	F	4	Daughter	.....	New Mexico	Illinois	St. Helena
Penrose, Chas. W.	M	27	Boarder	2d Lieut. 11th Inf.	Michigan	New York	New York
Sanderson, G. K.	M	40	Boarder	Capt. 11th Inf.	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Payne, S. S.	M	30	Boarder	1st Lieut. 15th Inf.	Ohio	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
May, W. A.	M	28	Boarder	2d Lieut. 15th Inf.	Indiana	Kentucky	Kentucky
Blackford, Emma	F	32	Servant	.....	England	England	England
Devetta, Anna	F	21	Servant	.....	Minnesota	Ireland	Ireland
Hunt, F. H.	M	26	Head	Post Master	Minnesota	Canada	Canada

BUFORD COUNTY — continued.

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Clark, Dillard	M	37	Head	1st Lieut. 11th Inf.	Kentucky	Kentucky	Kentucky
Clark, Ella	F	37	Wife	.....	Iowa	Iowa	Iowa
Clark, Alice	F	3	Daughter	.....	Kentucky	Kentucky	Iowa
Clark, Hazel	F	1	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Kentucky	Iowa
Delany, Nancy	F	53	Mother	.....	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Delany, Doroughty	F	17	Daughter	.....	Michigan	.....	.....
Murphy, G.	M	30	Head	Herder	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Flurrey, G.	M	35	Wife	Interperter	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Flurrey, Emma	F	24	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Flurrey, Minnie	F	2	Head	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Hicks, W. E.	M	40	Wife	Teamster	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Hicks, Mary	F	30	Daughter	.....	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Hicks, Lillie	F	12	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Sweden	Sweden
Hicks, Kate	F	9	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Sweden	Sweden
Hicks, Nellie	F	4	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Sweden	Sweden
Hicks, John	M	2	Son	.....	Dakota	Sweden	Sweden
Grashane, G. W.	M	35	Head	Teamster	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Kins, J.	M	28	Wife	Teamster	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Massachusetts
Rhodes, J.	M	35	Head	Teamster	Missouri	Missouri	Missouri
Harris, W.	M	42	Wife	Teamster	Tennessee	Tennessee	Tennessee
Smith, S.	M	48	Wife	Teamster	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Diver, E.	M	21	Son	Teamster	Dakota	Minnesota	Minnesota
Howard, F.	M	40	Daughter	Teamster	Minnesota	Minnesota	Minnesota
Conners, W.	M	45	Daughter	Teamster	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Brown, J. F.	M	25	Head	Teamster	Maine	Maine	Maine
Marshall, J. E.	M	20	Wife	Teamster	Iowa	Iowa	Iowa
Allen, Chas. H.	M	28	Head	Quar. Master Sargt.	Illinois	Ohio	Ohio
Boyer, John F.	M	38	Wife	Musician	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan
Boyer, Mary	F	36	Son	.....	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan
Boyer, John F., Jr.	M	14	Daughter	.....	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan
Boyer, Mary	F	12	Daughter	.....	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan
Boyer, Sarah	F	10	Daughter	.....	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan
Boyer, Eliza	F	8	Son	.....	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan
Boyer, Frank	M	3	Son	.....	Dakota	Michigan	Michigan
Boyer, Henry	M	6	Son	.....	Dakota	Michigan	Michigan
Benard, Joseph	M	27	Head	Musician	England	England	England
Cambell, Chas.	M	30	Pri. Trooper 7 Cavl.	.....	Iowa	Iowa	Iowa
Cambell, Elizabeth	F	25	.....	.....	Kansas	Kansas	Kansas
Cambell, Charles	M	2	.....	.....	Dakota	Iowa	Kansas
Cambell, Lizzie	F	1	.....	.....	Dakota	Iowa	Kansas
Murray, Thomas	M	35	Private 7th Cavalry	.....	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland

BUFORD COUNTY—continued.

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Birthplace of Mother's
Dolan, John	M	41	.....	Private 7th Cavalry	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Blair, Geo. W.	M	24	.....	Private 7th Cavalry	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Kim, Domerick	M	25	.....	Private 7th Cavalry	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Kavanagh, Richard	M	23	.....	Private 7th Cavalry	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Quincley, Henry	M	28	.....	Private 7th Cavalry	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Allen, Henry H.	M	29	.....	Private 7th Cavalry	Germany	Germany	Germany
Kruger, Rudolph	M	22	.....	Private 7th Cavalry	Germany	Germany	Germany
Fischer, Frank	M	34	.....	Private 7th Cavalry	Germany	Germany	Germany
Adams, George	M	35	.....	Soldier	Germany	Germany	Germany
Doonea, Peter	M	29	.....	Private 7th Cavalry	Germany	Germany	Germany
Frie, Fred	M	25	.....	Private 7th Cavalry	Germany	Germany	Germany
Hbb, Gudab	M	30	.....	Private 7th Cavalry	Germany	Germany	Germany
Myers, Charles	M	26	.....	Private 7th Cavalry	Germany	Germany	Germany
Sprattler, Berthold	M	24	.....	Private 7th Cavalry	Germany	Germany	Germany
Beck, Jas. A.	M	23	.....	Private 7th Cavalry	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois
Myers, Henry	M	24	.....	Private 7th Cavalry	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois
Stockton, Ed.	M	23	.....	Private 7th Cavalry	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois
Goddard, M.	M	35	.....	Private 7th Cavalry	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois
Leverett, Cecil	M	34	.....	Private 7th Cavalry	District Columbia	District Columbia	District Columbia
O'Brien, Edwin	M	24	.....	Private 7th Cavalry	England	England	England
Smith, Rodney	M	24	.....	Private 7th Cavalry	England	England	England
Turner, Thos. F.	M	23	.....	Private 7th Cavalry	England	England	England
Helmer, Wm. F.	M	30	.....	Private 7th Cavalry	New York	New York	New York
Prusse, Harry	M	40	.....	Private 7th Cavalry	New York	New York	New York
McLellan, Wm. F.	M	23	.....	Private 7th Cavalry	Kentucky	Kentucky	Kentucky
Corwine, Richard	M	39	.....	Private 7th Cavalry	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Aggar, John	M	24	.....	Private 7th Cavalry	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland
Bailey, S. N.	M	26	.....	Private 7th Cavalry	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland
Bison, Wm.	M	31	.....	Private 7th Cavalry	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland
Brown, Frank	M	41	.....	Private 7th Cavalry	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Green, Frank	M	20	.....	Private 7th Cavalry	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Collins, John	M	30	.....	Private 7th Cavalry	Connecticut	Connecticut	Connecticut
Cants, Frank	M	39	.....	Private 7th Cavalry	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
McDonald, Edwin	M	23	.....	Private 7th Cavalry	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Pritchett, Leslie	M	25	.....	Private 7th Cavalry	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Erp, Robert	M	29	.....	Private 7th Cavalry	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Welsh, Wm.	M	24	.....	Private 7th Cavalry	Virginia	Virginia	Virginia
Jasper, Jos.	M	31	.....	Private 7th Cavalry	Virginia	Virginia	Virginia
Canada, John	M	23	.....	Private 7th Cavalry	Maine	Maine	Maine
Sullivan, Tim	M	23	.....	Private 7th Cavalry	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Massachusetts
McGarry, Patrick	M	41	.....	Private 7th Cavalry	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Massachusetts
	M	33	.....	Private 7th Cavalry	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland

BUFORD COUNTY—continued.

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Miller, Isiah	M	30	.....	Private 7th Cavalry	Iowa	Ireland	Ireland
Peck, Arthur	M	31	.....	Soldier	Louisiana	England	Louisiana
Ruxledge, Mike	M	37	.....	Soldier	New Jersey	New Jersey	New Jersey
Seawright, John	M	26	.....	Soldier	Scotland	Scotland	Scotland
Gilbreth, Erasmus	M	.....	.....	Capt. U. S. Army	Ohio	.....	.....
Mausfeld, Francis	M	.....	.....	1st Lieut. U. S. A'y.	Ohio	.....	.....
Penrose, Charles	M	.....	.....	2d Lieut. U. S. A'y.	Michigan	.....	.....
Abbot, Charles	M	.....	.....	1st Serg. Co. H.	Pennsylvania	.....	.....
Green, Michael	M	.....	.....	11th Inf.	Ireland	.....	.....
Bryan, Alvin	M	.....	.....	Serg. Co. H 11th Inf.	Massachusetts	.....	.....
Moran, Henry	M	.....	.....	Serg. Co. H 11th Inf.	New York	.....	.....
McLaughlin, Richard	M	.....	.....	Serg. Co. H 11th Inf.	Massachusetts	.....	.....
Hoffman, Henry	M	.....	.....	Serg. Co. H 11 Inf.	Germany	.....	.....
Short, William	M	.....	.....	Corp. Co. H 11 Inf.	Ohio	.....	.....
Suggett, William H.	M	.....	.....	Corp. Co. H 11 Inf.	Indiana	.....	.....
Kent, William O.	M	.....	.....	Corp. Co. H 11 Inf.	Illinois	.....	.....
Cummings, John	M	.....	.....	Mus. Co. H 11 Inf.	Wisconsin	.....	.....
Kamper, Gotfred	M	.....	.....	Mus. Co. H 11 Inf.	Denmark	.....	.....
Mullins, John J.	M	.....	.....	Artif. Co. H 11 Inf.	New York	.....	.....
Jagocki, Leon	M	.....	.....	Artif. Co. H 11 Inf.	Germany	.....	.....
Hevig, Charles	M	.....	.....	Wag'r Co. H 11 Inf.	Ohio	.....	.....
Baldauf, Hugo	M	.....	.....	Prt. Co. H. 11th Inf.	Germany	.....	.....
Barry, John	M	.....	.....	Prt. Co. H. 11th Inf.	England	.....	.....
Carrol, John	M	.....	.....	Prt. Co. H. 11th Inf.	Pennsylvania	.....	.....
Cook, Frank W.	M	.....	.....	Prt. Co. H. 11th Inf.	Michigan	.....	.....
Cross, William	M	.....	.....	Prt. Co. H. 11th Inf.	England	.....	.....
Crosen, Charles	M	.....	.....	Prt. Co. H. 11th Inf.	Massachusetts	.....	.....
Curry, Robert	M	.....	.....	Prt. Co. H. 11th Inf.	Canada	.....	.....
Fay, Thos.	M	.....	.....	Prt. Co. H. 11th Inf.	New York	.....	.....
Fitzsimons, Thos.	M	.....	.....	Prt. Co. H. 11th Inf.	Ohio	.....	.....
Foestermann, Gustav	M	.....	.....	Prt. Co. H. 11th Inf.	Germany	.....	.....
Frank, William	M	.....	.....	Prt. Co. H. 11th Inf.	New York	.....	.....
Hall, James	M	.....	.....	Prt. Co. H. 11th Inf.	Massachusetts	.....	.....
Hanley, Patrick	M	.....	.....	Prt. Co. H. 11th Inf.	Ireland	.....	.....
Harris, William	M	.....	.....	Prt. Co. H. 11th Inf.	Pennsylvania	.....	.....
Helda, Charles	M	.....	.....	Prt. Co. H. 11th Inf.	Germany	.....	.....
Hogan, John	M	23	.....	Prt. Co. H. 11th Inf.	New York	.....	.....
Hunt, Byron	M	27	.....	Prt. Co. H. 11th Inf.	Maine	.....	.....
Hyer, William	M	27	.....	Prt. Co. H. 11th Inf.	California	.....	.....
Keegan, Charles	M	24	.....	Prt. Co. H. 11th Inf.	England	.....	.....

BUFORD COUNTY—continued.

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Lill, Theodore	M	23	.....	Prt. Co. H. 11th Inf.	Ohio		
McBroy, James J.	M	27	.....	Prt. Co. H. 11th Inf.	Ireland		
Murphy, William	M	23	.....	Prt. Co. H. 11th Inf.	Ireland		
O'Donnell, Patrick	M	24	.....	Prt. Co. H. 11th Inf.	Ireland		
Roser, Charles	M	23	.....	Prt. Co. H. 11th Inf.	Germany		
Schally, Hugh J.	M	23	.....	Prt. Co. H. 11th Inf.	New York		
Scholl, Richard	M	32	.....	Prt. Co. H. 11th Inf.	Germany		
Schultz, Albert	M	23	.....	Prt. Co. H. 11th Inf.	Germany		
Thompson, Joseph	M	23	.....	Prt. Co. H. 11th Inf.	England		
Toomey, Thomas	M	26	.....	Prt. Co. H. 11th Inf.	Ireland		
Ward, John	M	25	.....	Prt. Co. H. 11th Inf.	Ireland		
Ward, John	M	22	.....	Prt. Co. H. 11th Inf.	Ireland		
Clyde, Edward	M	39	.....	Prt. Co. H. 11th Inf.	Wisconsin	Wisconsin	Wisconsin
Brown, Hyram E.	M	33	.....	Prt. Co. H. 11th Inf.	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Fismire, James	M	36	.....	Prt. Co. H. 11th Inf.	North Carolina	North Carolina	North Carolina
Corbett, C. J.	M	24	.....	Soldier	England	England	England
Staples, Chancy	M	24	.....	Soldier	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Massachusetts
Fismire, Jno. W.	M	33	.....	Soldier	North Carolina	North Carolina	North Carolina
Parces, W. H.	M	21	.....	Soldier	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Massachusetts
Adams, James	M	26	.....	Soldier	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Weidner, R.	M	23	.....	Soldier	Germany	Germany	Germany
Brown, Jno. H.	M	26	.....	Soldier	Wisconsin	Wisconsin	Wisconsin
Kramer, Richard	M	23	.....	Soldier	Germany	Germany	Germany
Prudhomme, N.	M	32	.....	Soldier	Canada	Canada	Canada
Dean, George	M	22	.....	Soldier	New York	New York	New York
Marow, Frank	M	22	.....	Soldier	District Columbia	District Columbia	District Columbia
Eliot, Louis	M	23	.....	Soldier	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Adams, Patrick	M	27	.....	Soldier	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Allen, James	M	29	.....	Soldier	New York	New York	New York
Basten, Henry	M	23	.....	Soldier	Germany	Germany	Germany
Brown, Henry C.	M	25	.....	Soldier	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois
Chappell, Jno. F.	M	33	.....	Soldier	New York	New York	New York
Coleman, Thomas J.	M	23	.....	Soldier	England	England	England
Coughlan, Anthon	M	36	.....	Soldier	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Davern, Edward	M	40	.....	Soldier	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Dally, Robert	M	30	.....	Soldier	New York	New York	New York
Donahan, Thos.	M	27	.....	Soldier	England	England	England
Dudley, Henry	M	28	.....	Soldier	Maine	Maine	Maine
Flanagan, Patrick	M	28	.....	Soldier	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Harris, Henry P.	M	45	.....	Soldier	New York	New York	New York
Hilbard, Frank	M	29	.....	Soldier	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois

BUFORD COUNTY—continued.

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Howard, Frank	M	29	.....	Soldier	Germany	Germany	Germany
Henderson, J. M.	M	29	.....	Soldier	Denmark	Denmark	Denmark
Holeman, F. J.	M	23	.....	Soldier	Germany	Germany	Germany
Kretschmer, Jos.	M	46	.....	Soldier	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Kern, William	M	24	.....	Soldier	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Sendelock, A.	M	26	.....	Soldier	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Murphy, Jno.	M	26	.....	Soldier	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Mooney, Martin	M	29	.....	Soldier	Minnesota	Minnesota	Minnesota
McKoskey, Jno.	M	23	.....	Soldier	Scotland	Scotland	Scotland
Murphy, James	M	25	.....	Soldier	England	England	England
Mortimer, Henry	M	39	.....	Soldier	Germany	Germany	Germany
Miloy, Joseph	M	40	.....	Soldier	Wisconsin	Wisconsin	Wisconsin
Peat, Henry	M	40	.....	Soldier	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Ringwald, Jos.	M	26	.....	Soldier	Germany	Germany	Germany
Rhodes, Chancey	M	26	.....	Soldier	Austria	Austria	Austria
Stark, Emory	M	24	.....	Soldier	Germany	Germany	Germany
Stairder, George	M	31	.....	Soldier	Wisconsin	Wisconsin	Wisconsin
Swallow, M. B.	M	23	.....	Soldier	Wisconsin	Wisconsin	Wisconsin
Schultz, Fred	M	28	.....	Soldier	Denmark	Denmark	Denmark
Sullivan, John	M	23	.....	Soldier	New York	New York	New York
Sirhla, Frank	M	20	.....	Soldier	England	England	England
Thompson, Carl	M	34	.....	Soldier	Denmark	Denmark	Denmark
Loovey, Harry	M	33	.....	Soldier	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Wright, John	M	28	.....	Soldier	England	England	England
Wartman, George	M	29	.....	Soldier	New York	New York	New York
Wendlin, John	M	27	.....	Soldier	Germany	Germany	Germany
Wirtenberg, Jos.	M	28	.....	Soldier	Germany	Germany	Germany
Skamp, Charles	M	41	.....	Sergt. Co. E. 15 Inf.	England	England	England
Lawler, Simon	M	27	.....	Sergt. Co. E. 15 Inf.	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Kleeber, Fred	M	45	.....	Sergt. Co. E. 15 Inf.	New York	New York	New York
Dunbar, William	M	26	.....	Sergt. Co. E. 15 Inf.	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois
Brown, Robert	M	31	.....	Sergt. Co. E. 15 Inf.	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland
Albright, George	M	31	.....	Sergt. Co. E. 15 Inf.	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Quinn, Edward B.	M	32	.....	Corp. Co. E. 15 Inf.	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Winters, John	M	31	.....	Corp. Co. E. 15 Inf.	Germany	Germany	Germany
Edwin, Ernest	M	22	.....	Mus. Co. E. 15 Inf.	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan
Ortseifer, Philip	M	28	.....	Mus. Co. E. 15 Inf.	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland
Brestlin, Timothy	M	25	.....	Private	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Massachusetts
Burns, James	M	28	.....	Private	New York	New York	New York
Burke, James	M	26	.....	Private	New York	New York	New York
Cannat, John	M	27	.....	Private	Germany	Germany	Germany

BUFORD COUNTY—continued.

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Cook, John	M	31	.....	Private	New York	New York	New York
Cullen, John	M	22	.....	Private	New York	New York	New York
Davis, John T.	M	27	.....	Private	Kentucky	Kentucky	Kentucky
Dunn, John	M	25	.....	Private	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Garnes, John T.	M	26	.....	Private	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Geogder, Chas. D.	M	32	.....	Private	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Massachusetts
Hogan, Thos.	M	26	.....	Private	New York	New York	New York
Kershaw, Robert	M	29	.....	Private	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Klene, Louis	M	20	.....	Private	Germany	Germany	Germany
Knappe, James	M	31	.....	Private	Germany	Germany	Germany
Knickerbocker, G.	M	30	.....	Private	Germany	Germany	Germany
Lust, Gustavus	M	28	.....	Private	Germany	Germany	Germany
Sherer, D.	M	25	.....	Private	Germany	Germany	Germany
Wallmetts, Fred	M	25	.....	Private	Germany	Germany	Germany
Luolis, Frank	M	26	Head	Prt. Co. E, 15th Inf.	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Luolis, Louisa	F	22	Wife	.....	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Luolis, Louisa	M	1	Son	.....	Dakota	Wisconsin	Ohio
Mayer, Chas. W.	M	22	.....	Prt. Co. E, 15th Inf.	Wisconsin	Wisconsin	Wisconsin
McArthur, Henry	M	23	.....	Prt. Co. E, 15th Inf.	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
McNamara, James	M	21	.....	Prt. Co. E, 15th Inf.	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Merwin, Byron	M	22	.....	Prt. Co. E, 15th Inf.	New York	New York	New York
Milton, Sidney	M	29	.....	Prt. Co. E, 15th Inf.	England	England	England
Moody, Chas. W.	M	24	.....	Prt. Co. E, 15th Inf.	Canada	Canada	Canada
Maynham, John	M	22	.....	Prt. Co. E, 15th Inf.	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Malroy, James F.	M	31	.....	Prt. Co. E, 15th Inf.	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Walch, Michael	M	34	.....	Corp. Co. E, 15 Inf.	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
O'Leary, Patrick	M	22	.....	Prt. Co. E, 15th Inf.	Connecticut	Connecticut	Connecticut
Seymour, George	M	29	.....	Prt. Co. E, 15th Inf.	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Massachusetts
Trombly, U. H.	M	28	.....	Prt. Co. E, 15th Inf.	Virginia	Virginia	Virginia
White, William	M	31	.....	Prt. Co. E, 15th Inf.	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Wessel, August	M	26	.....	Prt. Co. E, 15th Inf.	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Willard, Andrew	M	33	.....	Prt. Co. E, 15th Inf.	New York	New York	New York
Shouk, Jno. S.	M	22	.....	Musician	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Holmquist, Carl	M	25	.....	Musician	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Couley, Edw.	M	41	.....	Musician	New York	New York	New York
Nye, James	M	35	.....	Musician	England	England	England
Carmichel, Ledele	M	28	.....	Musician	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Lindstrom, Gustave	M	33	.....	Musician	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Lindstrom, Julia	F	28	Head	.....	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
West, William	M	28	Wife	.....	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Striegel John	M	35	Head	Musician	Germany	Germany	Germany

BUFORD COUNTY—continued.

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Striegel, Mary	F	27	Wife	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
Striegel, William	M	9	Son	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
Striegel, Julia	F	7	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Germany	Germany
Striegel, Hannah	F	5	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Germany	Germany
Colman, James	M	27	.....	Musician	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Massachusetts
Vogel, William	M	36	.....	Musician	Germany	Germany	Germany
Gochranger, Ed.	M	38	.....	Musician	Germany	Germany	Germany
Blake, Thomas	M	38	Head	.....	Austria	Austria	Austria
Blake, Kate	F	35	Wife	.....	Austria	Austria	Austria
Blake, Henry	M	3	Son	.....	Austria	Austria	Austria
Blake, Annie	F	1	Daughter	.....	Austria	Austria	Austria
Kovarik, Albert	M	24	.....	Musician	Dakota	Austria	Austria
Winkler, Jos.	M	27	.....	Musician	Dakota	Austria	Austria
Oberback, Carl	M	31	.....	Musician	Dakota	Austria	Austria
Gertiser, Julius	M	21	.....	Musician	Austria	Austria	Austria
Early, Patrick	M	21	.....	Musician	Austria	Austria	Austria
Platt, Reginald	M	23	.....	Musician	Germany	Germany	Germany
McHenry, Columbus	M	21	.....	Musician	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Caffney, Patrick	M	30	.....	Musician	England	England	England
Cunningham, Jno	M	35	.....	Musician	Ireland	Indiana	Indiana
Sheldon, Artemus	M	31	.....	Musician	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
South, Fredrick	M	28	.....	Musician	New York	New York	New York
Trotter, Peter	M	34	.....	Soldier	New York	New York	New York
Morgan, John	M	27	.....	Soldier	Germany	Germany	Germany
Douers, Grandberry	M	40	.....	Soldier	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois
Sharp, Alonzo	M	41	.....	Soldier	New York	New York	New York
Jackson, John	M	38	.....	Soldier	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois
Rowland, George	M	39	.....	Soldier	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois
Doyle, John	M	42	.....	Soldier	Canada	Canada	Canada
O'Connor, Jos.	M	37	.....	Soldier	England	England	England
Robbins, Albert	M	28	.....	Soldier	Canada	Ireland	Ireland
Carson, William	M	32	.....	Soldier	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Nolin, Thomas	M	27	.....	Soldier	Canada	England	England
Albright, Fred	M	38	.....	Soldier	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Perrington, John	M	32	.....	Musician	Wisconsin	New York	Pennsylvania
Fanell, John	M	34	.....	Soldier	New York	New York	Pennsylvania
Adams, Arthur	M	43	.....	Soldier	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Patterson, Mark	M	36	.....	Soldier	New York	Massachusetts	New Hampshire
Ivens, George	M	32	.....	Soldier	England	England	England
Clifford, James	M	43	.....	Soldier	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Ostrander, George	M	38	.....	Soldier	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
	M		.....	Soldier	Missouri	Sweden	Sweden

BUFORD COUNTY—continued.

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Sandford, Alfred	M	36	.....	Soldier	England	England	England
Craig, George	M	32	.....	Soldier	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Coulson, Samuel	M	41	.....	Soldier	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Flynn, John	M	48	.....	Soldier	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Black, John	M	46	.....	Soldier	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Barrymore, Morris	M	44	.....	Soldier	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Costello, Bartlett	M	43	.....	Soldier	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Kelly, John	M	42	.....	Soldier	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
O'Brien, Joseph	M	41	.....	Soldier	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Donah, Dan	M	43	.....	Soldier	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Smith, Peter	M	42	.....	Soldier	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Evans, Milton	M	39	.....	Soldier	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Clary, James	M	37	.....	Soldier	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Corbett, William	M	37	.....	Soldier	Ohio	Ohio	Indiana
Henry, Robt. B.	M	40	.....	Soldier	Ohio	Indiana	Ohio
Morgan, John T.	M	41	.....	Soldier	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois
Brown, Henry	M	49	.....	Soldier	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois
Hester, Charles	M	46	.....	Soldier	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois
Warsingley, Morris	M	45	.....	Soldier	Iowa	Illinois	Illinois
Weis, Adam	M	42	.....	Soldier	Germany	Germany	Germany
Haber, John	M	39	.....	Soldier	Germany	Germany	Germany
Bastlam, Fred	M	38	.....	Soldier	Germany	Germany	Germany
Walter, Harry	M	46	.....	Soldier	Germany	Germany	Germany
Armstrong, Thos.	M	38	.....	Soldier	Germany	Germany	Germany
Cavanaugh, James	M	37	.....	Soldier	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Grant, Alvin	M	37	.....	Soldier	New Hampshire	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Archright, W.	M	22	.....	Prt. Co. F. 15th Inf.	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Bach, Christ	M	33	.....	Prt. Co. F. 15th Inf.	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Bemer, Robert	M	23	.....	Prt. Co. F. 15th Inf.	Germany	Germany	Germany
Blair, William	M	26	.....	Prt. Co. F. 15th Inf.	Germany	Germany	Germany
Cardwell, O.	M	35	.....	Prt. Co. F. 15th Inf.	Kentucky	Kentucky	Kentucky
Corcoran, Dennis	M	22	.....	Prt. Co. F. 15th Inf.	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan
Crate, Henry	M	28	.....	Prt. Co. F. 15th Inf.	Indiana	Ireland	Ireland
Dail, Thos.	M	26	.....	Prt. Co. F. 15th Inf.	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Deshorsk, Abram	M	25	.....	Corp. Co. F. 15 Inf.	England	England	England
Douglas, Nathan	M	22	.....	Prt. Co. F. 15th Inf.	Prussia	Prussia	Prussia
Dongan, Fredrick	M	28	.....	Prt. Co. F. 15th Inf.	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Farrell, Wm.	M	28	.....	Prt. Co. F. 15th Inf.	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Faster, William	M	26	.....	Prt. Co. F. 15th Inf.	Maine	Maine	Maine
Gerald, William	M	28	.....	Prt. Co. F. 15th Inf.	New York	New York	New York
Foley, William	M	24	.....	Prt. Co. F. 15th Inf.	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
		27	.....	Serg. Co. F. 15 Inf.	District Columbia	District Columbia	District Columbia

BUFORD COUNTY—continued.

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Goldrick, James	M	23	.....	Prt. Co. F. 15th Inf.	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Hassett, Arthur	M	44	.....	Serg. Co. F. 15 Inf.	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Hicks, Daniel	M	33	.....	Serg. Co. F. 15 Inf.	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Higgins, Brain	M	24	.....	Prt. Co. F. 15 Inf.	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Hallaran, Mike	M	43	.....	Prt. Co. F. 15th Inf.	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Johnson, Martin	M	28	.....	Prt. Co. F. 15th Inf.	Norway	Norway	Norway
Lynch, Michael	M	25	.....	Corp. Co. F. 15 Inf.	New Hampshire	New Hampshire	New Hampshire
Many, John	M	22	.....	Prt. Co. F. 15th Inf.	Germany	Germany	Germany
McAnny, Mike	M	25	.....	Prt. Co. F. 15th Inf.	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Mayanthales, G.	M	30	.....	Corp. Co. F. 15 Inf.	Germany	Germany	Germany
Mahr, Adolph	M	23	.....	Prt. Co. F. 15th Inf.	Germany	Germany	Germany
Moor, Calvin	M	23	.....	Prt. Co. F. 15th Inf.	Texas	Texas	Texas
Moor, John	M	25	.....	Prt. Co. F. 15 Inf.	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Murphy, John	M	29	.....	Prt. Co. F. 15th Inf.	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Neal, Michael	M	25	.....	Prt. Co. F. 15th Inf.	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Massachusetts
Rosenstein, R. P.	M	24	.....	Prt. Co. F. 15th Inf.	Denmark	Denmark	Denmark
Shannon, Richard	M	33	.....	Serg. Co. F. 15 Inf.	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Sullivan, Jerry	M	30	.....	Prt. Co. F. 15th Inf.	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Trutt, Andrew	M	23	.....	Prt. Co. F. 15th Inf.	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Walker, Chas.	M	23	.....	Prt. Co. F. 15th Inf.	New York	New York	New York
Walters, Edward	M	29	.....	Prt. Co. F. 15th Inf.	Connecticut	Connecticut	Connecticut
Womscincoft, M.	M	24	.....	Prt. Co. F. 15th Inf.	Russia	Russia	Russia
Williams, John	M	30	.....	Serg. Co. F. 15 Inf.	New York	New York	New York
Bannerman, Henry	M	26	.....	Prt. Co. F. 15th Inf.	Germany	Germany	Germany
Camorp, P. H.	M	23	.....	Prt. Co. F. 15th Inf.	Minnesota	Ohio	Ohio
Abbot, Richard	M	27	.....	Prt. Co. F. 15th Inf.	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Massachusetts
Whally, Patrick	M	23	.....	Soldier	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Wics, Charles	M	24	.....	Soldier	Germany	Germany	Germany
Wilcox, George	M	23	.....	Soldier	Michigan	England	England
Williams, Henry	M	23	.....	Soldier	Canada	England	England
Windgoetter, Fred	M	23	.....	Soldier	Germany	Germany	Germany
Wood, Chas.	M	24	.....	Soldier	Kentucky	Kentucky	Kentucky
Wilcox, Thomas F.	M	27	.....	Soldier	Rhode Island	England	England

DUNN COUNTY.

Males	24	Attended school during	
Females	8	1885	0
Married	10	Farmer	5
Single	22	Herder	6
Under 21 years of age.....	8	Trapper	5
		Ranchman	1
Born in Dakota Territory	5		
Born in other parts of the U. S.....	17		
Foreign born	10		
Total Population	32		

DUNN COUNTY

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Mathias, Robt.	M	38	Head	Farmer	Pennsylvania	Massachusetts	England
Mathias, Ellen	F	32	Wife	.....	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Mathias, Robt., Jr.	M	5	Son	.....	Dakota	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Cuskelly, Patrick	M	40	Head	Farmer	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Cuskelly, Mary	F	35	Wife	.....	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Cuskelly, Jas. F.	M	23	Son	Farmer	Wisconsin	Ireland	Ireland
Chase, Edward	M	37	.....	Herder	Vermont	Vermont	Vermont
Morris, Daniel	M	50	.....	Herder	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Bacon, Geo. B.	M	26	.....	Herder	England	England	England
Hutz, Jasper	M	45	.....	Herder	Iowa	Germany	Germany
Hutz, Kate	F	40	Wife	Farmer	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Hutz, William	M	1	Son	.....	Dakota	Iowa	Ireland
Smith, William	M	30	Head	Trapper	Wisconsin	Minnesota	Minnesota
Adams, George	M	26	.....	Trapper	Maine	Maine	Maine
Benson, Edward	M	25	.....	Trapper	Wisconsin	Wisconsin	England
Massengale, Frank	M	29	.....	Trapper	Iowa	Iowa	Ireland
McHuge, Chady	M	33	.....	Trapper	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
McGregor, Alex.	M	43	.....	Stock raiser	Scotland	Scotland	Scotland
McGregor, Annie	F	38	Wife	.....	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
McGregor, John	M	5	Son	.....	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
McGregor, Kate	F	2	.....	.....	Dakota	Scotland	Ireland
Belding, Jas. D.	M	37	Daughter	.....	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Wadsworth, David	M	28	Laborer	Herder	Texas	Louisiana	Michigan
Burns, Thos.	M	33	Laborer	Herder	Massachusetts	New Hampshire	New Hampshire
Stone, S. B.	M	48	Laborer	Farmer	Massachusetts	Illinois	Vermont
Stone, Margaret	F	35	Wife	.....	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Stone, Frank	M	20	Son	.....	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Ireland
Stone, Annie	F	16	Daughter	.....	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Ireland
Stone, Hellen	F	12	Daughter	.....	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Ireland
Stone, Eddie	M	7	Son	.....	Dakota	Massachusetts	Ireland
Coulson, Jasper	M	24	Hired man	.....	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Mehle, John	M	27	Hired man	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany

McINTOSH COUNTY, NORTH OF THE 46th PARALLEL.

Males	173	Merchant	4
Females	109	Ranchman	2
Married	91	Lawyer	2
Single	178	Civil Engineer	1
Under 21 years of age.....	119	Teacher	2
Attended school during		Cowboy	4
1885	0	Laborer	3
Farmer	97	Servant	3
Real Estate	1	Miner	1

Born in Dakota Territory	7
Born in other parts of the United States.....	108
Foreign Born	167
Total Population	282

McINTOSH COUNTY—North of the 46th Parallel

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Johnson, C. D.	M	35	Head	Ranchman	Ohio	Ohio	Pennsylvania
Tickner, L. R.	M	26	Servant	Cowboy	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Iowa
Balore, Jas. R.	M	13	Servant	Farmer	New Hampshire	New Hampshire	New Hampshire
Whichter, F. N.	M	24	.....	Farmer	Wisconsin	New York	New York
Lelson, G. O.	M	21	.....	Farmer	Wisconsin	Norway	Norway
Kjosva, Jno. S.	M	31	Head	Farmer	Wisconsin	Norway	Norway
Kjosva, Sarah	F	28	Wife	.....	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Young, M. H.	M	44	.....	Farmer	Indiana	Kentucky	Ohio
Paxton, Ino. H.	M	23	Head	Farmer	Indiana	Kentucky	Ohio
Paxton, Sally	F	24	Sister	House keeper	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Pratt, M. E.	M	22	Head	Farmer	Russia	Germany	Germany
Boschee, John	M	59	Head	Farmer	Russia	Germany	Germany
Boschee, Cathrene	F	54	Wife	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Boschee, August	M	22	Son	Farmer	Russia	Russia	Russia
Boschee, John	M	19	Son	Farmer	Russia	Russia	Russia
Boschee, Jack	M	16	Son	Farmer	Russia	Russia	Russia
Boschee, Caroline	F	14	Daughter	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Boschee, Christina	F	12	Daughter	.....	Russia	Germany	Germany
Hart, Conrad	M	27	Head	Farmer	Russia	Germany	Germany
Reaker, John	M	27	Wife	Farmer	Russia	Germany	Germany
Reaker, Barbara	F	27	.....	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Reaker, Barbara	F	2	Daughter	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Rudolph, Ludwick	M	45	Head	Farmer	Russia	Russia	Russia
Rudolph, Cathrene	F	40	Wife	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Rudolph, Ludwick	M	21	Son	Farmer	Russia	Russia	Russia
Rudolph, John	M	10	Son	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Rudolph, George	M	9	Son	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Rudolph, Rudolph	M	1	Son	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Rudolph, Christina	F	16	Daughter	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Rudolph, Louisa	F	14	Daughter	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Rudolph, Cathrene	F	12	Daughter	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Rudolph, Madalina	F	7	Daughter	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Rudolph, Paulina	F	5	Daughter	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Paton, Mary	F	28	.....	Teacher	Scotland	Scotland	Scotland
Boschee, Valantine	M	38	Head	Farmer	Russia	Russia	Russia
Boschee, Phillipina	F	30	Wife	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Boschee, Ardolph	M	8	Son	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Boschee, August	M	5	Son	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Boschee, Adam	M	2	Son	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Boschee, John	M	1	Son	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Boschee, Caroline	F	16	Daughter	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia

McINTOSH COUNTY—North of the 46th Parallel—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Birthplace Father's	Mother's Birthplace
Boschee, Theodora	F	13	Daughter	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Boschee, Catharina	F	10	Daughter	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Boschee, Madalina	F	7	Daughter	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Boschee, Eustina	F	5 mo.	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Russia	Russia
Klooz, K.	M	38	Head	Farmer	Russia	Russia	Russia
Klooz, Christina	F	36	Wife	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Klooz, Margareta	F	4	Daughter	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Klooz, Catharina	F	6	Daughter	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Klooz, Christina	F	7	Daughter	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Thorm, John	M	21	Head	Farmer	Russia	Russia	Russia
Thorm, Barbara	F	21	Wife	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Thorm, Madalina	F	2	Daughter	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Thorm, Fredric	M	25	Head	Farmer	Russia	Russia	Russia
Thorm, Christina	F	23	Wife	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Thorm, John	M	3 mo.	Son	.....	America	Russia	Russia
Thorm, Christina	F	2	Daughter	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Midinger, Fredric	M	26	Head	Farmer	Russia	Russia	Russia
Midinger, Catharina	F	23	Wife	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Midinger, Andarus	M	2	Son	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Midinger, Adam	M	31	Head	Farmer	Russia	Russia	Russia
Midinger, Madalina	F	29	Wife	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Midinger, Adam	M	3	Son	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Midinger, Madalina	F	7	Daughter	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Midinger, Christina	F	5	Daughter	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Heckalter, Fred	M	36	Head	Farmer	Russia	Russia	Russia
Heckalter, Margaretta	F	36	Wife	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Heckalter, Jack	M	12	Son	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Heckalter, Catharina	F	14	Daughter	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Heckalter, Fred	M	2	Son	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Heckalter, Christina	F	10	Daughter	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Heckalter, Barbara	F	5	Daughter	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Doyle, P. D.	M	42	Head	Farmer	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Doyle, John	M	17	Son	.....	Minnesota	Ireland	Ireland
Doyle, Thomas	M	15	Son	.....	Minnesota	Ireland	Ireland
Christ, Reuben	M	42	Head	Farmer	Minnesota	Ireland	Ireland
Lincoln, Isaac	M	22	.....	Farmer	Maine	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Lawrence, Geo. E.	M	50	Head	.....	New York	New York	New York
Lawrence, Bliss W.	M	23	Employe	Laborer	Michigan	New York	New York
Harriot, P. M.	M	65	Servant	Cook	New York	France	Vermont
Harriot, Charles	M	33	Boarder	Farmer	Michigan	New York	Pennsylvania

MCINTOSH COUNTY—North of the 46th Parallel—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Rice, C. E.	M	35	.....	Farmer	Michigan	New York	New York
McNeal, S. D.	M	47	.....	Lawyer	Michigan	New York	New York
Richards, H. O.	M	23	.....	Farmer	Indiana	Ohio	Ohio
Anderson, Samuel	M	41	.....	Farmer	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Powell, A. A.	M	28	Head	Farmer	Wisconsin	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Powell, Rosa	F	26	Wife	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Powell, Mary	F	3	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Wisconsin	Norway
Flansbury, Chas.	M	34	Head	Farmer	Michigan	New York	Norway
Keating, Thomas	M	15	Servant	.....	Michigan	Michigan	Pennsylvania
Lilly, Geo. W.	M	30	.....	Civil Engineer	Ohio	Ohio	Michigan
McDonald, Alex.	M	35	.....	Miner	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Hammond, C. C.	M	25	.....	Farmer	Indiana	England	Ohio
Spencer, F. W.	M	25	Wife	Farmer	England	England	England
Spencer, Harriet	F	23	.....	.....	England	England	England
Spencer, Mary	F	2	Daughter	.....	Iowa	England	England
Peveridge, James	M	41	Head	Farmer	Scotland	Scotland	Scotland
Peveridge, Mary A.	F	38	Wife	.....	Scotland	Scotland	Scotland
Peveridge, Walter	M	15	Son	.....	Pennsylvania	Scotland	Scotland
Peveridge, Jas.	M	61	Father	Farmer	Scotland	Scotland	Scotland
Peveridge, Robert	M	11	Son	.....	Scotland	Scotland	Scotland
Peveridge, Nellie	F	9	Son	.....	Pennsylvania	Scotland	Scotland
Godfrey, Martin	M	7	Daughter	.....	Iowa	Scotland	Scotland
Godfrey, Horace	M	24	.....	Farmer	Iowa	Scotland	Scotland
Johnston, Chas. S.	M	25	.....	Farmer	Michigan	New York	New York
Johnston, Caroline	M	39	.....	Farmer	Michigan	New York	New York
Shank, H. B.	F	13	Head	Farmer	Scotland	Scotland	Scotland
Shank, E. H.	M	65	Daughter	.....	Pennsylvania	Scotland	Scotland
Hawk, F. G.	M	25	Head	Farmer	New York	Scotland	Scotland
Hawk, Emma F.	F	32	Head	Farmer	Michigan	New Jersey	Pennsylvania
Hawk, C. B.	F	25	Wife	Farmer	Ohio	New York	Pennsylvania
Hawk, C. B.	M	3	Son	.....	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Hawk, Clarissa	M	65	Father	Farmer	Michigan	Scotland	Scotland
Hawk, Maude J.	F	61	Mother	.....	Ohio	Ohio	Massachusetts
Gulack, G. O.	F	3 mo.	Daughter	.....	New York	New York	Massachusetts
Lommen, Andrew	M	26	.....	Farmer	Michigan	Ohio	Ohio
Rostad, K. F.	M	21	.....	Farmer	Wisconsin	Norway	Norway
Simpson, J. G.	M	37	.....	Farmer	Wisconsin	Norway	Norway
Simpson, Richard	M	21	.....	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Brundage, Arthur	M	45	.....	Farmer	Wisconsin	Norway	Norway
Brundage, Frank	M	30	Head	Farmer	Iowa	Iowa	Iowa
	M	25	Brother	Farmer	Wisconsin	Wisconsin	Wisconsin

MCINTOSH COUNTY—North of the 46th Parallel—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Ripley, Charles	M	35	.....	Farmer	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan
Merrifield, Douglass	M	23	.....	Farmer	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan
Gregory, George	M	32	Head	Farmer	Michigan	England	England
Gregory, Rosa	F	22	Wife	.....	Michigan	Canada	Canada
Gregory, John	M	23	Son	Farmer	Michigan	England	England
Gregory, Etta	F	3	Daughter	.....	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan
Gregory, Fannie	F	4 mo.	Daughter	.....	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan
Ogden, Prof. John	M	61	Head	Prof. Languages	Ohio	New Jersey	New Jersey
Ogden, John B.	M	17	Son	Farmer	Pennsylvania	Ohio	Illinois
Abbot, Geo. W.	M	26	Head	Merchant	Massachusetts	New Hampshire	Massachusetts
Abbot, Mamie, G.	F	22	Wife	.....	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
McCoy, C. W.	M	26	Head	Merchant	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
McCoy, Mamie	F	25	Sister	.....	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Powell, George	M	30	Employe	Cook	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Merrill, C. C.	M	36	.....	Farmer	Louisiana	New York	Connecticut
Wishell, John H.	M	30	.....	Lawyer	Pennsylvania	Germany	France
Sundby, A. A.	M	28	.....	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Moen, John	M	25	.....	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Lucken, Chris.	M	23	.....	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Anderson, Lars	M	41	Head	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Anderson, Johnanna	F	31	Wife	.....	Wisconsin	Norway	Norway
Anderson, Adolph	M	13	Son	.....	Wisconsin	Norway	Norway
Anderson, Torvel	M	9	Son	.....	Wisconsin	Norway	Norway
Anderson, John	M	5	Son	.....	Wisconsin	Norway	Norway
Anderson, Louisa	F	11	Son	.....	Wisconsin	Norway	Norway
Anderson, Mollie	F	7	Daughter	.....	Wisconsin	Norway	Norway
Anderson, Laura	F	2	Daughter	.....	Wisconsin	Norway	Norway
Swanson, August	M	25	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Norway	Norway
Moen, M. C.	M	28	.....	Farmer	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Orth, P. P.	M	28	Head	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Orth, Frances	F	24	Wife	Farmer	New York	France	France
Orth, Carolina	F	2	Daughter	.....	New York	Austria	Switzerland
Orth, Jim P. P.	M	6 mo.	Son	.....	New York	New York	New York
Whittrier, J. M.	M	28	.....	Farmer	Dakota	Maine	Maine
Richards, Alanson	M	63	.....	Farmer	Vermont	Vermont	Vermont
Richards, Mary	F	25	Head	.....	Minnesota	Vermont	Vermont
Richards, Lida H.	F	23	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Vermont	Vermont
Richards, Emma C.	F	21	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Vermont	Vermont
Richards, Albert	M	14	Son	.....	Minnesota	Vermont	Vermont
Skalei, Frederiek	M	37	Head	Farmer	Russia	Russia	Russia
Skalei, Caroline	F	34	Wife	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia

MCINTOSH COUNTY—North of the 46th Parallel—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Skalei, Fredrick	M	14	Son	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Skalei, Godlieb	M	11	Son	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Skalei, Jacob	M	7	Son	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Skalei, Mathew	M	5	Son	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Skalei, Susan	F	2	Daughter	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Skalei, Mary	F	5 mo.	Daughter	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Doblier, Martin	M	26	Head	Farmer	Russia	Russia	Russia
Doblier, Caroline	F	26	Wife	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Doblier, Jacob	M	3	Son	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Doblier, Godlieb	M	3	Son	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Mantie, John	M	21	.....	Farmer	Russia	Russia	Russia
Rankie, Daniel	M	23	Head	Farmer	Russia	Russia	Russia
Rankie, Louisa	F	22	Wife	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Rankie, John	M	3	Son	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Rankie, Chris.	M	2	Son	.....	Dakota	Russia	Russia
Rankie, Emilie	F	3 mo.	Daughter	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Niece, Fredrick	M	25	Head	Farmer	Russia	Russia	Russia
Niece, Elizabeth	F	23	Wife	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Niece, Rosena	F	2	Son	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Myer, Jacob	M	25	Daughter	Farmer	Russia	Russia	Russia
Myer, Wilhelmina	F	21	Head	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Myer, Leida	F	8 mo.	Wife	.....	Dakota	Russia	Russia
Guisler, John	M	23	Daughter	Farmer	Russia	Russia	Russia
Guisler, Wilhelmina	F	20	Head	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Guisler, Cathrine	F	2 mo.	Wife	.....	Dakota	Russia	Russia
Myer, Chris.	M	23	Daughter	Farmer	Russia	Russia	Russia
Myer, Barbara	F	21	Head	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Quast, Louisa	F	23	Wife	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Kaul, Chris.	M	24	House keeper	Farmer	Russia	Russia	Russia
Kaul, Rickoff	F	22	Head	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Kaul, Cathrene	F	2	Wife	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Kaul, Madalina	F	4 mo.	Daughter	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Kaul, Jacob	M	34	Daughter	Farmer	Russia	Russia	Russia
Kaul, Cathrine	F	32	Head	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Kaul, Margaret	F	11	Wife	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Kaul, Cathrene	F	10	Daughter	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Kaul, Rosena	F	7	Daughter	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Kaul, Jacob	M	5	Son	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Kaul, Chris.	M	30	Head	Farmer	Russia	Russia	Russia
Kaul, Eliza	F	28	Wife	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia

MCINTOSH COUNTY—North of the 46th Parallel—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Kaul, Christine	F	10	Daughter	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Kaul, Jacob	M	9	Son	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Kaul, John	M	7	Son	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Kaul, Cathrine	F	3	Daughter	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Kaul, Elizabeth	F	2	Daughter	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Wall, Fredrick	M	22	Head	Farmer	Russia	Russia	Russia
Wall, Margaret	F	23	Wife	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Wall, John	M	2 mo.	Son	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Becker, Chris.	M	26	Head	Farmer	Russia	Russia	Russia
Becker, Carolina	F	23	Wife	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Becker, Odella	F	2	Daughter	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Netchki, Chris.	M	40	Head	Farmer	Russia	Russia	Russia
Netchki, Rosena	F	34	Wife	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Netchki, Cathrine	F	17	Daughter	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Netchki, Jacob	M	16	Son	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Netchki, Mathew	M	14	Son	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Netchki, Chris.	M	12	Son	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Netchki, Rosena	F	10	Daughter	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Netchki, Marie	F	8	Daughter	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Netchki, John	M	5	Son	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Netchki, Carolina	F	3	Daughter	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Netchki, Christina	F	2	Daughter	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Netchki, Gottlieb	M	28	Head	Farmer	Russia	Russia	Russia
Netchki, Rosena	F	24	Wife	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Netchki, Gottlieb	M	3	Son	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Christophason, W. B.	M	51	Head	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
" Laura	F	38	Wife	.....	Wisconsin	Norway	Norway
" Henry A.	M	17	Daughter	.....	Illinois	Norway	Norway
" Frank	M	14	Son	.....	Illinois	Norway	Norway
" Marian	F	11	Son	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Phillips, Richard	M	78	Mother	.....	England	England	England
Phillips, Phoebe	F	34	Head	Farmer	England	England	England
Phillips, William	M	34	Wife	.....	England	England	England
Phillips, Ada	M	10	Son	.....	England	England	England
Ballantine, Rob't	M	8	Daughter	.....	England	England	England
Ballatine, Elizabeth	F	35	Head	Farmer	Scotland	Scotland	Scotland
Ballantine, James W.	M	37	Wife	.....	Scotland	Scotland	Scotland
Ballantine, Bessie	F	14	Son	.....	Kentucky	Scotland	Scotland
Ballantine, Robert	M	12	Daughter	.....	Scotland	Scotland	Scotland
Ballantine, T. W.	M	10	Son	.....	Scotland	Scotland	Scotland
		8	Son	.....	Pennsylvania	Scotland	Scotland

McINTOSH COUNTY—North of the 46th Parallel—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Ballantine, Mabel	F	6	Daughter	.....	Pennsylvania	Scotland	Scotland
Ballantine, Etta	F	4	Daughter	.....	Illinois	Scotland	Scotland
Kringlen, H. J.	M	26	.....	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Endreson, A.	M	25	.....	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Hakstad, John	M	24	.....	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Springen, Fosten	M	22	Head	Merchant	Wisconsin	Norway	Norway
Springen, G. K.	M	73	Head	Farmer	Wisconsin	Norway	Norway
Guick, T. O.	M	4?	Father	.....	Wisconsin	Norway	Norway
Severinson, Robert	M	45	.....	Merchant	Wisconsin	Norway	Norway
McGogg, E. K.	M	48	.....	Farmer	Indiana	Indiana	Norway
Ketterling, Adam	M	48	.....	Farmer	Russia	Russia	Indiana
Lund, Edward	M	25	.....	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Lund, Martin	M	24	Head	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Lund, Nels	M	27	Head	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Lund, Lena	F	26	Head	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Lund, George	M	2	Wife	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Lund, Nellie	F	6 mo.	Son	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Omth, Ole	M	28	Daughter	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Supry, Wm. G.	M	35	Head	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Supry, Clara L.	F	34	Wife	.....	Michigan	Canada	England
Supry, George	M	8	.....	.....	Michigan	England	Michigan
Supry, Earl	M	7 mo.	Son	.....	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan
Supry, Etta	F	3	Daughter	.....	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan
Hoffman, Chas. R.	M	31	Head	Farmer	New York	New York	New York
Hoffman, Lizzie	F	28	Wife	.....	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan
Gillett, Chas.	M	30	.....	.....	Michigan	New York	New York
Basye, Florence	M	31	.....	.....	Michigan	New York	New York
Basye, Samuel	M	26	Head	Ranchman	Wisconsin	Indiana	Indiana
Basye, Geo. W.	M	22	Head	.....	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Coyle, Grace E.	F	20	Wife	.....	Indiana	Kentucky	Virginia
Hodgen, A. B.	F	32	Father	.....	Ohio	Virginia	Ohio
DeGraft, Clay	M	20	Employe	Cowboy	Ohio	Virginia	Ohio
Stone, Geo. W.	M	26	Employe	House keeper	Illinois	Sweden	Sweden
Ketterling, Geo.	M	14	Employe	Cowboy	Illinois	Ireland	Ireland
Ketterling, John	M	35	.....	Land Locater	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan
Ketterling, Geo.	M	23	.....	Farmer	Russia	Russia	Russia
Ketterling, John	M	52	.....	Farmer	Russia	Russia	Russia

McINTOSH COUNTY, SOUTH OF THE 46th PARALLEL.

Males	60	Attended school during	
Females	48	1885	0
Married	47	Farmer	34
Single	61	Laborer	3
Under 21 years of age.....	53	Servant	1
Born in Dakota Territory	6		
Born in other parts of U. S.	15		
Foreign Born.....	87		
Total Population	108		

MCINTOSH COUNTY—South of the 46th Parallel

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Gehring, John	M	35	Head	Farmer	Russia	Germany	Germany
Gehring, Elizabeth	F	26	Wife		Russia	Germany	Germany
Gehring, John, Jr.	M	1	Son		Russia	Russia	Russia
Wolf, John	M	40	Head	Farmer	Russia	Germany	Germany
Wolf, Fredika	F	35	Wife		Russia	Germany	Germany
Wolf, John	M	18	Son	Laborer	Russia	Russia	Russia
Wolf, John	M	16	Son	Laborer	Russia	Russia	Russia
Wolf, George	F	7	Daughter		Russia	Russia	Russia
Wolf, Elizabeth	F	2	Son		Russia	Germany	Germany
Wolf, Fredrick	M	26	Head	Farmer	Russia	Germany	Germany
Klepfel, George	M	26	Wife		Russia	Germany	Germany
Klepfel, Magdaline	F	4	Son		Russia	Germany	Germany
Klepfel, George	M	22	Head	Farmer	Russia	Germany	Germany
Klepfel, John	M	25	Wife		Russia	Germany	Germany
Meis, John	M	21	Head	Farmer	Russia	Germany	Germany
Meis, Elizabeth	F	1	Son		Russia	Germany	Germany
Meis, John, Jr.	M	26	Head	Farmer	Russia	Germany	Germany
Spencer, F. W.	M	23	Wife		Russia	Russia	Russia
Spencer, Harriet	F	2	Daughter		England	England	England
Spencer, Mary E.	F	41	Head	Farmer	England	England	England
Beverage, James	M	39	Wife		Iowa	Scotland	Scotland
Beverage, Mary	F	15	Son		Iowa	Scotland	Iowa
Beverage, Walter	M	11	Son		Iowa	Scotland	Iowa
Beverage, James	M	9	Son		Iowa	Scotland	Iowa
Beverage, Robert	M	7	Daughter		Scotland	Scotland	Scotland
Beverage, Nellie	F	61	Father		Scotland	Scotland	Scotland
Beverage, Walter	M	39	Head	Farmer	Iowa	Scotland	Scotland
Johnston, Charles	M	12	Daughter		Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Simpson, Caroline	F	45	Head	Farmer	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Simpson, Richard	M	50	Head	Farmer	New York	New York	New York
Caranagh, Dennis	M	65	Wife		Ohio	New York	Ohio
Hawk, C. B.	M	62	Head	Farmer	Ohio	New York	Ohio
Hawk, Clarissa	F	27	Wife		Michigan	New York	England
Hawk, Frank	M	27	Wife		Michigan	Ohio	New York
Hawk, Emma	F	27	Son		Michigan	Ohio	New York
Hawk, Charles	M	3	Daughter		Michigan	Ohio	New York
Hawk, Mand	F	Feb.	Head	Farmer	Michigan	New York	Massachusetts
Merrifield, D.	M	24	Head	Farmer	Michigan	New York	New York
Shouk, Edward	M	24	Wife		Russia	Germany	Germany
Weigl, Marcus	M	31	Head	Farmer	Russia	Germany	Germany
Weigl, Reyn	F	23	Wife		Russia	Germany	Germany
Weigl, Reyn	F	3	Daughter		Russia	Russia	Russia

McINTOSH COUNTY—South of the 46th Parallel—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Weigl, Peter	M	1	Son	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Werlinger, John	M	28	Head	Farmer	Russia	Germany	Germany
Werlinger, Parav	F	22	Wife	.....	Russia	Germany	Germany
Selwei, Mickel	M	30	Head	Farmer	Russia	Germany	Germany
Selwei, Maron	F	30	Wife	.....	Russia	Germany	Russia
Selwei, Meikel	M	7	Son	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Selwei, Margretta	F	12	Daughter	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Selwei, Faroon	F	3	Daughter	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Selwei, Colina	F	3	Daughter	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Selziar, Kasper	M	27	Head	Farmer	Russia	Germany	Germany
Selziar, Katrina	F	18	Wife	.....	Russia	Germany	Germany
Hot, Francisca	F	14	Sister	Servant	Russia	Germany	Germany
Deiber, Mikel	F	28	Head	Farmer	Russia	Germany	Germany
Deiber, Barbara	F	28	Wife	.....	Russia	Germany	Germany
Deiber, Jacob	M	5	Son	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Deiber, Madaline	F	1	Daughter	.....	Russia	Germany	Germany
Dushel, Danierien	M	25	Head	Farmer	Russia	Germany	Germany
Dushel, Katrina	F	23	Wife	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Dushel, John	M	3	Son	.....	Russia	Germany	Germany
Schatz, Joseph	M	56	Head	.....	Russia	Germany	Germany
Schatz, Monegona	F	55	Wife	.....	Russia	Germany	Germany
Schatz, Inatz	M	7	Son	Farmer	Russia	Russia	Russia
Schatz, Andress	M	25	Head	Farmer	Russia	Germany	Germany
Schatz, Margaret	F	19	Wife	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Fisher, Michael	M	26	Son	Farmer	Russia	Germany	Germany
Fisher, Anton	M	28	Head	Farmer	Russia	Germany	Germany
Fisher, Elizabeth	F	27	Wife	Farmer	Russia	Germany	Germany
Fisher, Hannah	F	6	Daughter	.....	Russia	Germany	Germany
Wallinger, Kasmer	M	May	Daughter	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Wallinger, Katrina	F	25	Head	Farmer	Dakota	Russia	Russia
Metzer, Peter	F	23	Wife	.....	Russia	Germany	Germany
Metzer, Barbara	F	28	Head	Farmer	Russia	Germany	Germany
Metzer, Jacob	M	21	Wife	.....	Russia	Germany	Germany
Verret, Michael	M	1	Son	Farmer	Russia	Russia	Russia
Verret, Hellenia	F	30	Head	.....	Russia	Germany	Germany
Verret, Ketrina	F	31	Wife	.....	Russia	Germany	Germany
Verret, Peter	M	7	Daughter	.....	Russia	Germany	Germany
Verret, Gotleib	M	5	Son	.....	Dakota	Germany	Russia
Verret, George	M	4	Son	.....	Dakota	Russia	Russia
Verret, George	M	3	Son	.....	Dakota	Russia	Russia
Link, Christian	M	34	Head	Farmer	Russia	Germany	Germany

McINTOSH COUNTY—South of the 46th Parallel—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Link, Crashina	F	32	Wife	.....	Russia	Germany	Germany
Link, ...	F	5	Daughter	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Link, ...	M	2	Son	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Link, Sophia	F	3	Daughter	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Link, ...	M	May	Son	.....	Dakota	Russia	Russia
Eley, Fredrick	M	22	.....	Farmer	Russia	Germany	Germany
Bown, Christian	M	24	.....	Farmer	Russia	Germany	Germany
Hofner, John	M	22	.....	Farmer	Russia	.....	.....
Pfifer, John	M	42	Head	.....	Russia	Germany	Germany
Pfifer, Barbara	F	40	Wife	.....	Russia	Germany	Russia
Pfifer, Christian	M	20	Son	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Pfifer, Katrina	F	16	Daughter	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Pfifer, Caroline	F	13	Daughter	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Pfifer, Louis	F	10	Daughter	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Pfifer, John	M	8	Son	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Pfifer, Barbara	F	3	Daughter	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Pfifer, Philip	M	1	Son	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Munsch, Andreas	M	42	Head	Farmer	Russia	Germany	Germany
Munsch, Louis	M	39	Wife	.....	Russia	Germany	Russia
Munsch, Margaret	F	18	Daughter	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Munsch, Andreas	M	17	Son	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Munsch, Louis	M	14	.....	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Munsch, Katrina	F	10	.....	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Munsch, Elizabeth	F	6	.....	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Munsch, Christian	M	3	.....	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia
Munsch, Christina	F	1	.....	.....	Russia	Russia	Russia

McKENZIE COUNTY.

Males	19	Attended school during	
Females	5	1885	0
Married	4	Hunter	9
Single	10	Ranchman	5
Under 21 years of age.....	4	Herder	4
Born in Dakota Territory.....	2		
Born in other parts of the U.*S.	14		
Foreign born	8		
Total population	24		

MCKENZIE COUNTY

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Baker, Samuel, ...	M	40	.....	Hunter	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Massachusetts
Brown, Chester	M	30	.....	Hunter	Wisconsin	Wisconsin	Indiana
Dunlap, Jas.	M	28	.....	Hunter	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois
Gourt, Geo.	M	26	.....	Hunter	Indiana	Indiana	Ohio
Randall, Tim	M	31	.....	Hunter	New Jersey	Pennsylvania	New York
Boltz, Peter	M	40	.....	Hunter	Canada	Canada	Canada
Andrews, Joseph	M	42	Head	Ranchman	Ohio	Ohio	Pennsylvania
Andrews, Phoebe	F	39	Wife	.....	Michigan	Michigan	Ohio
Andrews, George	M	7	Son	.....	Michigan	Ohio	Michigan
Andrews, Sarah	F	4	Daughter	.....	Michigan	Ohio	Michigan
Andrews, Millie	F	2	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Ohio	Michigan
Hollowell, Thos.	M	44	.....	Ranchman	Pennsylvania	England	England
Kruse, John	M	30	Servant	Herder	Germany	Germany	Germany
James, Philip	M	23	Servant	Herder	Canada	Canada	Canada
Frank, Geo.	M	37	.....	Ranchman	England	England	England
Joice, Henry	M	33	Servant	Herder	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Massachusetts
Henderson, Louis	M	43	.....	Hunter	Michigan	Michigan	Indiana
Johnson, Andrew	M	27	.....	Hunter	Missouri	Missouri	Indiana
Thomson, Peter	M	32	.....	Hunter	Tennessee	Tennessee	Tennessee
Anderson, John	M	26	.....	Ranchman	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Swenson, Ole	M	22	Servant	Herder	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Peterson, Gustave	M	29	Head	Ranchman	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Peterson, Mary	F	28	Wife	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Peterson, Louisa	F	2	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Sweden	Norway

MERCER COUNTY.

Males	157	Printer	2
Females	97	Carpenter	2
Married	82	Rancher	2
Single	152	Blacksmith	2
Under 21 years of age.....	106	Lawyer	1
Attended school during		Doctor	1
1885	0	Teacher	1
Illiterate	10	Seamstress	1
Farmer	90	Engineer	1
Servant	4	Painter	1
Merchant	2	Woodchopper	1
Born in Dakota Territory	15		
Born in other parts of the U. S.	160		
Foreign born	79		
Total population	254		
Manufactories	3		

MERCER COUNTY

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Fonda, Wilhelm A....	M	39	.....	Farmer	Germany (under U. S. Flag)	Germany	Germany
Martin, Mary J.	F	64	.....	Farmer	New Jersey	New Jersey	New Jersey
Macrorie, A. C.	M	34	Head	Editor	Scotland	Scotland	Scotland
Macrorie, Nora L.	F	34	Wife	.....	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	New Jersey
Macrorie, Howard	M	10	Son	.....	Wisconsin	Wisconsin	Wisconsin
Macrorie, Ruthford..	M	8	Son	.....	Wisconsin	Wisconsin	Wisconsin
Macrorie, Lizzie	F	5	Daughter	.....	Wisconsin	Wisconsin	Wisconsin
Macrorie, Harry	M	1	Son	.....	Wisconsin	Wisconsin	Wisconsin
Worthington, Rose ..	F	27	Sister-in-law	Compositor	Wisconsin	Massachusetts	New Jersey
Worthington, Bessie..	F	3	Niece	.....	Wisconsin	Wisconsin	Wisconsin
Walker, H. C.	M	29	.....	Merchant	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Wisconsin
Sanderson, Fred F.	M	30	.....	Blacksmith	Minnesota	Ohio	Indiana
Draper, Jesse	M	58	.....	Blacksmith	Indiana	New York	Indiana
McGrath, Mary	F	59	.....	.....	England	New York	England
McGrath, James	M	28	Son	Farmer	Wisconsin	England	England
McGrath, Thomas	M	29	Son	Farmer	Wisconsin	Ireland	England
McGrath, J. W.	M	23	Son	Farmer	Wisconsin	Ireland	England
McGrath, Lucy	M	22	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Ireland	England
Strickler, A. B.	M	27	Boarder	Merchant	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Barille, Maggie	F	26	.....	Seamstress	Switzerland	Switzerland	Switzerland
Fraser, Murray	M	40	Head	Farmer	Michigan	Scotland	Scotland
Fraser, L. A.	F	40	Wife	.....	New York	England	Maine
Brady, Mabel	F	4	Boarder	.....	Dakota	New York	Sweden
Smith, Chas.	M	15	Domestic	Servant	Minnesota	Pennsylvania	Indiana
Smith, Minnie	F	18	Domestic	Servant	Minnesota	Pennsylvania	Indiana
Roberts, Agnes	F	15	Domestic	Servant	Ohio	Ireland	Scotland
Devault, Nancy	F	20	Domestic	Servant	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Bryant, Wm.	M	49	.....	Laywer	Ontario	New York	New York
Williams, Geo. W.	M	27	Head	Farmer	New Hampshire	Massachusetts	Massachusetts
Williams, Mary Jane ..	F	25	Wife	.....	Indiana	Ohio	Indiana
Williams, Frank J.	M	5	Son	.....	Iowa	New Hampshire	Indiana
Williams, Warren M.	M	1	Son	.....	Dakota	New Hampshire	Indiana
Hagadone, W.	M	61	Head	Farmer	Canada	New York	New Brunswick
Hagadone, Alice	F	36	Wife	.....	Michigan	New York	New York
Borner, August	M	30	.....	Farmer	Saxony	Saxony	Saxony
Wright, Thos. F.	M	35	Head	Farmer	Maine	Maine	Maine
Wright, Edner	F	25	Wife	.....	Wisconsin	New Hampshire	New Hampshire
Causey, P. C.	M	58	Boarder	Farmer	Tennessee	Maryland	Maryland
Jacobson, A. J.	M	26	Head	Carpenter	Iowa	Norway	Norway
Sonntag, Joseph	M	45	.....	Farmer	Prussia	Prussia	Prussia

MERCER COUNTY—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Sonntag, Mary	F	39	Wife	.....	Prussia	Prussia	Prussia
Sonntag, Robert	M	14	Son	.....	Prussia	Prussia	Prussia
Sonntag, Hugo	M	12	Son	.....	Prussia	Prussia	Prussia
Holz, Wm.	M	59	Head	Farmer	Wisconsin	Prussia	Prussia
Holz, John	M	26	Son	Farmer	Wisconsin	Prussia	Prussia
Holz, Fred	M	25	Son	Farmer	Wisconsin	Prussia	Prussia
Holz, Wm. E.	M	23	Son	Farmer	Pennsylvania	Prussia	Prussia
McGahan, Robert W.	M	25	.....	Farmer	Maryland	Pennsylvania	Ohio
Kirch, G. W.	M	27	.....	Carpenter	Ohio	Maryland	Maryland
Ewart, D. W.	M	22	.....	Painter	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Stevens, Jos. E.	M	22	.....	Engineer	Pennsylvania	Wales	New York
Titus, Frank, E.	M	22	.....	Farmer	Massachusetts	Rhode Island	Pennsylvania
Farrington, R.	M	22	.....	Farmer	Pennsylvania	New York	New York
Reynolds, W. P.	M	44	Head	.....	Wisconsin	New York	Pennsylvania
Reynolds, Sarah	F	35	Wife	.....	Wisconsin	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Reynolds, Chas.	M	30	Son	.....	Minnesota	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Reynolds, Luella D.	F	18	Daughter	Teacher	Wisconsin	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Reynolds, Harry M.	M	1	Son	.....	Canada	Ireland	Ireland
Vian, Addie F.	F	24	Boarder	Farmer	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Morrow, J. J.	M	26	.....	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Getner, J. L.	M	34	.....	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Wee, John	M	43	.....	Farmer	Ohio	Ohio	Pennsylvania
Quamme, Erick	M	36	Head	.....	Ohio	Ohio	Pennsylvania
Devault, Lewis	M	66	Wife	.....	Ohio	Maryland	Maryland
Devault, Sarah	F	60	.....	Farmer	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Devault, Jacob	M	24	Son	Farmer	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Devault, Jas. I.	M	22	Son	.....	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Devault, Leonie May	F	18	Daughter	Farmer	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Nyman, N. P.	M	39	Head	.....	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Nyman, Johanna	F	28	Wife	.....	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Nyman, Chas.	M	8	Son	.....	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Nyman, Salmon	M	7	Son	.....	Pennsylvania	Sweden	Sweden
Nyman, Hannah	F	4	Daughter	.....	Pennsylvania	Sweden	Sweden
Nyman, Emily	F	1	Daughter	.....	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Swanson, M.	M	45	Head	Farmer	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Swanson, Josephine	F	46	Wife	.....	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Swanson, Sophie	F	15	Daughter	.....	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Swanson, Selma	F	7	Daughter	.....	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Swanson, John	M	6	Son	.....	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Wilson, Hiram C.	M	32	Head	Farmer	Wisconsin	Sweden	Sweden
Wilson, Myrtle	F	16	Wife	.....	Wisconsin	Sweden	Sweden

MERCER COUNTY—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Manley, Eli	M	18	Brother-in-law	Farmer	Wisconsin	Pennsylvania	.....
Tresler, W. C.	M	27	Head	.....	Pennsylvania	.....	.....
Tresler, Florence	F	24	Wife	.....	Maryland	.....	Maryland
Tresler, D. P.	M	32	.....	Farmer	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	.....
Hawley, George	M	67	Head	.....	Pennsylvania	.....	.....
Hawley, Isabella G.	F	43	Wife	.....	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Massachusetts
Hawley, May Bell	F	21	.....	.....	Ohio	.....	Ohio
Hawley, Bertine	F	19	Daughter	.....	Wisconsin	.....	.....
Hawley, Ray E.	M	6	Son	Farmer	Wisconsin	.....	.....
Koeneman, Herman	M	27	Head	.....	Wisconsin	.....	.....
Koeneman, Sophie	F	23	Wife	.....	Germany	.....	Germany
Koeneman, Herman E.	M	2	Son	.....	Germany	.....	Germany
Koeneman, Helena	F	1	Daughter	.....	Colorado	.....	.....
Slaton, Jas. R.	M	36	Head	.....	Colorado	.....	.....
Slaton, Cecil	F	31	Wife	Farmer	Kentucky	.....	.....
Slaton, Elmore	M	10	Son	.....	Kentucky	North Carolina	.....
Slaton, Innes	F	7	Daughter	.....	Kentucky	Kentucky	Kentucky
Slaton, Eddy	M	4	Son	.....	Kentucky	Kentucky	Kentucky
Slaton, Henry	M	2	Son	.....	Kansas	Kentucky	Kentucky
Schaefer, Otto	M	31	Head	Farmer	Dakota	Kentucky	Kentucky
Schaefer, Augusta	F	28	Wife	.....	Germany	Kentucky	Kentucky
Schaefer, Matilda	F	7	Daughter	.....	Germany	.....	.....
Schaefer, William	M	5	Son	.....	Minnesota	.....	.....
Schaefer, Mary	F	3	Daughter	.....	Dakota	.....	.....
Schaefer, Edward	M	1	Son	.....	Dakota	.....	.....
Hills, Elijah	M	60	Head	.....	Vermont	.....	.....
Hills, Elizabeth	F	45	Wife	Farmer	Vermont	Massachusetts	.....
Hills, Frank M.	M	18	Son	.....	Indiana	Pennsylvania	New York
Hills, Alice E.	F	16	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	.....	.....
Hills, Ida G.	F	11	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Vermont	Indiana
Hills, Clarence	M	9	Son	.....	Kansas	Vermont	Indiana
Hills, Adrian	M	5	Son	.....	Kansas	Vermont	Indiana
Hills, Viola	F	3	Daughter	.....	Kansas	Vermont	Indiana
Dolan, C. J.	M	32	Head	Farmer	Ireland	Vermont	Indiana
Dolan, Eliza	F	27	Wife	.....	Ireland	.....	Ireland
Dolan, John	M	13	Son	.....	Minnesota	Ireland	Ireland
Dolan, Michael	M	11	Son	.....	Minnesota	Ireland	Ireland
Dolan, Terence	M	8	Son	.....	Manitoba	Ireland	Ireland
Dolan, Charles	M	3	Son	.....	Dakota	Ireland	Ireland
Dolan, Elizabeth	F	1	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Ireland	Ireland
Fraser, Geo.	M	29	.....	Farmer	Canada	Canada	Canada

MERCER COUNTY—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Baker, Eli	M	46	Head	Farmer	England	England	England
Baker, E. J.	M	12	Son	.....	England	England	England
Jones, L. W.	M	56	Head	Farmer	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Jones, Susannah	F	53	Wife	.....	Ohio	Virginia	Virginia
Jones, A. C.	M	16	Son	.....	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Jones, Z. L.	M	29	.....	Farmer	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Gallagher, John	M	49	Head	Farmer	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Gallagher, Cathrine	F	45	Wife	.....	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Gallagher, Mary	F	14	Daughter	.....	Wisconsin	Ireland	Ireland
Gallagher, Rosa	F	12	Daughter	.....	Wisconsin	Ireland	Ireland
Gallagher, Cathrine	F	10	Daughter	.....	Wisconsin	Ireland	Ireland
Gallagher, John	M	8	Son	.....	Wisconsin	Ireland	Ireland
Gallagher, Alice	F	6	Daughter	.....	Iowa	Ireland	Ireland
Gallagher, Sarah	F	4	Daughter	.....	Iowa	Ireland	Ireland
Card, Stephen	M	32	Head	Farmer	Canada	England	England
Card, Phoebe E.	F	26	Wife	.....	Iowa	New York	New York
Card, Charles	M	4	Son	.....	Minnesota	Canada	Iowa
Card, Verena E.	F	4	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Canada	Iowa
Morgan, F. C.	M	36	Head	Farmer	Dakota	Canada	Iowa
Roberts, James	M	60	Head	Farmer	North Carolina	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Roberts, Cathrine	F	53	Wife	.....	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Roberts, Alex F.	M	25	Son	Farmer	Scotland	Scotland	Scotland
Roberts, Joseph	M	20	Son	Farmer	Ohio	Ireland	Scotland
Roberts, Genevieve	F	13	Daughter	.....	Ohio	Ireland	Scotland
Kennedy, Thos. E.	M	27	Head	Farmer	Ohio	Ireland	Ireland
Kennedy, Alice	F	20	Wife	.....	Minnesota	Ireland	Ireland
Kennedy, Thos. E.	M	2	Son	.....	Minnesota	Ireland	Ireland
Pomeroy, Frank	M	37	Farmer	Farmer	Dakota	Minnesota	Minnesota
Hescher, Frank	M	28	Farmer	Farmer	New York	New York	New York
Catt, Stephen	M	26	.....	Farmer	Germany	Germany	Germany
McCorkele, John G.	M	21	.....	Stock raiser	England	England	England
Bobcan, Joseph	M	31	.....	Stock raiser	Ohio	Ireland	Ohio
Bobcan, Charles	M	42	.....	Woodhawker	Canada	Canada	Canada
Clark, Thos.	M	32	Farmer	Farmer	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland
Miller, Wm.	M	35	Farmer	Farmer	New York	Scotland	Scotland
Rinard, Wm.	M	45	.....	Farmer	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois
Rinard, Minnie	F	33	Head	.....	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Rinard, Irvine H.	M	27	Wife	.....	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Rinard, Helen	F	24	Wife	.....	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Rinard, Ross S.	M	Feb.	Son	.....	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Smith, Silas	M	66	Head	Farmer	Dakota	New York	New York

MERCER COUNTY—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Birthplace Mother's
Smith, Mary A.	F	54	Wife	.....	Massachusetts	England	England
Smith, Andrew	M	27	Son	Farmer	Michigan	New York	Massachusetts
Smith, Chas. W.	M	22	Son	Farmer	Michigan	New York	Massachusetts
Smith, Bert	M	14	Son	.....	Michigan	New York	Massachusetts
Smith, Fred	M	12	Son	.....	Michigan	New York	Massachusetts
Smith, Lois	F	9	Daughter	.....	Michigan	New York	Massachusetts
Walker, S. C.	M	58	Head	Doctor	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Walker, K. L.	F	55	Wife	.....	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Gordon, Ella G.	F	22	Grand-niece	.....	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Eger, Charles	M	49	Head	Farmer	Germany	Germany	Germany
Eger, Mary	F	26	Wife	.....	New York	Switzerland	Switzerland
Eger, Edward	M	18	Son	.....	Minnesota	Germany	New York
Eger, Amelia	F	14	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Germany	New York
Eger, Matilda	F	12	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Germany	New York
Eger, Charles	M	4	Son	.....	Minnesota	Germany	New York
Eger, Josephine	F	20	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Germany	New York
Eger, Ricka	F	1	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Germany	New York
Eger, Mand Bell	F	Mar.	Daughter	.....	Norway	Germany	New York
Bagiel, Helik	F	36	Head	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Bagiel, Betsy	F	34	Wife	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Bagiel, Andreas	M	11	Son	.....	Minnesota	Norway	Norway
Bagiel, Gilbert	M	9	Son	.....	Minnesota	Norway	Norway
Bagiel, Carolina	F	7	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Norway	Norway
Bagiel, Anna	F	45	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Norway	Norway
Bagiel, Julia	F	1	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Norway	Norway
Danielson, Herman	M	29	Head	Farmer	Sweden	Norway	Norway
Danielson, Christina	F	29	Wife	.....	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Danielson, Hannah	F	3	Daughter	.....	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Danielson, Powell	M	1	Son	.....	Dakota	Sweden	Sweden
Ankerberg, Frank	M	28	Head	.....	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Ankerberg, Hulda	F	28	Wife	Farmer	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Ankerberg, Daniel	M	2	Son	.....	Illinois	Sweden	Sweden
Ankerberg, Petrus	M	May	Son	.....	Dakota	Sweden	Sweden
Aldren, John	M	31	Head	Farmer	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Aldren, Amanda	F	29	Wife	.....	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Aldren, Anne	F	7	Daughter	.....	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Aldren, David	M	5	Son	.....	New Jersey	Sweden	Sweden
Aldren, Debble	M	2	Son	.....	Pennsylvania	Sweden	Sweden
Aldren, G.	M	54	.....	Farmer	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Aldren, Yurling	M	27	Head	Farmer	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Aldren, Annie	F	27	Wife	.....	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden

MERCER COUNTY—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Aldren, Stone	M	1	Son	.....	Pennsylvania	Sweden	Sweden
Aldren, Annie	F	May	Daughter	.....	Pennsylvania	Sweden	Sweden
Aldren, Andrew	M	24	Brother	Farmer	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Heinemeyer, Ed.	M	44	Head	Farmer	Germany	Germany	Germany
Heinemeyer, Anna	F	43	Wife	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
Heinemeyer, Charles	M	21	Son	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
Heinemeyer, Elizabeth	F	15	Daughter	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
Heinemeyer, Oswald	M	10	Son	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
Heinemeyer, Marie	F	7	Daughter	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
Heinemeyer, Bertha	F	6	Daughter	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
Heinemeyer, Richard	M	4	Son	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
Hartshorn, Horace	M	27	.....	Farmer	Illinois	New York	Vermont
Brooks, G. W.	M	23	Head	Farmer	Wisconsin	Canada	Pennsylvania
Wood, D. E.	M	33	Wife	Farmer	New York	France	France
Wood, Gertie	F	23	Daughter	.....	Illinois	Massachusetts	Connecticut
Wood, Leila	F	9	Daughter	.....	Iowa	New York	Illinois
Moore, Isaac	M	3	Head	.....	Ohio	New York	Illinois
Moore, Belgru	F	48	Wife	Farmer	Indiana	New Jersey	Kentucky
Moore, Cassius	M	43	Son	.....	Indiana	Ohio	Virginia
Moore, Charles	M	23	Son	Farmer	Indiana	Ohio	Indiana
Moore, Alkama	M	22	Son	Farmer	Indiana	Ohio	Indiana
Moore, Minnie M.	F	20	Son	Farmer	Indiana	Ohio	Indiana
Moore, Geo.	M	12	Daughter	.....	Nebraska	Ohio	Indiana
Cook, Marsena	M	6	Son	.....	Texas	Ohio	Indiana
Boom, John	M	32	.....	.....	Canada	Ohio	Indiana
Boom, Mary	F	24	Head	Farmer	Germany	Canada	Germany
Dillingham, Jas.	M	21	Wife	.....	New York	Germany	Germany
Dillingham, Olive	F	27	Head	Farmer	Michigan	New York	Georgia
Dillingham, Agnes	F	21	Wife	.....	England	England	Georgia
Hoss, W. L.	M	4	.....	.....	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Hoss, Clara	F	26	Daughter	Farmer	Virginia	Florida	Ohio
Bomborg, Fred	M	17	Head	.....	Kentucky	Tennessee	Tennessee
Bomborg, Suseth	F	29	Wife	Farmer	Minnesota	New York	Wisconsin
Brown, Geo.	M	40	Head	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
Raymond, Thos.	M	23	Wife	.....	Switzerland	Switzerland	Switzerland
Jones, Wm. T.	M	28	Boarder	Farmer	New York	Indiana	Indiana
Jones, Sarah	F	28	.....	Farmer	Connecticut	Germany	Scotland
Jones, Nellie	F	33	Head	Farmer	Indiana	Ohio	New Jersey
Finstad, ...	M	10	Wife	.....	Indiana	Ohio	Indiana
Hazadon, ...	M	34	Daughter	Farmer	Iowa	Indiana	Indiana
.....	M	.....	.....	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
.....	M	.....	.....	Farmer	New York	New York	New York

MERCER COUNTY—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Knoop, Geo.	M	33	Head	Farmer	Germany	Germany	Germany
Knoop, Annie	F	27	Wife	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
Knoop, Ella	F	9	Daughter	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
Knoop, George	M	5	Son	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
Knoop, Willie	M	2	Son	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
Schmidt, Alfred	M	16	Brother-in-law	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
Krieger, Otto	M	30	.....	Farmer	Germany	Germany	Germany
Heinemeyer, Aug.	M	31	.....	Farmer	Germany	Germany	Germany
Taylor, Jos.	M	27	.....	Farmer	Germany	Germany	Germany

MOUNTRAILLE COUNTY

White Population		Attended school during	
Males	21	1885	0
Females	19	Farmer	3
Married	12	Laborer	4
Single	28	Rancher	1
Under 21 years of age.....	22	Herder	1
Born in Dakota Territory		7	
Born in other parts of the U. S.		20	
Foreign born		13	
Total population:			
White		40	
Negro		1	
Indian and half breed		298	

MOUNTRAILLE COUNTY

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Song Prairie, P.	M	70	Head	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Song Prairie, N.	F	64	Wife	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Song Prairie, A.	F	42	Wife	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Song Prairie, C.	F	28	Wife	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Song Prairie, E.	M	20	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Slow Bull, S.	M	37	Head	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Slow Bull, M.	F	31	Wife	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Slow Bull, I.	M	15	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Slow Bull, F.	M	13	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Slow Bull, N.	F	10	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Slow Bull, I.	F	4	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Slow Bull, Q.	F	2	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Big Mouth, S.	M	52	Head	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Big Mouth, P.	F	40	Wife	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Big Mouth, M.	F	30	Wife	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Big Mouth, R.	F	20	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Big Mouth, S.	F	14	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Big Mouth, J.	M	18	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Big Mouth, H.	M	10	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Big Mouth, J.	M	2	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Running Pony, A.	M	49	Head	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Running Pony, R.	F	40	Wife	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Running Pony, A.	F	17	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Running Pony, N.	F	10	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Running Pony, F.	F	8	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Running Pony, T.	M	7	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Running Pony, B.	M	1	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Dark Day, I.	M	34	Head	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Dark Day, N.	F	30	Wife	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Dark Day, P.	M	7	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Dark Day, B.	M	2	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Dark Day, N.	F	4	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Dark Day, L.	F	3 mo.	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
White Chief, L.	M	54	Head	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
White Chief, N.	F	47	Wife	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
White Chief, R.	M	24	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
White Chief, M.	M	20	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
White Chief, P.	M	14	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
White Chief, S.	F	16	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
White Chief, M.	F	12	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
White Chief, N.	F	10	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota

MOUNTRAILLE COUNTY—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Running Buffalo, ...	M	44	Head	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Running Buffalo, ...	F	38	Wife	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Running Buffalo, A.	M	18	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Running Buffalo, P.	M	14	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Running Buffalo, M.	M	8	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Running Buffalo, N.	F	10	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Running Buffalo, B.	F	4	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Running Buffalo, S.	F	2	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Black Fox, ...	M	21	Head	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Black Fox, I.	F	27	Wife	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Black Fox, B.	M	7	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Black Fox, T.	M	4	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Black Fox, A.	F	2	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Black Fox, R.	F	4 mc.	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Red Fox, P.	M	39	Head	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Red Fox, A.	F	33	Wife	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Red Fox, C.	F	14	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Red Fox, S.	F	10	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Red Fox, P.	M	4	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Red Fox, D.	M	2	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Red Dog, P.	M	58	Head	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Red Dog, D.	F	50	Wife	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Red Dog, ...	F	18	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Red Dog, ...	F	14	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Red Dog, ...	F	10	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Red Dog, ...	M	22	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Red Dog, ...	M	19	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Red Dog, ...	M	8	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Bull Neck, ...	M	45	Head	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Bull Neck, ...	F	40	Wife	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Bull Neck, P.	M	20	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Bull Neck, N.	M	14	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Bull Neck, J.	M	10	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Bull Neck, P.	F	8	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Big Man, ...	M	40	Head	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Big Man, W.	F	37	Wife	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Big Man, I.	F	14	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Big Man, H.	F	10	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Big Man, R.	F	8	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Big Man, J.	M	16	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Big Man, J.	M	4	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota

MOUNTRAILLE COUNTY—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Big Man, B.	M	2	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Big Man, T.	M	8 mo.	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Short-in-the-face	M	50	Head	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Short-in-the-face	F	20	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Short-in-the-face	F	18	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Short-in-the-face	F	13	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Skunk	F	47	Head	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Skunk	F	40	Wife	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Skunk	F	14	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Skunk	F	14	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Skunk	F	12	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Skunk	M	18	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Skunk	M	10	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Skunk	M	7	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Little Medicine	M	30	Head	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Little Medicine	F	20	Wife	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Little Medicine, I.	F	4	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Crow-Flies-High	M	40	Head	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Crow-Flies-High, E.	F	33	Wife	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Crow-Flies-High, J.	M	14	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Crow-Flies-High, P.	M	15	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Crow-Flies-High, N.	M	13	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Crow-Flies-High, R.	M	10	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Crow-Flies-High, N.	F	8	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Crow-Flies-High, S.	F	4	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Crow Dog	M	54	Head	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Crow Dog, S.	F	48	Wife	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Crow Dog, P.	M	21	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Crow Dog, Q.	M	19	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Crow Dog, A.	F	14	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Crow Dog, R.	F	11	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Crow Dog, S.	F	4	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Crow Dog, P.	F	8 mo.	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Big Cat Fish, J.	M	39	Head	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Big Cat Fish, R.	F	31	Wife	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Big Cat Fish, S.	M	10	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Big Cat Fish, J.	M	2	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Big Cat Fish, R.	M	8 mo.	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Moon Son, J.	F	60	Head	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Moon Son, P.	F	51	Wife	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Moon Son, R.	M	29	Head	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota

MOUNTEVILLE COUNTY—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Moon Son, A.	M	22	Head	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Moon Son, R.	F	15	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Moon Son, S.	F	7	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Little Cat Fish, P.	M	28	Head	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Little Cat Fish, Q.	F	22	Wife	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Little Cat Fish, E.	F	4	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Little Cat Fish, S.	F	2	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Little Cat Fish, P.	F	10 mo.	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Sow Dog, J.	M	28	Head	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Sow Dog, S.	F	21	Wife	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Sow Dog, R.	M	28	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Sow Dog, P.	M	2	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Sow Dog, C.	F	3 mo.	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Day Shadow, P.	M	54	Head	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Day Shadow, J.	F	48	Wife	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Day Shadow, A.	M	30	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Day Shadow, B.	M	27	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Day Shadow, P.	M	21	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Day Shadow, N.	F	18	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Day Shadow, M.	F	12	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Day Shadow, W.	F	8	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Day Shadow, C.	F	24	Wife	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Day Shadow, I.	F	20	Wife	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Day Shadow, E.	F	19	Wife	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Day Shadow, O.	F	2	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Torn Mouth	M	40	Head	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Torn Mouth, M.	F	36	Wife	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Torn Mouth	M	20	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Torn Mouth	M	14	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Torn Mouth	M	10	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Torn Mouth	M	18	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Torn Mouth	F	6	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Torn Mouth	M	2	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Three Bears	M	45	Head	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Three Bears	F	40	Wife	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Three Bears	M	20	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Three Bears	M	14	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Three Bears	M	10	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Three Bears	M	18	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Three Bears	F	16	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Three Bears	F	4	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota

MOUNTRAILLE COUNTY—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Three Bears	F	7 mo.	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Three Bears	F	2	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Two Days	F	30	Head	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Two Days	F	32	Wife	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Two Days	F	4	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Two Days	F	1	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Bear Tail	F	38	Head	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Bear Tail	F	34	Wife	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Bear Tail	F	12	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Bear Tail	F	7	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Big Hand	M	27	Head	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Big Hand	F	21	Wife	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Big Hand	F	4	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Big Hand	F	2	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Cut Finger	F	54	Head	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Cut Finger	F	44	Wife	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Cut Finger	F	18	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Cut Finger	F	15	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Cut Finger	F	12	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Cut Finger	F	8	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Cut Finger	M	17	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Cut Finger	M	4	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Cut Finger	M	6	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Two Bears	M	48	Head	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Two Bears	F	40	Wife	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Two Bears	M	15	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Two Bears	M	12	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Two Bears	M	10	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Two Bears	F	8	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Bad Night	F	39	Head	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Bad Night	F	33	Wife	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Bad Night	F	13	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Bad Night	F	10	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Bad Night	F	7	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Bob Tail Bull	M	40	Head	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Bob Tail Bull	F	34	Wife	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Bob Tail Bull	F	14	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Bob Tail Bull	F	7	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Bob Tail Bull	M	2	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Bob Tail Bull	M	3 mo.	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Short Feather	M	47	Head	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota

MOUNTEAILE COUNTY—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Short Feather	F	40	Wife	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Short Feather	F	15	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Short Feather	F	10	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Short Feather	F	4	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Quick Wing	M	34	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Quick Wing	F	30	Head	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Quick Wing	F	10	Wife	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Quick Wing	M	2	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Quick Wing	M	1	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Three Bellies	M	48	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Three Bellies	F	44	Head	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Three Bellies	M	24	Wife	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Three Bellies	F	20	Head (son)	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Three Bellies	F	14	(Daughter)	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Three Bellies	F	10	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Red Bird	M	60	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Red Bird	F	54	Head	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Red Bird	F	18	Wife	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Red Bird	F	16	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Red Bird	M	20	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Red Bird	M	14	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Blue Fish	M	51	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Blue Fish	F	47	Head	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Blue Fish	F	20	Wife	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Blue Fish	F	14	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Blue Fish	F	10	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Blue Fish	F	8	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Blue Fish	M	22	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Spotted Hand	M	41	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Spotted Hand	F	34	Head	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Spotted Hand	F	10	Wife	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Spotted Hand	F	3	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Spotted Hand	F	7 mo.	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Spotted Hand	M	7	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Shot Man	M	30	Head	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Shot Man	F	30	Wife	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Shot Man	F	7	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Shot Man	F	4	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Shot Man	F	2	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Blue Fox	M	47	Head	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota

MOUNTRAILLE COUNTY—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Blue Fox	F	41	Wife	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Blue Fox	F	20	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Blue Fox	F	16	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Blue Fox	F	12	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Blue Fox	M	18	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Blue Fox	M	4	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Blue Fox	M	32	Head	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Swift Tail	M	30	Wife	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Swift Tail	M	10	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Swift Tail	M	8	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Swift Tail	M	6	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Swift Tail	M	3	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Swift Tail	F	40	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Short Grass	M	36	Head	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Short Grass	F	36	Wife	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Short Grass	F	16	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Short Grass	F	14	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Short Grass	F	12	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Short Grass	M	8	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Short Grass	M	6	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Short Grass	M	2	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Short Grass	M	39	Head	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Sun Man	M	33	Wife	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Sun Man	F	10	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Sun Man	F	4	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Sun Man	F	2 mo.	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Sun Man	M	2	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Sun Man	F	56	Head	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Blue Boat	M	50	Wife	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Blue Boat	F	24	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Blue Boat	F	20	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Blue Boat	F	14	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Blue Boat	F	10	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Blue Boat	F	28	Head	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Sight Horse	M	22	Wife	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Sight Horse	F	2	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Sight Horse	F	26	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Blue Boat	M	16	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Blue Boat	M	66	Head	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
White Water	M	54	Wife	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
White Water	F	30	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
White Water	F	26	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota

MOUNTRAILLE COUNTY—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
White Water	M	18	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Stone Rock	M	37	Head	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Stone Rock	F	30	Wife	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Stone Rock	F	13	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Stone Rock	F	10	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Stone Rock	M	4	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Stone Rock	M	2	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Stone Rock	M	2 mo.	Son	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
White Knife	M	27	Head	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
White Knife	F	20	Wife	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
White Knife	F	2	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota

MOUNTAILE COUNTY—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Reil, Geo.	M	26	.....	Laborer	New York	New York	New York
Barnes, Bernette	M	42	.....	Laborer	New York	New York	New York
Merther, Thos.	M	44	Head	Farmer	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Merther, Thos., Jr.	M	12	Son	.....	Pennsylvania	Ireland	Ireland
Merther, Ann	F	35	Wife	.....	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Merther, Patrick	M	14	Son	.....	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Merther, Michael	M	8	Son	.....	Pennsylvania	Ireland	Ireland
Merther, Bridget	F	6	Daughter	.....	Pennsylvania	Ireland	Ireland
Merther, Kate	F	2	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Ireland	Ireland
Dere, Joseph	M	46	Head	.....	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Dere, Knappy	F	35	Wife	.....	Dakota	Ireland	Ireland
Dere, Minnie	F	13	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Dere, Maggie	F	9	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Dere, Ole	M	35	Head	Farmer	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Johnson, Matilda	F	30	Wife	.....	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Johnson, Sophia	F	14	Daughter	.....	Illinois	Sweden	Sweden
Johnson, Florence	F	10	Daughter	.....	Illinois	Sweden	Sweden
Johnson, Amanda	F	5	Daughter	.....	Illinois	Sweden	Sweden
Johnson, Nellie	F	3	Daughter	.....	Illinois	Sweden	Sweden
Johnson, Charles	M	15	Son	.....	Illinois	Sweden	Sweden
Johnson, Carl	M	12	Son	.....	Illinois	Sweden	Sweden
Johnson, Ole, Jr.	M	7	Son	.....	Illinois	Sweden	Sweden
Roberts, Willis	M	45	.....	Laborer	Illinois	Sweden	Sweden
Grenell, L.	M	40	Head	Stockman	Illinois	Sweden	Sweden
Grenell, Josephine	M	36	Wife	.....	Virginia	Sweden	Sweden
Bashan, Mary	F	25	Servant	.....	Canada	Canada	Canada
Mehan, Thos.	F	22	Servant	.....	France	France	France
Walker, John F.	M	27	Servant	.....	Dakota	Dakota	Dakota
Roberts, John E.	M	20	Head	Herder	Canada	Dakota	Dakota
Roberts, George D.	M	40	Son	Laborer	England	Ireland	Ireland
Roberts, Sophia	M	20	Son	Farmer	Wales	Wales	Wales
Roberts, Carrie	F	42	Wife	.....	Wales	Wales	Wales
Roberts, Sadie	F	18	Daughter	.....	Wales	Wales	Wales
Roberts, Nellie	F	12	Daughter	.....	Wales	Wales	Wales
Roberts, Nellie	F	10	Daughter	.....	Wisconsin	Wales	Wales
Roberts, George	F	8	Daughter	.....	Wisconsin	Wales	Wales
Adams, John	M	31	Head	.....	Maine	Maine	Maine
Adams, Mary	F	30	Wife	.....	Maine	Maine	Maine
Adams, Susie	F	13	Daughter	.....	Maine	Maine	Maine
Adams, John, Jr.	M	10	Son	.....	Maine	Maine	Maine
Adams, Henry	M	8 mo.	Son	.....	Dakota	Maine	Maine

OLIVER COUNTY

Males, ...	203	Farmers, ...	73
Females, ...	124	Laborers, ...	11
Married, ...	105	Owners of woodyards.....	4
Single, ...	215	Lumber Manufacturer	1
Under 21 years of age.....	159	Teachers, ...	3
Attended school during		Ranchers	9
1885	28	Carpenters	1
		Civil Engineers	1
Born in Dakota Territory, ...	22		
Born in other parts of the U. S.	213		
Foreign born, ...	92		
Total population, ...	327		

OLIVER COUNTY—Townships 141 and 142 N., Range 81 W.

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Perish, A.	M	37	Head	Farmer	Maine	Maine	Maine
Perish, S.	F	26	Wife	.....	Maine	Ohio	Ohio
Perish, G.	F	6	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Maine	Maine
Perish, G. E.	F	9	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Maine	Maine
Perish, E. D.	F	3	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Maine	Maine
Perish, Jennie	F	Nov.	Head	Farmer	Wisconsin	Virginia	Virginia
Perkins, W.	M	28	Wife	.....	Dakota	Wisconsin	Michigan
Perkins, A. E.	F	22	Son	Farmer	Wisconsin	Virginia	Michigan
Perkins, J. D.	M	May	.....	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Perkins, J.	M	29	.....	Farmer	Illinois	Connecticut	Norway
Peeters, J.	M	60	Head	.....	Pennsylvania	Connecticut	New York
Mott, John	M	45	.....	Stock raiser	New York	Pennsylvania	Connecticut
Manley, H. A.	M	62	Wife	.....	Iowa	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Manley, E. M.	F	60	Son	.....	Missouri	Pennsylvania	New York
Manley, C. L.	M	13	Head	Saw mill	Missouri	Kentucky	Kentucky
Turner, E.	M	29	Brother	.....	Missouri	Kentucky	Kentucky
Turner, F. E.	M	16	Brother	Farmer	Missouri	Kentucky	Kentucky
Turner, John	M	25	Head	Stock raiser	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Day, John	M	65	Wife	.....	Kentucky	Kentucky	Kentucky
Day, S.	F	70	.....	Farm hand	Minnesota	Denmark	Denmark
Olson, J.	M	22	.....	Farm hand	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Peterson, M.	M	29	.....	Farm hand	Illinois	Sweden	Illinois
Davis, J.	M	32	.....	Farmer	Minnesota	Pennsylvania	Kentucky
Day, E.	M	29	Head	Farmer	Minnesota	Pennsylvania	Kentucky
Day, J. A.	M	36	Wife	.....	Ohio	Germany	Germany
Day, C. E.	F	38	Son	.....	Minnesota	Minnesota	Ohio
Day, Henry,	M	12	Son	.....	Wisconsin	Minnesota	Ohio
Day, W.	M	9	Son	.....	Dakota	Minnesota	Ohio
Day, A. F.	M	4	Son	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
Youngman, M. H.	M	65	Head	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
Youngman, C.	F	63	Wife	.....	Mississippi	Mississippi	Mississippi
Grandy, A. R.	M	53	Head	.....	Mississippi	Mississippi	Mississippi
Grandy, M.	F	42	.....	.....	Dakota	Mississippi	Mississippi
Grandy, M. E.	M	42	.....	Teacher and Farmer	Mississippi	Mississippi	Mississippi
Bankston, B.	F	32	Farmer	Farmer	Germany	Germany	Germany
Simmer, N.	M	28	Head	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Johnson, J.	M	29	Wife	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Johnson, S. E.	F	22	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Norway	Norway
Johnson, H. E.	F	Oct.	Head	Farmer	Denmark	Denmark	Denmark
Stefferson, N.	M	28	Wife	.....	Denmark	Denmark	Denmark
Stefferson, H.	F	24	.....	.....	Denmark	Denmark	Denmark

OLIVER COUNTY—Townships 141 and 142 N., Range 81 W.—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Stefferson, M.	M	5	Son	.....	Denmark	Denmark	Denmark
Stefferson, C.	M	3	Son	.....	Ohio	Denmark	Denmark
Stefferson, S. C.	F	Nov.	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Denmark	Denmark
Stefferson, C. E.	M	23	Brother	Teacher	Denmark	Denmark	Denmark
Erickson, H.	M	75	.....	Farmer	Denmark	Denmark	Denmark
Hanson, H. J.	M	40	Head	Farmer	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Hanson, H. C.	F	31	Wife	.....	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Hanson, H.	M	3	Son	.....	Minnesota	Sweden	Sweden
Hanson, O. J.	M	1	Son	.....	Minnesota	Sweden	Sweden
Hanson, C.	M	Apr.	Son	.....	Dakota	Sweden	Sweden
Hanson, S.	M	23	.....	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Casperson, C.	M	50	Head	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Casperson, M. E.	F	40	Wife	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Casperson, A. E.	F	13	.....	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Casperson, Rose	F	8	Daughter	.....	Ohio	Norway	Norway
Molander, G.	M	26	Daughter	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Nealson, H.	M	28	Head	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Nealson, R. E.	M	22	Head	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Nealson, Annie	F	Jan.	Wife	.....	Dakota	Norway	Norway
Nealson, G.	M	30	Daughter	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Hanson, G.	M	30	.....	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Hanson, H.	M	29	.....	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Colligin, J.	M	25	.....	Farmer	Vermont	Norway	Norway
Colligin, A. E.	M	22	.....	Teacher and Farmer	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Colligin, J. A.	F	65	Head	Farmer	Vermont	Ireland	Ireland
Colligin, A. E.	F	64	Wife	.....	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Brush, P.	M	35	.....	.....	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Hendricks, J.	M	26	.....	Farmer	Minnesota	New York	New York
Height, William	M	26	.....	Stock raiser	Minnesota	New York	New York
Sanger, G.	M	50	.....	Stock raiser	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Sanger, H.	M	45	.....	Farmer	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Massachusetts
Burke, C.	M	37	.....	Farmer	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Massachusetts
Burke, H.	M	26	Head	.....	Iowa	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Burke, R. E.	F	26	Wife	.....	Minnesota	England	Scotland
Burke, R. S.	M	5	Son	.....	Wisconsin	Iowa	Minnesota
O'Connor, E.	M	35	Son	.....	Minnesota	Iowa	Minnesota
O'Connor, S. E.	F	27	Head	Farmer	Wisconsin	Canada	Maine
O'Connor, C.	M	10	Wife	.....	Minnesota	England	Scotland
O'Connor, L.	M	9	Son	.....	Minnesota	Wisconsin	Minnesota
O'Connor, J. E.	F	7	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Wisconsin	Minnesota
O'Connor, B. A.	F	9	Daughter	.....	Wisconsin	Wisconsin	Minnesota
O'Connor, C.	F	1	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Wisconsin	Minnesota

OLIVER COUNTY—Townships 141 and 142 N., Range 81 W.—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Duncan, J.	M	26	Head	Farmer	Illinois	Ireland	Ireland
Duncan, N. E.	F	22	Wife	.....	Indiana	Pennsylvania	Ohio
Duncan, Edna	F	2	Daughter	.....	Nebraska	Illinois	Indiana
Neldhart, Y.	M	27	.....	.....	Prussia	Prussia	Prussia
Mason, E.	M	32	.....	.....	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan
Gordon, F.	M	42	Head	Farmer	Indiana	North Carolina	New York
Gordon, S.	F	32	Wife	.....	Wisconsin	Wisconsin	Massachusetts
Gordon, W.	M	8	Son	.....	Minnesota	Indiana	Wisconsin
Gordon, W. E.	M	6	Son	.....	Minnesota	Indiana	Wisconsin
Gordon, E.	M	3	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Indiana	Wisconsin
Gordon, G.	M	38	.....	.....	Wisconsin	North Carolina	New York
Gordon, N.	F	75	Mother	.....	New York	Indiana	Indiana
Gordon, M. E.	F	15	Niece	.....	Minnesota	Indiana	Indiana
Gordon, John	M	13	Nephew	.....	Minnesota	Indiana	Indiana
Gordon, H. E.	M	10	Nephew	.....	Minnesota	Indiana	Indiana
Gordon, E.	M	46	.....	Farmer	Indiana	North Carolina	New York
Gordon, G. J.	M	42	Head	Farmer	Indiana	North Carolina	New York
Gordon, S. C.	F	35	Wife	.....	Illinois	Tennessee	Pennsylvania
Gordon, M. E.	F	6	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Indiana	Illinois
Gordon, G. E.	F	2	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Indiana	Illinois
Eastman, R.	M	50	Head	Farmer	New Hampshire	New Hampshire	New Hampshire
Eastman, M. E.	F	38	Wife	.....	Maine	Maine	Maine
Eastman, Annie	F	18	Daughter	.....	Maine	New Hampshire	Maine
Eastman, L.	M	16	Son	.....	Maine	New Hampshire	Maine
Eastman, C. P.	F	7	Daughter	.....	Maine	New Hampshire	Maine
Eastman, C.	M	4	Son	.....	Minnesota	New Hampshire	Maine
Eastman, A. E.	M	Sept.	Son	.....	Dakota	New Hampshire	Maine
Eastman, L.	M	8	Son	.....	Minnesota	New Hampshire	Maine
Eastman, Fred	M	14	Son	.....	Minnesota	New Hampshire	Maine
Eastman, E. D.	F	12	Son	.....	Maine	New Hampshire	Maine
Richard, W.	M	48	Head	.....	Maine	New Hampshire	Maine
Richard, J.	F	41	Wife	Farmer	Vermont	Vermont	Vermont
Richard, E.	F	20	Daughter	.....	Vermont	Vermont	Vermont
Richard, J. E.	F	19	Daughter	.....	Vermont	Vermont	Vermont
Richard, C.	F	12	Daughter	.....	Iowa	Vermont	Vermont
Richard, W. E.	M	8	Son	.....	Iowa	Vermont	Vermont
Richard, M.	F	6	Son	.....	Iowa	Vermont	Vermont
Richard, Earl	M	3	Son	.....	Iowa	Vermont	Vermont
Farley, J.	M	39	.....	Wood yard	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Taylor, C. P.	M	32	Head	Farmer	New Jersey	New Jersey	New Jersey
Sawyer, R.	M	36	.....	Farmer	Massachusetts	Maine	Maine

OLIVER COUNTY—Townships 141 and 142 N., Range 81 W.—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Sawyer, E. T.	F	30	Wife	.....	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Sawyer, Annie	F	13	Daughter	.....	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Massachusetts
Sawyer, L. P.	F	11	Daughter	.....	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Indiana
Nullett, C. S.	M	37	.....	Farmer	Pennsylvania	Massachusetts	Indiana
Nullett, J.	M	35	Head	Farmer	Pennsylvania	Scotland	Scotland
Nullett, A. E.	F	18	Wife	.....	Missouri	Scotland	Scotland
Potts, W. R.	M	15	.....	.....	Missouri	Texas	Texas
Darnez, D.	M	62	Head	Farmer	Missouri	Missouri	Missouri
Darnez, E.	F	68	Wife	.....	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Darnez, J.	M	45	Head	.....	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Darnez, C. M.	F	44	Wife	.....	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Darnez, G. E.	M	12	Son	.....	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Dunahue, C. W.	M	45	Head	Farmer	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Dunahue, C. M.	F	46	Wife	.....	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Dunahue, J.	M	46	Head	Farmer	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Rhove, G.	M	36	.....	Wood yard	Germany	Germany	Germany
Rhove, A. E.	M	23	.....	Wood yard	Indiana	Germany	Germany
Spath, William	M	23	.....	Farmer	Indiana	Pennsylvania	Delaware
Spath, W. V.	F	31	Wife	.....	Denmark	Pennsylvania	Denmark
Spath, M. W.	M	10	Son	.....	Minnesota	Pennsylvania	Denmark
Spath, E. K.	M	7	Son	.....	Minnesota	Pennsylvania	Denmark
Spath, C. D.	M	4	Son	.....	Minnesota	Pennsylvania	Denmark
Spath, F. F.	M	2	Son	.....	Dakota	Pennsylvania	Denmark
Penny, N.	M	26	Head	Farmer	New York	New York	New York
Greenshields, J.	M	40	Head	Farmer	England	England	England
Greenshields, E.	F	33	Wife	.....	England	England	England
Greenshields, F. M.	F	10	Daughter	.....	England	England	England
Greenshields, J. M.	M	8	Son	.....	England	England	England
Greenshields, E.	F	5	Son	.....	Dakota	England	England
Greenshields, G. E.	F	3	Daughter	.....	Dakota	England	England
Greenshields, M.	F	May	Daughter	.....	Dakota	England	England
Hutchinson, J.	M	37	Head	Farmer	Dakota	England	England
Hutchinson, E. F.	F	33	Wife	.....	England	England	England
Hutchinson, C. E.	M	9	Son	.....	England	England	England
Hutchinson, G.	M	7	Son	.....	England	England	England
Hutchinson, E. M.	F	6	Daughter	.....	England	England	England
Hutchinson, E.	F	2	Daughter	.....	England	England	England
Bagnall, P.	M	47	Head	Farmer	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Bagnall, M.	F	37	Wife	.....	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	New York
Bagnall, H.	F	18	Daughter	.....	Wisconsin	Ireland	Wisconsin
Bagnall, M.	F	10	Daughter	.....	Wisconsin	Ireland	Wisconsin

OLIVER COUNTY—Townships 141 and 142 N., Range 81 W.—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Bagnall, H.	M	8	Son		Wisconsin	Ireland	Wisconsin
Bagnall, M. E.	F	Jan.	Daughter		Dakota	Ireland	Wisconsin
Bagnall, R. V.	M	26		Farmer	Texas	Ireland	Ireland
Hantley, J.	M	39		Farmer	New Jersey	Ohio	Vermont
Hantley, J.	F	18	Head		Vermont	Vermont	Vermont
Williams, A. L.	F	43	Head	Stock raiser	New Hampshire	New Hampshire	New Hampshire
Williams, C. W.	F	43	Head		New York	Vermont	Massachusetts
Williams, C. W.	M	19	Wife		Iowa	New Hampshire	New York
Williams, C. C.	M	15	Son		Iowa	New Hampshire	New York
Williams, N.	F	13	Son		Iowa	New Hampshire	New York
Williams, F.	M	12	Daughter		Illinois	New Hampshire	New York
Ostrum, A.	M	17	Brother		Illinois	Illinois	New Hampshire
Miller, J.	M	28		Hired Man	Germany	Germany	Germany
Hutchinson, R.	M	29		Farmer	England	England	England
Hutchinson, W.	M	26		Farmer	England	England	England
Hutchinson, F.	M	28		Farmer	New York	Vermont	Vermont
Thurston, C. R.	M	40		Farmer	New York	Vermont	Vermont
Thurston, H. R.	F	40	Head		Ohio	New York	Ohio
Thurston, F.	F	18	Wife		Iowa	New York	Ohio
Thurston, F.	M	18	Son		Iowa	New York	Ohio
Thurston, H.	M	13	Son		Iowa	New York	Ohio
Thurston, E. M.	F	12	Daughter		Iowa	New York	Ohio
Thurston, H. M.	F	9	Daughter		Iowa	New York	Ohio
Thurston, C. P.	M	7	Son		Wisconsin	New York	New York
Watson, E.	M	35	Head	Farmer	Kansas	New York	New York
Watson, L.	F	28	Wife		Minnesota	New York	Kansas
Watson, J.	M	5	Son		Dakota	Wisconsin	Kansas
Watson, G. E.	F	2	Daughter		Dakota	Wisconsin	Kansas
Watson, S. E.	F	Feb.	Daughter		Illinois	Vermont	Ohio
Martin, W. E.	M	32	Head	Farmer	Scotland	Scotland	Scotland
Martin, W.	M	32	Wife		Illinois	Illinois	Scotland
Martin, W.	M	9	Son		Illinois	Illinois	Scotland
Martin, W. P.	M	7	Son		Colorado	Illinois	Scotland
Martin, W.	F	5	Daughter		Dakota	Illinois	Scotland
Martin, M.	F	1	Daughter		Denmark	Denmark	Denmark
Hanson, M.	M	23		Farm hand	Poland	Poland	Poland
Luardasha, J.	M	29		Farm hand	New Jersey	New Jersey	New Jersey
Alberts, J. H.	M	35		Farmer	Vermont	Vermont	Vermont
Birchard, G.	M	22			Holland	Holland	Holland
Schravendike, C.	M	45	Head	Farm and Dairy	Holland	Holland	Holland
Schravendike, A. A.	F	45	Wife		Holland	Holland	Holland
Schravendike, P. A.	M	18	Son		Holland	Holland	Holland

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Schravendike, A. G.	F	14	Daughter	.....	Holland	Holland	Holland
Schravendike, H. A.	M	11	Son	.....	Holland	Holland	Holland
Schravendike, J.	M	9	Son	.....	Holland	Holland	Holland
Loof, John	M	49	.....	Carpenter	Minnesota	Holland	Holland
Kreibert, J. F.	M	46	Head	Farm and Dairy	Holland	Holland	Holland
Kreibert, A.	F	45	Wife	.....	Holland	Holland	Holland
Kreibert, F. P.	M	18	Son	.....	Holland	Holland	Holland
Kreibert, W.	M	16	Son	.....	Holland	Holland	Holland
Kreibert, J. F.	M	15	Son	.....	Holland	Holland	Holland
Kreibert, M. P.	M	13	Son	.....	Holland	Holland	Holland
Kreibert, A. P.	M	11	Daughter	.....	Holland	Holland	Holland
Kreibert, J. C.	F	9	Son	.....	Holland	Holland	Holland
Kreibert, J. J.	F	7	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Holland	Holland
Misell, M.	M	22	.....	Farm hand	Minnesota	Germany	Germany
Boon, A. J.	M	18	.....	Farm hand	Holland	Holland	Holland
Misell, C. J.	M	18	.....	Farmer	Germany	Germany	Germany
Misell, C. C. G.	M	45	.....	Farm. and St'k Raisr	Holland	Holland	Holland
Hasanikh, P.	F	35	Head	.....	Holland	Holland	Holland
Hasanikh, P.	F	25	Wife	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
Klipska, J.	M	30	.....	Stock raiser	Germany	Germany	Germany
Port, C. J.	M	32	.....	Stock raiser	Germany	Germany	Germany
Smith, W. R.	M	51	Head	.....	Pennsylvania	England	England
Smith, S. P.	F	44	Wife	.....	Indiana	Ohio	Ohio
Smith, W. B.	F	20	Son	.....	Minnesota	Pennsylvania	Indiana
Smith, R. L.	F	11	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Pennsylvania	Indiana
Smith, M. A.	F	10	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Pennsylvania	Indiana
Smith, T. A.	F	8	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Pennsylvania	Indiana
Smith, M. M.	F	4	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Pennsylvania	Indiana
Smith, T.	M	38	Head	.....	Pennsylvania	England	England
Smith, C. M.	M	36	Wife	.....	Pennsylvania	Scotland	England
Smith, M. E.	F	9	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Smith, B. C.	F	8	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Smith, M.	M	6	Son	.....	Minnesota	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Smith, E. C.	F	4	Son	.....	Minnesota	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Smith, R. W.	M	2	Son	.....	Minnesota	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Chapman, A. L.	M	29	.....	Farmer	Virginia	Virginia	Virginia
Chapman, E. L.	M	43	.....	Civil Engineer	Virginia	Virginia	Virginia
Hotchkiss, R. P.	M	49	Head	Farmer	New York	New York	New York
Hotchkiss, C. A.	F	41	Wife	.....	New Hampshire	New York	New York
Hotchkiss, J. H.	M	18	Son	.....	New York	New York	New York
Hotchkiss, S. D.	M	11	Son	.....	Illinois	New York	New York
Hotchkiss, R. P.	M	2	Son	.....	Dakota	New York	New York

OLIVER COUNTY—Townships 141 and 142 N., Range 81 W.—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Ellis, J. P.	M	49	Head	Farmer	Nebraska	Nebraska	Nebraska
Ellis, S. E.	F	40	Wife	.....	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Ellis, H. N.	M	19	Son	.....	Nebraska	Nebraska	Ohio
Ellis, L. A.	F	6	Daughter	.....	Nebraska	Nebraska	Ohio
Ellis, C. E.	M	Apr.	Son	.....	Nebraska	Nebraska	Ohio
Huntley, W.	M	53	Head	Farmer	New York	New York	New York
Huntley, C. R.	F	18	Daughter	.....	New York	New York	New York
Huntley, E. W.	M	12	Son	.....	Minnesota	New York	New York
Connolly, D.	M	41	Head	Farmer	Minnesota	New York	New York
Connolly, A. E.	F	35	Wife	.....	Minnesota	Ireland	Canada
Connolly, J. M.	F	10	Daughter	.....	Pennsylvania	Ireland	Ireland
Connolly, A. D.	F	8	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	New York	Pennsylvania
Connolly, S. E.	F	6	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	New York	Pennsylvania
Connolly, J. V.	F	Sept.	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	New York	Pennsylvania
Hyatt, M.	M	34	Head	Farm hand	Virginia	Virginia	Virginia
Connolly, L.	M	38	Head	Stock raiser	New York	Ireland	Canada
Connolly, M. G.	M	28	Wife	.....	Illinois	Germany	Germany
Connolly, L. H.	F	2	Son	.....	Minnesota	New York	Illinois
Gansel, G.	M	25	Farm hand	.....	New York	New York	New York
Hensler, P.	M	20	Farmer	.....	Minnesota	Germany	Germany
Stimpson, E.	M	30	Wood yard	.....	Illinois	Ohio	Ohio
Dean, E.	M	32	Farmer	.....	Arkansas	Arkansas	Arkansas
Oalson, J.	F	36	Wife	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Oalson, Mary	M	7	Son	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Oalson, Ole	M	2	Son	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Oalson, Carl	M	7	Son	.....	Minnesota	Norway	Norway
Oalson, G. M.	M	5	Son	.....	Minnesota	Norway	Norway
Oalson, M. E.	F	3	Son	.....	Minnesota	Norway	Norway
Oalson, John	M	1	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Norway	Norway
Bagley, O. G.	M	32	Head	Farmer	Minnesota	Norway	Norway
Bagley, Mary	F	32	Wife	.....	Minnesota	Norway	Norway
Bagley, G. T.	M	10	Son	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Bagley, Lena	F	4	Daughter	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Bagley, A. D.	M	1	Son	.....	Minnesota	Norway	Norway
Bagley, S. G.	M	29	Head	Farmer	Dakota	Norway	Norway
Bagley, L. E.	F	28	Wife	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Bagley, G. M.	M	35	Brother	Farm hand	Norway	Norway	Norway
Bagley, G. M.	M	71	Father	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Finstad, H.	M	33	Farmer	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Finstad, Ole	M	35	Farmer	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Rable, W. M.	M	25	Head	Farmer	Germany	Germany	Germany

OLIVER COUNTY—Townships 141 and 142 N., Range 81 W.—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Rable, N.	F	25	Wife	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
Alberts, L. M.	M	40	Head	Farmer	Germany	Germany	Germany
Alberts, L. M.	F	30	Wife	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
Alberts, Fred	M	16	Son	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
Alberts, Dora	F	11	Daughter	.....	Illinois	Germany	Germany
Alberts, W. M.	M	7	Son	.....	Illinois	Germany	Germany
Alberts, Henry	M	6	Son	.....	Illinois	Germany	Germany
Alberts, N. E.	M	2	Son	.....	Illinois	Germany	Germany
Alberts, John	M	9	Son	.....	Illinois	Germany	Germany
Alberts, H. E.	M	Apt.	Son	.....	Illinois	Germany	Germany
Henke, D. H.	M	29	Head	Farmer	Germany	Germany	Germany
Henke, D. W.	F	22	Wife	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
Alberts, J. M.	M	50	Head	Farmer	Germany	Germany	Germany
Alberts, Mary	F	42	Wife	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
Alberts, Henry	M	19	.....	.....	Illinois	Germany	Germany
Alberts, A. E.	F	12	.....	.....	Iowa	Germany	Germany
Alberts, John	M	10	.....	.....	Illinois	Germany	Germany
Alberts, Fred	M	7	.....	.....	Illinois	Germany	Germany
Alberts, Geo.	M	5	.....	.....	Illinois	Germany	Germany
Alberts, G. M.	F	3	.....	.....	Illinois	Germany	Germany
Alberts, C. E.	F	Jan.	.....	.....	Illinois	Germany	Germany
Alberts, J.	M	36	.....	Farmer	Germany	Germany	Germany
Borneman, H.	M	26	.....	Farmer	Germany	Germany	Germany
Borneman, H.	M	23	.....	Farmer	Germany	Germany	Germany
Windhorst, H.	M	51	Head	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
Windhorst, M. E.	F	45	Wife	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
Windhorst, Henry	M	16	Son	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
Windhorst, Fred	M	19	Son	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
Windhorst, John	M	10	Son	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
Windhorst, S. E.	F	9	Daughter	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
Gansel, John	M	28	Head	Farmer	Germany	Germany	Germany
Fisher, H. E.	M	42	Head	Farmer	New York	New York	New York
Fisher, A. E.	F	38	Wife	.....	New York	New York	New York
Fisher, A. F.	M	16	Son	.....	Iowa	New York	New York
Fisher, H. R.	F	19	Daughter	.....	Iowa	New York	New York
Fisher, A. E.	F	12	Daughter	.....	Iowa	New York	New York
Fisher, Cora	F	10	Daughter	.....	Iowa	New York	New York
Fisher, Edna	F	7	Daughter	.....	Iowa	New York	New York
Fisher, Herbert	M	5	Son	.....	Iowa	New York	New York
Fisher, L. H.	M	2	Son	.....	Dakota	New York	New York

RENVILLE COUNTY.

Males	25	Farmer	4
Females	6	Rancher	8
Married	10	Herder	8
Single	21	Trapper	1
Under 21 years of age, ...	8	Cook	1
Attended school during		Hunter	1
1885	0		
Born in Dakota Territory			1
Born in other parts of the U. S.			14
Foreign born			16
Total population			31

RENNVILLE COUNTY

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Toverson, Nels	M	28	Head	Stock raiser	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Toverson, Tilda	F	24	Wife	.....	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Toverson, Johanna	F	4	Daughter	.....	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Hanson, Bror	M	30	Boarder	Farmer	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Olson, Nels	M	16	Boarder	Herder	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Gray, Robert H.	M	40	Head	Stock raiser	England	England	England
Gray, Mary	F	30	Wife	.....	New York	New York	New York
Gray, Jeanette	F	1	Daughter	.....	Dakota	England	New York
Gray, John T.	M	30	Brother	Stock raiser	England	England	England
Gray, Geo. C.	M	28	Brother	Stock raiser	Canada	England	England
Gray, Lewis	M	24	Brother	Stock raiser	Canada	England	England
Madison, Frank	M	24	Boarder	Herder	Minnesota	Illinois	Illinois
Stevenson, John	M	24	Boarder	Herder	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Cole, Perrie	M	23	Boarder	Herder	Canada	Scotland	Scotland
Brennan, Michael	M	28	Boarder	Cook	Missouri	Ireland	Ireland
Wadams, Duncan	M	19	Boarder	Herder	Montana	Scotland	Scotland
Jaslin, Clyde	M	24	Boarder	Herder	Illinois	New York	New York
Chew, Benjamin	M	29	Boarder	Stock raiser	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Chew, Rita	F	19	Wife	.....	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Grinnell, Wm.	M	18	Boarder	Herder	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois
Charles, Thos.	M	28	Boarder	Herder	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois
Young, Otis	M	24	Boarder	Stock raiser	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois
McKiney, Robt.	M	38	Head	Stock raiser	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Cartwright, Geo.	M	38	Wife	Hunter	New York	New York	New York
Cartwright, Louisa I.	F	31	Wife	.....	Wisconsin	Vermont	England
Cartwright, Geo. W.	M	12	Son	.....	Wisconsin	New York	Wisconsin
Cartwright, Nelson	M	10	Son	.....	Wisconsin	New York	Wisconsin
Craig, Wm.	M	56	Boarder	Trapper	England	Scotland	Scotland
Johnson, Wm.	M	22	Boarder	Farmer	England	England	England
Allen, Alex	M	32	Boarder	Farmer	Scotland	Scotland	Scotland
Allen, Geo.	M	27	Boarder	Farmer	Wisconsin	Scotland	Scotland

STANTON COUNTY.

Males	207	Laborer	12
Females	115	Servant	7
Married	99	Telegraph Operator	1
Single	209	Hotel Keeper	1
Under 21 years of age	116	Herder	1
Attended school during		Shoemaker	1
1885	30	Blacksmith	1
Farmer	114	Real Estate	1
Merchant	5	Mail Carrier	1
Railroad Employee	3	Gentleman	1
Carpenter	10	Boardinghouse Keeper	1
Born in Dakota Territory		11	
Born in other parts of the U. S.		225	
Foreign born		86	
Total population		322	

STANTON COUNTY

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Challoner, Thos.	M	32	Head	R. R. Fireman	England	England	England
Challoner, Jane	F	30	Wife	.....	England	England	England
Challoner, Mable	F	3	Daughter	.....	Dakota	England	England
Challoner, Ida	F	1	Daughter	.....	Dakota	England	England
Hogelson, Austin	M	27	Head	Carpenter	Iowa	Norway	Norway
Nelson, Peter	M	29	Head	Engineer	Denmark	Denmark	Denmark
Nelson, Paulina	F	22	Wife	.....	Prussia	Prussia	Prussia
Milckin, Harry	M	35	Head	Carpenter	Illinois	New York	Germany
Smith, John	M	34	Head	Tel. Operator	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	New York
Smith, Blanche	F	27	Wife	.....	Indiana	New York	Indiana
Fahl, Henry	M	28	Boarder	Laborer	Wisconsin	Germany	Germany
Thaler, Jos.	M	26	Boarder	Laborer	Germany	Germany	Germany
Anderson, Adolph	M	23	Boarder	Laborer	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Nelson, Nils	M	20	Boarder	Laborer	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Manely, Edwin	M	35	Head	Hotel Kpt.	Pennsylvania	Ireland	Wales
Manely, John	M	25	Brother	Laborer	Pennsylvania	Ireland	Wales
Manely, Wm.	M	31	Brother	Laborer	Pennsylvania	Ireland	Wales
Manely, Geo.	M	17	Brother	Laborer	Pennsylvania	Ireland	Wales
Manely, Lizzie	F	19	Sister	Cook	Pennsylvania	Ireland	Wales
Maloney, Mary	F	26	Sister	Housekeeper	Pennsylvania	Ireland	Wales
Maloney, John	M	8	Nephew	.....	Minnesota	Canada	Pennsylvania
Maloney, Ed.	M	6	Nephew	.....	Minnesota	Canada	Pennsylvania
Maloney, Mary	F	4	Niece	.....	Minnesota	Canada	Pennsylvania
Yeska, Edwin	M	23	Boarder	Laborer	Germany	Germany	Germany
Connolly, Thos.	M	45	Boarder	Laborer	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Sellander, Aron	M	30	Boarder	Laborer	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
McMinnigan, Dan	M	25	Boarder	Laborer	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Swetizer, Otto	M	25	Head	Farmer	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
McCain, Clifford	M	17	Servant	Herder	Ohio	Switzerland	Germany
Nussbaum, Geo.	M	25	Servant	Farmer	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Todd, John	M	36	Head	Farmer	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Todd, Mary	F	29	Wife	.....	Scotland	Scotland	Scotland
Todd, Henry	M	11	Son	.....	Ireland	Ireland	Scotland
Todd, Luzella	F	9	Daughter	.....	Wisconsin	Wisconsin	Scotland
Todd, Samantha	F	6	Daughter	.....	Wisconsin	Wisconsin	Scotland
Todd, Jonette	F	2	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Scotland	Scotland
Aherns, Richard	M	36	Head	Farmer	Dakota	Scotland	Scotland
Aherns, John	M	38	Brother	Farmer	Maryland	Germany	Germany
Fench, John	M	27	Servant	Farmer	Virginia	Germany	Germany
Fench, Anna	F	27	Servant	Cook	Switzerland	Germany	Germany
Scarville, Tyler	M	46	.....	Farmer	New York	New York	New York

STANTON COUNTY—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Scarville, Unice	F	44	Wife	.....	New York	New York	New York
Scarville, Walter	M	23	Son	Farmer	New York	New York	New York
Scarville, Percy	M	18	Son	Farmer	New York	New York	New York
Scarville, Tyler	M	12	Son	.....	Iowa	New York	New York
Scarville, Ella	F	9	Daughter	.....	Iowa	New York	New York
Scarville, Eunice	F	2	Daughter	.....	Iowa	New York	New York
Fisher, Wm.	M	56	Head	Farmer	Vermont	Vermont	Vermont
Fisher, Elizabeth	F	50	Wife	.....	Indiana	North Carolina	Ohio
Fisher, Albert	M	22	Son	Farmer	Iowa	Vermont	Indiana
Rockey, Nancy	F	38	Head	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
Rockey, Geo.	M	21	Son	Farmer	Iowa	Germany	Germany
Rockey, Jacob	M	15	Son	.....	Iowa	Germany	Germany
Rockey, Wm.	M	13	Son	.....	Iowa	Germany	Germany
Pettibone, Lee	M	24	Servant	Farmer	Illinois	Ohio	Ireland
Springer, Aug.	M	47	Head	Farmer	Germany	Germany	Germany
Springer, Rudy	M	33	Wife	.....	Iowa	Ohio	Ohio
Springer, Elmer	M	15	Son	.....	Iowa	Germany	Ohio
Springer, Oliver	M	12	Son	.....	Iowa	Germany	Ohio
Springer, Grace	F	4	Daughter	.....	Iowa	Germany	Ohio
Pearson, Mathilda	F	56	Head	.....	Indiana	North Carolina	Indiana
Pearson, Retta	F	20	Daughter	.....	Iowa	Iowa	Indiana
Pearson, Elworth	M	22	Son	Farmer	Iowa	Iowa	Indiana
Mills, Willis	M	65	Boarder	.....	Iowa	Iowa	Indiana
Evans, Geo.	M	27	.....	Farmer	New York	New York	New Hampshire
Kayler, Frank	M	30	.....	Farmer	Missouri	Kentucky	Iowa
Williams, Jerry	M	45	.....	Farmer	Germany	Germany	Germany
Williams, Martha	F	41	.....	Farmer	Indiana	Indiana	Virginia
Williams, Charles	M	20	Wife	.....	Indiana	South Carolina	Virginia
Williams, Joseph	M	18	Son	Farmer	Iowa	Indiana	Indiana
Williams, James	M	15	Son	.....	Iowa	Indiana	Indiana
Williams, Clarence	M	10	Son	.....	Iowa	Indiana	Indiana
Williams, Fannie	F	8	Daughter	.....	Iowa	Indiana	Indiana
Hazelbrook, Geo.	M	37	Head	Farmer	Germany	Germany	Germany
Hazelbrook, Margaret	F	34	Wife	.....	New Jersey	New Jersey	New Jersey
Hazelbrook, Warren	M	8	Son	.....	New York	Germany	New Jersey
Hazelbrook, Florence	F	5	Daughter	.....	New York	Germany	New Jersey
Hazelbrook, Emma	F	4	Daughter	.....	New Jersey	New York	New York
Lewis, John	M	60	Father-in-law	Shoemaker	New Jersey	New York	New York
Davidson, Forman	M	27	Head	Farmer	New Jersey	New Jersey	New Jersey
Davidson, Linn	F	25	Wife	.....	New Jersey	New Jersey	New Jersey
Davidson, Walter	M	4	Son	.....	New Jersey	New Jersey	New Jersey

STANTON COUNTY—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Quinby, Edwin	M	24	Servant	Farmer	Wisconsin	New Hampshire	New Hampshire
Laroun, Chas.	M	32	Head	Farmer	Germany	Germany	Germany
Laroun, Metta	F	35	Wife	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
Laroun, Annie	F	3	Daughter	.....	New York	Germany	Germany
Manika, Henry	M	28	.....	Farmer	Germany	Germany	Germany
Hoelt, Herman	M	38	.....	Farmer	Germany	Germany	Germany
Stinchcomb, Della	M	25	Head	Farmer	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Stinchcomb, Scott	F	22	Wife	.....	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Stinchcomb, Blanche	F	11 mo.	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Ohio	Pennsylvania
Super, Ella	F	21	Sister-in-law	.....	Ohio	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
White, Peter	M	40	Head	Farmer	New Jersey	New Jersey	New Jersey
White, Lauretta	F	40	Wife	.....	New Jersey	New Jersey	New Jersey
White, Howard	M	21	Son	Farmer	New Jersey	New Jersey	New Jersey
White, Cora	F	19	Daughter	.....	New Jersey	New Jersey	New Jersey
White, Willard	M	17	Son	.....	New Jersey	New Jersey	New Jersey
White, Fred	M	15	Son	.....	New Jersey	New Jersey	New Jersey
White, Lauretta	F	12	Daughter	.....	New Jersey	New Jersey	New Jersey
White, Chas.	M	9	Son	.....	New Jersey	New Jersey	New Jersey
White, Josephine	F	5	Daughter	.....	New Jersey	New Jersey	New Jersey
White, Water	M	3	Son	.....	New Jersey	New Jersey	New Jersey
White, Mary	F	10 mo.	Daughter	.....	New Jersey	New Jersey	New Jersey
Asbury, James	M	30	Boarder	Farmer	New York	New York	New York
Ludwig, Elias	M	23	Boarder	Farmer	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Buckley, Walter	M	22	Boarder	Farmer	New Jersey	New Jersey	New Jersey
Warner, John	M	24	Boarder	Farmer	New York	New York	New York
Reed, Wm.	M	47	Head	Produce Dealer	Vermont	Vermont	Vermont
Reed, Wm., Jr.	M	19	Son	Farmer	New York	New York	Massachusetts
Bullock, Sam	M	24	Servant	Carpenter	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Stinchcomb, Frank	M	27	Head	Farmer	Ohio	Ohio	Ireland
Stinchcomb, Hettie	F	26	Wife	.....	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Vance, Laura	F	20	Niece	.....	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Stinchcomb, Elmer	M	23	Brother	Farmer	Ohio	Pennsylvania	Ireland
Stinchcomb, Maggie	F	18	Sister	.....	Ohio	Pennsylvania	Ireland
Goodman, John	M	27	Head	Farmer	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Goodman, Nancy	F	24	Wife	.....	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Goodman, James	M	22	Brother	Farmer	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Shocmaker, Ellazer	M	52	Head	Farmer	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Shocmaker, Frank	M	21	Son	Farmer	Ohio	Ohio	Pennsylvania
Griffiths, Geo.	M	20	Servant	Farmer	Ohio	Ohio	Pennsylvania
Bope, Edwin	M	25	Servant	Farmer	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Odengrant, Carl	M	23	Servant	Farmer	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden

STANTON COUNTY — continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Walker, Lewis	M	24	Servant	Farmer	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Taylor, Richard	M	15	Servant	Farmer	Nebraska	Ohio	Ohio
Mahni, John	M	31	Head	Farmer	Indiana	Indiana	Maine
Mahni, Laura	F	27	Wife		Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Mahni, Jennie	F	7	Daughter		Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Bird, Stephen	M	40	Head	Farmer	New York	New York	New York
Bird, Carrie	F	38	Wife		New York	England	England
Bird, Susie	F	17	Daughter		New York	New York	New York
Bird, Eddie	M	14	Son		New York	New York	New York
Bird, Fred	M	4	Son		New York	New York	New York
Dakin, Henry	M	20		Farmer	England	England	England
Dakin, Mary	F	15	Sister		England	England	England
Dakin, Francis	F	11	Sister		England	England	England
Dakin, Emily	F	8	Sister		England	England	England
Dyer, John	M	35		Laborer	New York	New York	Ireland
Clauson, Paul C.	M	40		Merchant	Wisconsin	Scotland	Scotland
Knight, Jennie	F	33	Wife		Wisconsin	Scotland	Scotland
Ward, James	M	28		Farmer	England	England	England
Schenk, Wm.	M	26	Servant	Farmer	Wisconsin	Ireland	Ireland
Schenk, Anna	F	30	Servant	Cook	Wisconsin	Austria	Austria
Lepewski, Beats	F	30	Servant		Austria	Austria	Austria
Lepewski, Mary	F	12	Daughter		Austria	Austria	Austria
Lepewski, Ferdinand	M	6	Son		Austria	Austria	Austria
Lepewski, Sophie	F	7 mo.	Daughter		Dakota	Austria	Austria
Gehauer, Jos.	M	28	Cousin	Farmer	Austria	Austria	Austria
Schenk, Jos.	M	70	Head		Austria	Austria	Austria
Schenk, Louis	M	20	Son	Farmer	Austria	Austria	Austria
Hull, Edwin	M	25		Farmer	Iowa	New Jersey	Tennessee
Andrews, Haskell	M	43	Head		Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Andrews, Mary	F	28	Wife		Indiana	Indiana	Vermont
Andrews, Effie	F	7	Daughter		Indiana	New Hampshire	Indiana
Purdy, Ira	M	66	Head	Carpenter	Pennsylvania	Connecticut	Connecticut
Purdy, Mary	F	60	Wife		Vermont	New Hampshire	New Hampshire
Sands, Niles	M	40	Head	Farmer	Indiana	Massachusetts	Vermont
Sands, Maria	F	39	Wife		Indiana	New Hampshire	Vermont
Sands, Matee	F	13	Daughter		Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Sands, Lena	F	6	Daughter		Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Sands, Sanborn	M	3	Son		Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Swain, Allard	M	28	Boarder	Farmer	Indiana	Germany	Germany
Hensell, Henry	M	47	Head	Farmer	Germany	Germany	Germany
Hensell, Sophia	F	43	Wife		Germany	Germany	Germany

STANTON COUNTY—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Hensell, Augustus	M	15	Son	Farmer	Iowa	Germany	Germany
Konopka, Henry	M	55	.....	Farmer	Russia	Russia	Russia
Gotts, John	M	26	.....	Farmer	Germany	Germany	Germany
Albrecht, Fritz	M	28	Head	Farmer	Germany	Germany	Germany
Albrecht, Henry	M	30	Brother	Farmer	Germany	Germany	Germany
Albrecht, Mina	F	31	Sister	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
Kraft, John	M	29	Cousin	Farmer	Germany	Germany	Germany
Rea, Frank	M	29	Servant	Farmer	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Lewis, Harry	M	24	Head	Farmer	Iowa	Indiana	New York
Lewis, Edwin	M	22	Brother	Farmer	Iowa	Indiana	New York
Lewis, Elizabeth	F	42	Aunt	.....	Indiana	Kentucky	Kentucky
Lewis, Josephine	F	33	Aunt	.....	Iowa	Kentucky	Kentucky
Hart, Charles	M	21	Head	Farmer	Iowa	Germany	Germany
Hart, Hattie	F	18	Wife	.....	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Loewenstroen, Wm.	M	44	Head	Farmer	Germany	Germany	Germany
Williams, Annie	F	30	Servant	Cook	Wisconsin	England	England
Williams, Wm.	M	8	.....	.....	Minnesota	Wisconsin	Wisconsin
Campbell, John	M	37	Servant	Farmer	Illinois	New York	Pennsylvania
Fowster, Bruno	M	38	.....	Farmer	Germany	Germany	Germany
Steinhauser, E.	M	28	Servant	Farmer	Germany	Germany	Germany
Shepard, Wm.	M	54	Head	Farmer	Vermont	Vermont	Vermont
Shepard, Julia	F	44	Wife	.....	Vermont	Vermont	Vermont
Shepard, Rowland	M	24	Son	Farmer	Vermont	Vermont	Vermont
Shepard, Jos.	M	19	Son	Farmer	Illinois	Vermont	Vermont
Shepard, Wm.	M	17	Son	.....	Illinois	Vermont	Vermont
Shepard, Nona	F	10	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Vermont	Vermont
Mathews, Mathilda,	F	27	Servant	Cook	New York	New York	Massachusetts
Maw, Ira	M	24	Head	Farmer	England	England	England
Maw, Lottie	F	22	Wife	.....	Canada	Canada	Canada
Maw, George	M	13 mo.	Son	.....	Wisconsin	Wisconsin	Wisconsin
Maw, Wright	M	20	Brother	.....	Dakota	Wisconsin	Canada
Henderson, Wm.	M	52	Boarder	.....	Minnesota	England	England
Fisher, Lewis	M	44	Head	Grain Merchant	Scotland	Scotland	Scotland
Fisher, Mary	F	42	Wife	.....	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Fisher, John	M	20	Son	.....	Virginia	Virginia	Virginia
Fisher, Frank	M	16	Son	.....	Indiana	Pennsylvania	Indiana
Fisher, Alice	F	12	Daughter	.....	Indiana	Pennsylvania	Indiana
Clulton, Levy	M	38	Head	Farmer	Indiana	Pennsylvania	Indiana
Clulton, Minerva	F	36	Wife	.....	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Clulton, Cora	F	14	Daughter	.....	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Clulton, Frank	M	6	Son	.....	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana

STANTON COUNTY—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Glass, Thos.	M	44	Head	Engineer	England	Ireland	England
Glass, Mary	F	38	Wife	.....	New York	New Jersey	New York
Glass, Mary	F	17	Daughter	.....	New York	England	New York
Glass, Ella	F	15	Daughter	.....	New York	England	New York
Glass, Chas.	M	12	Son	.....	New York	England	New York
Glass, Hannah	F	7	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	England	New York
Glass, Etta	F	4	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	England	New York
Sanders, Chancy	M	27	Head	Carpenter	Indiana	Ohio	New York
Sanders, Zoe	F	28	Wife	.....	Indiana	New York	New York
Sanders, Ralph	M	5	Son	.....	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Lacy, Wm.	M	37	.....	.....	Michigan	New York	New York
Bailey, John	M	35	.....	Farmer	Indiana	Indiana	New York
McAlister, Ben R. M.	M	58	Head	Blacksmith	Pennsylvania	Massachusetts	Pennsylvania
McAlister, Pasha	F	54	Wife	.....	New York	New York	New York
McAlister, W.	M	26	Son	Farmer	Indiana	Pennsylvania	New York
McAlister, Mary	F	16	Daughter	.....	Indiana	Pennsylvania	New York
McAlister, Susan	F	10	Daughter	.....	Indiana	Pennsylvania	New York
Umphrey, Wm.	M	58	Head	Farmer	Canada	Canada	Vermont
Umphrey, Angeline	F	53	Wife	.....	Canada	Canada	New York
Umphrey, Nancy	F	27	Daughter	.....	Canada	Canada	Canada
Umphrey, Wm.	M	25	Son	Farmer	Canada	Canada	Canada
Umphrey, John	M	17	Son	Farmer	Canada	Canada	Canada
Umphrey, Della	F	17	Daughter	.....	Michigan	Canada	Canada
Umphrey, James	M	14	Son	.....	Michigan	Canada	Canada
Umphrey, Ida	F	8	Daughter	.....	Canada	Canada	Canada
Umphrey, Alexander	M	50	Brother	Farmer	Scotland	Scotland	Vermont
Williamson, John	M	57	.....	Farmer	Indiana	Scotland	England
Clauson, John	M	28	Servant	Farmer	Indiana	Indiana	England
Murray, Jerome	M	38	Head	Farmer	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Murray, Emma	F	39	Wife	.....	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Murray, Edwin	M	13	Son	.....	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Murray, Rilla	F	5	Son	.....	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Murray, Rose	F	2	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Indiana	Indiana
Bodley, James	M	44	Head	Boarding House	Indiana	Ohio	Indiana
Bodley, Louisa	F	36	Wife	.....	Indiana	New Hampshire	New York
Bodley, Phile	M	18	Son	.....	Indiana	Indiana	Vermont
Bodley, Edward	M	15	Son	.....	Michigan	Indiana	Indiana
Bodley, Earl	M	9	Son	.....	Michigan	Indiana	Indiana
Lepewski, Cecelia	F	14	Servant	.....	Austria	Austria	Austria
Schindler, Mary	F	22	Servant	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
Noonan, Michael	M	30	Boarder	Cook Farmer	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland

STANTON COUNTY—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Malbert, Nels	M	27	Boarder	Farmer	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Hesse, Wm.	M	44	Boarder	Farmer	Germany	Germany	Germany
Hart, John	M	23	Boarder	Farmer	Indiana	Germany	Germany
Ray, Samuel	M	40	Boarder	Farmer	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Schindler, John	M	20	Boarder	Farmer	Germany	Germany	Germany
Nasiner, Frank	M	18	Boarder	Farmer	Austria	Austria	Austria
Stanley, Chas.	M	24	Boarder	Farmer	Indiana	North Carolina	Indiana
Mahni, Chas.	M	24	Boarder	Farmer	Indiana	Ohio	Maine
Mahni, Albert	M	29	Boarder	Farmer	Indiana	Ohio	Maine
Bradley, Fred	M	55	Boarder	Farmer	Germany	Germany	Germany
Swanson, Samuel	M	21	Boarder	Farmer	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Glass, Fred	M	38	Boarder	Carpenter	Maine	Maine	Maine
Pummell, Wm.	M	32	Boarder	Farmer	Canada	Canada	Canada
Pummell, Mary	F	30	Head	Farmer	England	Canada	Canada
Nicholson, Fred	M	37	Wife	Farmer	England	England	England
Nicholson, Lizzie	F	27	Wife	Farmer	England	England	England
Nicholson, Charles	M	22	Boarder	Farmer	England	England	England
Noonan, John	M	25	Boarder	Farmer	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Marinet, Emil	M	30	Boarder	Farmer	France	France	France
Pearson, John	M	45	Head	Carpenter	Iowa	North Carolina	Ohio
Pearson, Sarah	F	44	Wife	.....	Iowa	Kentucky	Indiana
Pearson, Edwin	M	19	Son	.....	Iowa	Iowa	Iowa
Pearson, Rose	F	17	Daughter	.....	Iowa	Iowa	Iowa
Pearson, James	M	10	Son	.....	Iowa	Iowa	Iowa
Pearson, Wm.	M	12	Son	.....	Iowa	Iowa	Iowa
Swanson, Peter	M	30	Head	Farmer	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Swanson, Clara	F	25	Wife	.....	Illinois	Sweden	Sweden
Hesse, Whilmina	F	43	.....	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
Hesse, Carl	M	13	Son	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
Hesse, Paul	M	8	Son	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
Hesse, Grant	M	5	Son	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
Hesse, Lizzie	F	1	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Germany	Germany
Van Dusen, John	M	60	Head	Gentleman	New York	New York	New York
Hughes, John	M	39	Wife	Carpenter	Ohio	Wales	Pennsylvania
Hughes, Lizzie	F	38	Wife	.....	Ohio	Virginia	Maryland
Cagg, Samuel, M.	M	49	.....	Farmer	Ohio	New York	Vermont
Cagg, Ann	F	43	.....	Cook	New York	New Hampshire	Vermont
Bartholomew, Wm.	M	40	Servant	Mail messenger	Indiana	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Clabbots, John	M	16	Boarder	.....	Wisconsin	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Mahni, George	M	33	Head	Farmer	Indiana	Belgium	Maine
Mahni, Melissa	F	31	Wife	.....	Indiana	Ohio	Ohio

STANTON COUNTY — continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Mahl, Worth	M	6	Son	.....	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Mahl, Milton	M	4	Son	.....	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Mahl, Grace	F	1	Daughter	.....	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Mahl, Robert	M	27	Brother	Farmer	Indiana	Ohio	Maine
Hubbell, William	M	48	Head	Farmer	New York	New York	Massachusetts
Hubbell, Elizabeth	F	43	Wife	.....	New York	New York	New York
Hubbell, Fred	M	20	Son	.....	Illinois	New York	New York
Hubbell, Louie	F	17	Daughter	.....	Illinois	New York	New York
Hubbell, Stella	F	12	Daughter	.....	Illinois	New York	New York
Hubbell, Howard	M	10	Son	.....	Illinois	New York	New York
Hubbell, Mamie	F	6	Daughter	.....	Illinois	New York	New York
Hubbell, Chas.	M	22	Son	Merchant	Wisconsin	New York	New York
Berry, Tunison	M	39	Head	.....	Ohio	New York	New York
Berry, Christina	F	37	Wife	.....	Indiana	Ohio	Ohio
Berry, Ella	F	4	Daughter	.....	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Davidson, Scott	M	23	Boarder	Farmer	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Bonsfield, Richard	M	51	Head	Farmer	England	England	England
Bonsfield, Rose	F	44	Wife	.....	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Umphrey, Isaac	M	22	Servant	.....	Canada	Canada	Canada
Kantts, Nick	M	34	Head	Farmer	Germany	Germany	Germany
Kantts, Mary	F	27	Wife	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
Kantts, Annie	F	8 mo.	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Germany	Germany
Scott, David	M	30	Servant	Farmer	New Hampshire	Maine	New Hampshire
Kilby, George	M	29	Servant	Farmer	New York	New York	New York
Kilby, Ida	F	27	.....	.....	New York	New York	New York
Kilby, Wm.	M	2 mo.	.....	.....	Dakota	New York	New York
Sanborn, Moses	M	65	Head	Merchant	New Hampshire	New Hampshire	New Hampshire
Sanborn, Hannah	F	63	Wife	.....	Vermont	Vermont	Vermont
Birchett, A., Jr.	M	30	.....	Land Agent	New York	New York	England
Schindler, Louisa	F	48	.....	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
Van Deusan, Winfield	M	24	.....	Carpenter	Pennsylvania	New York	New York
Williams, Wm. V.	M	39	.....	Farmer	Iowa	Kentucky	Virginia
Holly, Benjamin	M	28	Servant	.....	Iowa	Iowa	Pennsylvania
Johnson, Wm.	M	60	Head	Farmer	England	England	England
Johnson, Mary	F	57	Wife	.....	England	England	England

TOWNER COUNTY.

Males	237	Carpenter	3
Females	129	Co. Officials	3
Married	99	Saloon Keeper	2
Single	266	Hotel Keeper	2
Under 21 years of age.....	125	Cook	2
Attended school during		Contractor	1
1885	21	Merchant	1
Farmer	119	Real Estate and Insurance..	2
Laborer	10	Editor	1
Blacksmith	6	Teacher	1
		Doctor	1
Born in Dakota Territory	12		
Born in other parts of the U. S.....	229		
Foreign born	125		
Total population	366		

TOWNER COUNTY

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Powell, Caleb	M	58	Head	Farmer	Ontario	Nova Scotia	Long Island
Powell, Susan	F	51	Wife	.....	Ontario	Ireland	Nebraska
Powell, Wm.	M	22	Son	Farmer	Ontario	Ontario	Ontario
Powell, John	M	16	Son	.....	Ontario	Ontario	Ontario
Powell, Lottie	F	14	Daughter	.....	Ontario	Ontario	Ontario
Fitch, Ralph	M	23	.....	Farmer	Pennsylvania	Germany	Pennsylvania
McGovern, Wm.	M	35	Head	Farmer	Canada	Ireland	Ireland
McGovern, Susan	F	30	Wife	.....	New York	Ireland	New York
McGovern, Mary	F	10	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Canada	New York
McGovern, Maggie	F	9	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Canada	New York
McGovern, Alice	F	7	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Canada	New York
McGovern, John	M	5	Son	.....	Minnesota	Canada	New York
McGovern, Edward	M	3	Son	.....	Minnesota	Canada	New York
McGovern, Daniel	M	11 mo.	Son	.....	Dakota	Canada	New York
Rader, John	M	25	Head	Farmer	Indiana	Indiana	Indiana
Rader, Mattie	F	25	Wife	.....	Minnesota	Indiana	Virginia
Rader, Susie	F	2	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Indiana	Minnesota
Rader, Walter	M	5 mo.	Son	.....	Dakota	Indiana	Minnesota
McGee, Wm.	M	52	Head	Farmer	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
McGee, Mary E.	F	51	Wife	.....	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
McGee, James P.	M	26	Son	Farmer	Wisconsin	Ireland	Ireland
McGee, John C.	M	24	Son	Farmer	Wisconsin	Ireland	Ireland
McGee, Emmet	M	21	Son	Farmer	Wisconsin	Ireland	Ireland
McGee, Isabel	F	17	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Ireland	Ireland
Patterson, W.	M	33	.....	Farmer	Pennsylvania	Ireland	Ireland
Ferguson, James	M	35	.....	Farmer	Pennsylvania	Ireland	Ireland
Stackhouse, Wm.	M	39	.....	Farmer	Illinois	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Avery, Norman	M	22	.....	Farmer	Minnesota	New York	Indiana
Avery, Miles K.	M	30	.....	Farmer	New York	New York	Indiana
Noyes, Tracy H.	M	23	Head	Farmer	Wisconsin	New York	Pennsylvania
Noyes, W. L.	M	18	Brother	Farmer	Wisconsin	New York	Pennsylvania
Gervan, T. S.	M	23	.....	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Stahl, Chas. A.	M	23	.....	Farmer	Missouri	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Wells, Job T.	M	22	.....	Farmer	West Virginia	West Virginia	Ohio
Fiemeier, Frank	M	24	.....	Farmer	Illinois	Germany	Germany
Turcot, John	M	27	.....	Farmer	Canada	Canada	Canada
Fiemeier, John	M	26	.....	Farmer	Illinois	Germany	Germany
McCanna, Maria	F	64	Head	Farmer	Ireland	Ireland	Canada
McCanna, Thos.	M	24	Son	Farmer	Minnesota	Ireland	Canada
McCanna, Mary	F	20	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Ireland	Canada
Fitch, Augustus	M	23	Servant	Laborer	Vermont	Vermont	Vermont

TOWNER COUNTY—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Stewart, Jane	F	37	Head	Farmer	Vermont	Ireland	Ireland
Herber, Geo.	M	22	Servant	Laborer	Minnesota	Germany	Pennsylvania
Steele, A. A. H.	M	28	Head	.....	Missouri	Georgia	Missouri
Steele, Annie M.	F	21	Wife	.....	Missouri	Germany	Pennsylvania
Steele, Lena P.	F	1	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Georgia	Missouri
Steele, W. P.	M	38	Brother	Farmer	Missouri	Georgia	Missouri
Steele, L. V.	F	21	Sister	.....	Missouri	Georgia	Missouri
Riggs, Albion H.	M	22	.....	Farmer	Missouri	Missouri	Missouri
Riggs, C. B.	M	24	Head	Farmer	Missouri	Missouri	Missouri
Riggs, Fannie	F	19	Wife	.....	Missouri	Kentucky	Missouri
Fox, John	M	23	.....	Farmer	Missouri	Missouri	Missouri
McCune, J. H.	M	28	Head	.....	Missouri	Missouri	Missouri
McCune, Belle	F	25	Wife	.....	Missouri	Missouri	Missouri
McCune, L. F.	F	4	Daughter	.....	Missouri	Missouri	Missouri
Glascrock, A. B.	M	55	Servant	Laborer	Missouri	Missouri	Missouri
Grobly, John	M	23	Servant	Laborer	Missouri	Missouri	Missouri
Clifton, Jas. B.	M	47	Head	Farmer	Missouri	Missouri	Missouri
Clifton, Geo. W.	M	18	Son	.....	Missouri	Missouri	Missouri
Crosen, Joseph	M	41	.....	Farmer	Canada	Canada	England
Scotfield, Rebecca	F	45	Head	Farmer	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Scotfield, A. F.	F	24	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Ireland	Ireland
Scotfield, Geo. A.	M	22	Son	Farmer	Minnesota	Ireland	Ireland
Scotfield, L. P.	M	19	Son	.....	Minnesota	Ireland	Ireland
Stewart, Elizabeth	F	40	Sister	.....	Canada	Ireland	Ireland
Stewart, James	M	35	Head	Farmer	Canada	Ireland	Ireland
Stewart, M. J.	F	26	Niece	.....	Minnesota	Ireland	Ireland
McAnna, Jas. J.	M	36	Head	Farmer	Vermont	Ireland	Ireland
McAnna, Alice	F	32	Wife	.....	Canada	Ireland	Ireland
McAnna, Esther A.	F	10	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Vermont	Canada
McAnna, M. J.	M	8	Son	.....	Minnesota	Vermont	Canada
McAnna, M. H.	F	6	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Vermont	Canada
McAnna, M. A.	F	4	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Vermont	Canada
McAnna, J. T.	M	2	Son	.....	Dakota	Vermont	Canada
Tuller, N. A.	M	23	Servant	Laborer	New York	New York	New York
Sieber, J. A.	M	21	Servant	Laborer	Minnesota	Germany	Germany
Gibbens, Alice	F	26	Head	Farmer	Illinois	Ohio	Canada
Stephens, Belle	F	27	Wife	.....	Illinois	North Carolina	North Carolina
Lowell, Geo. L.	M	26	Niece	.....	Illinois	Illinois	Pennsylvania
Taylor, Chas.	M	23	.....	Farmer	Maine	Maine	Maine
Woolfe, Edward	M	30	.....	Farmer	Minnesota	Minnesota	Canada
					Illinois	Ireland	Ireland

TOWNER COUNTY—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Kennedy, D.	M	32	.....	Farmer	Canada	Scotland	Scotland
Quinn, M.	M	31	.....	Farmer	Canada	Canada	Canada
Atkins, C. J.	M	47	Head	Farmer	Vermont	Vermont	Vermont
Atkins, Laura B.	F	46	Wife	.....	Illinois	Ohio	Ohio
Atkins, L. C.	M	21	Son	.....	Missouri	Vermont	Illinois
Atkins, May	F	17	Daughter	.....	Missouri	Vermont	Illinois
Atkins, Birdie	F	15	Daughter	.....	Missouri	Vermont	Illinois
Atkins, W. P.	M	13	Son	.....	Missouri	Vermont	Illinois
Atkins, Stonevall	M	10	Son	.....	Missouri	Vermont	Illinois
Atkins, Price	M	8	Son	.....	Missouri	Vermont	Illinois
Atkins, Robert	M	6	Son	.....	Missouri	Vermont	Illinois
Atkins, Ralph	M	3	Son	.....	Missouri	Vermont	Illinois
Palmer, A. L.	M	28	Head	Farmer	Illinois	New York	Connecticut
Palmer, Annie	F	25	Wife	.....	Illinois	Ireland	Ireland
Dunn, Geo.	M	21	Head	.....	England	England	England
Dunn, Mary	F	20	Wife	.....	England	England	England
Dunn, Katie	F	4 mo.	.....	.....	Missouri	England	Ireland
Finnegan, John H.	M	30	.....	Farmer	New York	England	England
Finnegan, Mary	F	28	Wife	.....	Missouri	Ireland	Ireland
Finnegan, Lizzie	F	6	Daughter	.....	Missouri	England	England
Finnegan, B.	M	5	Son	.....	Missouri	New York	Missouri
Finnegan, Bertie	F	3	Daughter	.....	Missouri	New York	Missouri
Finnegan, Mary	F	1	Daughter	.....	Missouri	New York	Missouri
Scott, Warren	M	26	.....	.....	New York	New Hampshire	New York
Main, L. W.	M	33	Head	Farmer	Ohio	Pennsylvania	Ohio
Main, Belle	F	23	Sister	.....	Illinois	Pennsylvania	Ohio
Main, C. E.	F	30	Sister-in-law	.....	Missouri	Missouri	Missouri
Main, R. W.	M	4	Nephew	.....	Missouri	Ohio	Missouri
Oleson, C. H.	M	23	Head	Hotelkeeper	Wisconsin	Norway	Norway
Oleson, I.	F	20	Wife	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Oleson, Olga	F	2	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Wisconsin	Norway
Oleson, Henry	M	17	Brother	.....	Wisconsin	Norway	Norway
Sather, Pete	M	22	Servant	Laborer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Johnson, Ellen	F	24	Servant	Cook	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
McWilliams, Geo. E.	M	24	.....	Saloonkeeper	Minnesota	Ireland	New York
Sheehan, John	M	24	.....	Saloonkeeper	Canada	Ireland	Ireland
McDougall, R.	M	53	Head	Blacksmith	Ontario	Scotland	Scotland
McDougall, K.	M	43	Wife	.....	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
McDougall, M.	F	22	Daughter	.....	Vermont	Ontario	Ireland
McDougall, John	M	21	Son	.....	Vermont	Ontario	Ireland
McDougall, Geo.	M	18	Son	.....	Vermont	Ontario	Ireland

TOWNER COUNTY—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
McDougall, Angus	M	16	Son	.....	Vermont	Ontario	Ireland
McDougall, C.	M	14	Son	.....	Vermont	Ontario	Ireland
McDougall, Lettie	F	9	Daughter	.....	Vermont	Ontario	Ireland
McDougall, H.	M	2	Son	.....	Vermont	Ontario	Ireland
Thomas, W. M.	M	25	Head	Farmer	Canada	Ireland	Ireland
Dickinson, W. M.	M	24	Head	Contractor	Wisconsin	New York	New York
Dickinson, E.	F	19	Wife	.....	Iowa	Vermont	England
Gerrard, A. H.	M	28	.....	Blacksmith	Scotland	Scotland	Scotland
Eusign, C. H.	M	33	.....	Merchant	New York	New York	New York
Nelson, John	M	45	.....	Farmer	Canada	Canada	Canada
Rae, John	M	27	.....	Farmer	Canada	Canada	Canada
Hardee, J. W.	M	41	.....	R. E. Agent	New York	New York	Massachusetts
Liscom, M. C.	M	45	.....	Hotel Keeper	Michigan	New York	New York
Liscom, Edward	M	21	Son	.....	Michigan	New York	Michigan
Liscom, F.	F	11	Daughter	.....	Missouri	New York	Missouri
Pew, W. E.	M	28	.....	County Clerk	Maine	Kentucky	Maine
Rice, W. A.	M	21	.....	Dep. County Clerk	Canada	Maine	Vermont
Parker, P. P.	M	49	Head	Farmer	Canada	Canada	Kentucky
Parker, S. F.	M	39	Wife	.....	Missouri	Kentucky	Missouri
Parker, A. B.	F	18	Daughter	.....	Missouri	Canada	Missouri
Parker, E. H.	M	16	Son	.....	Missouri	Canada	Missouri
Parker, Jas. A.	M	6	Son	.....	Missouri	Canada	Missouri
Goodhue, Annette	F	40	Boarder	.....	Canada	Canada	Canada
Parker, H. C.	M	4	Son	.....	Missouri	Canada	Missouri
Sibley, E. F.	M	54	Head	Editor	New York	Vermont	Vermont
Sibley, M. L.	F	51	Wife	.....	Indiana	Ohio	Kentucky
Sibley, Mandy	F	13	Daughter	.....	Indiana	New York	Indiana
Sibley, A. E.	M	16	Son	.....	Ireland	New York	Ireland
Sibley, A. E.	M	61	Head	Farmer	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
McFadgen, E.	M	50	Wife	.....	Pennsylvania	Ireland	Ireland
McFadgen, Mary	F	24	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Ireland	Ireland
McFadgen, M.	F	15	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Ireland	Ireland
McFadgen, Annie	F	13	Son	.....	Minnesota	Ireland	Ireland
McFadgen, D.	M	10	Son	.....	Minnesota	Ireland	Ireland
McFadgen, T.	M	8	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Ireland	Ireland
McFadgen, Lizzie	F	23	Boarder	Farmer	Canada	Ireland	Ireland
Madden, M. S.	M	55	Head	Farmer	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Coleman, Wm.	M	26	Son	Farmer	Minnesota	Ireland	Ireland
Coleman, John	M	22	Son	.....	Minnesota	Ireland	Ireland
Coleman, Hannah	F	24	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Ireland	Ireland
Coleman, W. B.	M	22	Son	Farmer	Minnesota	Ireland	Ireland
Legerborg, John	M	21	.....	Farmer	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden

TOWNER COUNTY—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Lundal, N.	M	25	.....	Farmer	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Lenke, Fred	M	40	Head	Farmer	Germany	Germany	Germany
Lenke, Julia	F	34	Wife	.....	Wisconsin	Wisconsin	Wisconsin
Lenke, Ida	F	13	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Germany	Germany
Lenke, Benny	M	12	Son	.....	Minnesota	Germany	Wisconsin
Lenke, Isabel	F	10	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Germany	Wisconsin
Lenke, Willie	M	8	Son	.....	Minnesota	Germany	Wisconsin
Lenke, Harvey	M	7	Son	.....	Minnesota	Germany	Wisconsin
Lenke, Julius	M	6	Son	.....	Minnesota	Germany	Wisconsin
Lenke, Fred	M	4	Son	.....	Minnesota	Germany	Wisconsin
Lenke, Dakota	F	2	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Germany	Wisconsin
Klier, Wallace	M	23	Brother-in-law	.....	Dakota	Wisconsin	Wisconsin
McCanna, David	M	34	Head	Farmer	Vermont	Ireland	Ireland
McCanna, Bridget	F	27	Wife	.....	Minnesota	Ireland	Ireland
McCanna, S. M.	F	1 mo.	Son	.....	Dakota	Vermont	Minnesota
McCanna, C.	F	26	Sister	.....	Minnesota	Ireland	Ireland
Erdman, Philip	M	23	Servant	.....	Illinois	Germany	Pennsylvania
Peerson, James	M	24	Servant	.....	Canada	Canada	Canada
Cleary, Mike	M	24	Servant	.....	New York	Ireland	Ireland
Brown, Lewis	M	23	Servant	.....	Missouri	Virginia	Virginia
Martin, Fred	M	18	Servant	.....	Minnesota	New York	Vermont
Rollin, John	M	26	Head	.....	Kansas	Norway	Norway
Gilbertson, Hattie	F	25	Servant	.....	Wisconsin	Norway	Norway
Malum, Louis	M	27	Boarder	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Lane, W. H.	M	35	Head	.....	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Lane, Mary O.	F	34	Wife	.....	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Lane, A. A.	M	11	Son	.....	Ohio	Ohio	Pennsylvania
Lane, F. C.	M	7	Son	.....	Ohio	Ohio	Canada
Gibbens, W.	M	25	Boarder	Ins. Agent	Illinois	Ohio	Canada
Gibbens, Alice	F	23	Boarder	Teacher	Illinois	Ohio	Canada
Connell, J. W.	M	24	Boarder	.....	Alabama	Virginia	Alabama
Gray, Tim	M	26	.....	Carpenter	Minnesota	Ireland	Ireland
Thomas, B. J.	M	26	.....	.....	Canada	Ireland	Ireland
Snyder, G. M.	M	32	.....	.....	New York	New York	New York
Snyder, J. M.	M	42	.....	.....	New York	New York	New York
Lowry, Thos.	M	41	.....	.....	Wisconsin	Scotland	Ireland
Joiner, H. L.	M	49	.....	.....	Vermont	Vermont	Ireland
Erickson, Robt.	M	25	.....	Farmer	Sweden	Sweden	New Hampshire
Scarff, Alec	M	25	.....	Farmer	New York	New York	Sweden
Edstrom, P. T.	M	26	Head	Farmer	Norway	Norway	New York
Edstrom, Mary C.	F	26	Wife	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway

TOWNER COUNTY—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Oleson, John	M	42	Head	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Oleson, Caroline	F	32	Wife	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Oleson, Ole	M	11	Son	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Oleson, S. C.	M	3	Son	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Oleson, Emma	F	1 mo.	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Norway	Norway
Swenson, Soren	M	75	Father-in-law	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Oleson, Adam	M	46	Brother	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Oleson, Soren	M	31	Head	Doctor	Missouri	Missouri	Missouri
Coreyers, J. S.	M	26	Brother	Farmer	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois
Coreyers, T. W.	M	30	Servant	Laborer	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Miller, W. T.	M	26	Head	Cook	Minnesota	Ireland	Ireland
Miller, Kate	F	25	Wife	Blacksmith	Minnesota	Ireland	Ireland
O'Gorman, Dave	M	26	Daughter	Blacksmith	Dakota	Minnesota	Wisconsin
O'Gorman, Mary	F	26	Boarder	Co. Sheriff	Minnesota	Ireland	Ireland
O'Gorman, Katie	F	31	Boarder	Farmer	New York	Ireland	Ireland
O'Gorman, Dave	M	29	Head	.....	Illinois	Ireland	Ireland
O'Gorman, Edward	M	29	Wife	.....	Wisconsin	.....	.....
O'Gorman, Wm.	M	29	Wife	.....	Wisconsin	.....	.....
O'Gorman, E.	F	7	Son	.....	Minnesota	New York	Wisconsin
O'Gorman, Wm., Jr.	M	5	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	New York	Wisconsin
O'Gorman, Julia	F	3	Son	.....	Minnesota	New York	Wisconsin
O'Gorman, Dennis	M	2	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	New York	Wisconsin
O'Gorman, Lizzie	F	50	Head	Farmer	Dakota	Canada	Canada
Brown, T.	M	22	Head	Laborer	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois
Lapham, F. W.	M	24	Servant	Farmer	Wisconsin	Canada	Canada
Brown, John	M	35	Head	Farmer	Wisconsin	Germany	Germany
Grimm, J. H.	F	26	Wife	.....	Wisconsin	New York	New York
Grimm, Ellen	F	5	Daughter	.....	Wisconsin	Wisconsin	Wisconsin
Grimm, Lauriel	F	7	Son	.....	Wisconsin	Wisconsin	Wisconsin
Grimm, T.	M	28	Head	Farmer	Canada	Canada	Canada
Rock, James	M	27	Wife	.....	Canada	Canada	Canada
Rock, Minnie	F	7	Son	.....	Canada	Canada	Canada
Rock, M. H.	M	5	Son	.....	Dakota	Canada	Canada
Rock, Eddie	M	2	Daughter	.....	Missouri	Canada	Canada
Rock, J. L.	F	23	Brother	Farmer	Missouri	Virginia	Virginia
Rock, Mike	M	24	.....	Farmer	Missouri	Kentucky	Kentucky
Priest, E. E.	M	27	Head	Farmer	England	Vermont	Vermont
Goer, E. B.	M	28	Wife	.....	Canada	Scotland	Scotland
Mason, H. C.	F	27	.....	Farmer	Canada	Canada	Canada
Mason, Jane	F	23	.....	.....	Vermont	Canada	Canada
Ransier, L. J.	M	22	.....	Carpenter	Vermont	Vermont	Vermont
Sheehy, Fred	M	22	.....	Carpenter	Vermont	Vermont	Vermont

TOWNER COUNTY—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Moylan, J. F.	M	36	Head	Farmer	Canada	Ireland	Ireland
Moylan, Susan	F	30	Wife	.....	Wisconsin	Ireland	Ireland
Moylan, Joseph	M	7	Son	.....	Minnesota	Canada	Wisconsin
Moylan, Birdie	F	4	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Canada	Wisconsin
Doyle, J. E.	M	26	Boarder	Farmer	Minnesota	Ireland	Ireland
Henson, E.	M	24	Boarder	Farmer	West Virginia	Virginia	Virginia
Dingman, H. H.	M	28	.....	Farmer	Canada	Canada	Canada
Dingman, S. S.	M	27	.....	Farmer	Canada	Canada	Canada
Marx, E. W.	M	23	.....	Farmer	Michigan	Canada	Canada
Blair, A. F.	M	35	Head	.....	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Blair, E.	F	33	Wife	.....	New York	New York	New York
Blair, Grace	F	2	Daughter	.....	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	New York
Rudson, Hattie	F	23	Sister-in-law	.....	New York	New York	New York
Berg, C.	F	51	Head	.....	Wisconsin	New York	New York
Berg, Hans	M	26	Son	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Berg, J.	M	23	Son	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Dennis, Geo.	M	26	Head	.....	Michigan	Norway	Norway
Dennis, Mary	F	22	Wife	.....	Illinois	Maine	New Hampshire
LaRue, S.	F	55	.....	.....	Illinois	Indiana	Illinois
Probert, H. A.	M	22	.....	.....	Illinois	Ohio	Ohio
Howell, M. J.	F	50	Head	.....	England	England	England
Howell, Jas.	M	23	Son	.....	Missouri	Kentucky	Kentucky
Howell, Birdie	F	17	Daughter	.....	Missouri	Illinois	Missouri
Davis, H. C.	M	32	.....	.....	Missouri	Illinois	Missouri
Hess, T. H.	M	25	.....	.....	Vermont	Vermont	Vermont
Shoemberg, John	M	34	Head	.....	Ohio	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Shoemberg, J.	M	3	Son	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
Shoemberg, C.	F	30	Wife	.....	Wisconsin	Germany	France
Shoemberg, N.	F	5	Daughter	.....	France	France	France
Schoemberg, M.	F	1	Daughter	.....	Wisconsin	Germany	France
Schoemberg, D.	F	70	Mother	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
Rock, Thos.	M	27	Head	.....	Canada	Canada	Canada
Rock, Lizzie	F	23	Wife	.....	Minnesota	Ireland	Ireland
Larson, Nels	M	22	Servant	Laborer	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Taylor, W. H.	M	38	Head	.....	England	England	England
Taylor, M.	F	33	Wife	.....	England	England	England
Maginnis, Pat	M	40	.....	Farmer	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Blackmire, Chas.	M	28	.....	Farmer	Wisconsin	Germany	Germany
Bradshaw, W.	M	30	.....	Farmer	Michigan	Pennsylvania	New York
Sather, A.	M	30	.....	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Sather, J.	M	27	.....	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway

TOWNER COUNTY—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Badey, W. G.	M	47	Head	Farmer	Illinois	Pennsylvania	Ohio
Badey, John	M	18	Son	.....	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois
Badey, M. J.	F	43	Wife	.....	Illinois	New York	Pennsylvania
Badey, Sarah	M	16	Daughter	.....	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois
Badey, Laura	F	14	.....	.....	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois
Badey, Jas. T.	M	11	.....	.....	Iowa	Illinois	Illinois
Badey, Nellie	F	9	.....	.....	Minnesota	New York	New York
Scott, Marion	M	29	.....	Farmer	Michigan	Ohio	Ohio
Smith, Peter	M	28	.....	Farmer	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Hartley, J. H.	M	30	.....	Farmer	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Hughberg, Hartley	M	28	.....	Farmer	West Virginia	West Virginia	West Virginia
Miller, W. C.	M	35	Head	.....	West Virginia	West Virginia	West Virginia
Miller, Belle	F	49	Wife	.....	West Virginia	West Virginia	West Virginia
Miller, A. W.	M	21	Son	.....	West Virginia	West Virginia	West Virginia
Miller, U. C.	M	22	Son	Farmer	West Virginia	West Virginia	West Virginia
Miller, W. F.	M	13	Son	.....	West Virginia	West Virginia	West Virginia
Miller, R. S.	M	10	Son	.....	West Virginia	West Virginia	West Virginia
Miller, C. D.	M	8	Son	.....	West Virginia	West Virginia	West Virginia
Miller, R. C.	M	2	Son	.....	West Virginia	West Virginia	West Virginia
Miller, M. J.	F	2 mo.	Daughter	.....	Dakota	West Virginia	West Virginia
Annetts, W. H.	M	30	Head	Farmer	New York	New York	New York
Annetts, Lon	F	31	Wife	.....	New York	England	England
Annetts, Edith	F	8	Daughter	.....	New York	New York	New York
Edminson, Henry	M	50	Head	Farmer	Canada	Canada	Canada
Edminson, Rebeca	F	50	Wife	.....	Canada	New Jersey	Canada
Edminson, Chas.	M	26	Son	Blacksmith	Canada	Canada	Canada
Edminson, Jemina	F	24	Daughter	.....	Canada	Canada	Canada
Edminson, Geo.	M	22	Son	Farmer	Canada	Canada	Canada
Edminson, Wellington	M	19	Son	.....	Canada	Canada	Canada
Edminson, James	M	12	Son	.....	Canada	Canada	Canada
Edminson, Fred	M	10	Son	.....	Canada	Canada	Canada
Dumphy, Jas.	M	46	Head	Farmer	Canada	Canada	Canada
Dumphy, Phoebe	F	39	Wife	.....	Canada	Canada	Canada
Dumphy, Cora C.	F	18	Daughter	.....	Canada	Canada	Canada
Dumphy, Maude R.	F	15	Daughter	.....	Canada	Canada	Canada
Dumphy, H. E.	F	12	Daughter	.....	Canada	Canada	Canada
Dumphy, Andrew	M	9	Son	.....	Canada	Canada	Canada
Dumphy, Alberta	F	7	Daughter	.....	Canada	Canada	Canada
Dumphy, Collie	F	1	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Canada	Canada
Cowan, R. D.	M	32	Head	Farmer	Canada	Canada	Canada
Cowan, Chas.	M	30	Brother	Farmer	Canada	Canada	Canada

TOWNER COUNTY—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Wibb, W. H.	M	21	.....	Farmer	Canada	Canada	Canada
Leimburt, Hugh	M	21	.....	Farmer	Scotland	Scotland	Scotland
Wilson, Geo.	M	21	.....	Farmer	Canada	Canada	Canada
Brown, James	M	51	Head	Farmer	Canada	New Jersey	Canada
Brown, Frances	F	50	Wife	.....	Canada	Canada	Canada
Brown, Alice J.	F	26	Daughter	.....	Canada	Canada	Canada
Brown, James, Jr.	M	24	Son	Farmer	Canada	Canada	Canada
Brown, Thos. H.	M	22	Son	Farmer	Canada	Canada	Canada
Brown, John	M	21	Son	Farmer	Canada	Canada	Canada
Brown, Jennie	F	17	Daughter	.....	Canada	Canada	Canada
Brown, Annie	F	13	Daughter	.....	Canada	Canada	Canada
Brown, Samuel	M	12	Son	.....	Canada	Canada	Canada
Brown, R. J.	M	27	Head	Blacksmith	Canada	Canada	Canada
Cowan, Jas. H.	M	2	Son	.....	Canada	Canada	Canada
Locklin, Garrel	M	47	Head	Farmer	Canada	Canada	Canada
Locklin, Mary J.	F	44	Wife	.....	Canada	Canada	Canada
Locklin, Bertha	F	22	Daughter	.....	Canada	Canada	Canada
Locklin, John	M	20	Son	.....	Canada	Canada	Canada
Locklin, Libby	F	15	Daughter	.....	Canada	Canada	Canada
Locklin, Joseph H.	M	13	Son	.....	Canada	Canada	Canada
Locklin, Minnie	F	11	Daughter	.....	Canada	Canada	Canada
Locklin, George	M	7	Son	.....	Canada	Canada	Canada
Locklin, Estella	F	5	Daughter	.....	Canada	Canada	Canada
Locklin, Effie	F	2	Daughter	.....	Canada	Canada	Canada
Cowan, Thos.	M	36	Head	.....	Canada	Canada	Canada
Cowan, H. A.	M	24	Brother	Farmer	Canada	Canada	Canada
Edwards, Dave	M	24	Head	Farmer	Canada	Canada	Canada
Edwards, Addie	F	1	Daughter	.....	Canada	Canada	Canada
Butner, E. L.	M	27	Head	Farmer	Missouri	Missouri	Missouri
Butner, Sarah	F	25	Wife	.....	Missouri	Missouri	Missouri
Butner, Frank	M	4	Son	.....	Missouri	Missouri	Missouri
Butner, Edith	F	2	Son	.....	Missouri	Missouri	Missouri
Butner, F. D.	M	32	Daughter	Farmer	Missouri	Missouri	Missouri
Butner, Henrietta	F	29	Wife	.....	Missouri	Missouri	Missouri
Parsons, L. R.	M	22	Head	Farmer	Missouri	Missouri	Missouri
Corsett, L.	M	35	Head	Farmer	Wisconsin	New York	New York
Corsett, Willie	M	12	Son	.....	Wisconsin	Wisconsin	Wisconsin
Larson, Lars	M	36	.....	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway

VILLARD COUNTY.

Males	113	Laborer	6
Females	87	Hunter	3
Married	68	Teamster	2
Single	128	Rancher	2
Under 21 years of age	85	Freighter	1
Attended school during		Hotelkeeper	1
1885	0	Real Est. Dealer	1
Farmer	39	Carpenter	1
Merchant	4	Plasterer	1
R. R. Employee	7	Cooper	1
Birthplace unknown			1
Born in Dakota Territory			14
Born in other parts of the U. S.			122
Foreign born			63
Total population			200

VILLARD COUNTY

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Griffin, Edward	M	47	Head	Laborer	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Griffin, Bridget	F	12	Wife	.....	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Griffin, Mary	F	10	Daughter	.....	Ohio	Ireland	Ireland
Griffin, Annie	F	4	Daughter	.....	Ohio	Ireland	Ireland
Griffin, Thomas	M	30	Son	.....	Minnesota	Ireland	Ireland
Stone, Daniel	M	59	Head	Laborer	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Morton, Archibald	M	57	Wife	Farmer	Scotland	Scotland	Scotland
Morton, Agnes	F	21	Son	.....	Illinois	Scotland	Scotland
Morton, Thos.	M	22	Daughter	.....	Illinois	Scotland	Scotland
Morton, Janey	F	18	Son	.....	Illinois	Scotland	Scotland
Morton, Geo.	M	16	Daughter	.....	Illinois	Scotland	Scotland
Morton, Rhubena	F	14	Daughter	.....	Illinois	Scotland	Scotland
Morton, Margaret	F	37	Daughter	.....	Illinois	Scotland	Scotland
Kennedy, Wm.	M	38	Head	Laborer	Ireland	Scotland	Scotland
Kennedy, Mary	F	6	Wife	.....	Ireland	Scotland	Scotland
Kennedy, Willie	M	4	Son	.....	Minnesota	Ireland	Ireland
Kennedy, Katie	F	3	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Ireland	Ireland
Kennedy, Thos.	M	2	Son	.....	Dakota	Ireland	Ireland
Kennedy, Maggie	F	5 mo.	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Ireland	Ireland
Kennedy, Mary	F	24	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Ireland	Ireland
Leary, Dennis	M	26	Nephew	Laborer	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Palmer, Jeramiah	M	46	Head	Carpenter	Illinois	Wisconsin	Ohio
Held, John	M	32	Wife	Cooper	Illinois	Germany	Ohio
Held, Eliza	F	27	Boarder	.....	Illinois	Ohio	Ohio
Leary, James	M	22	.....	Laborer	Canada	Scotland	Canada
Clarke, Geo.	M	21	.....	Farmer	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Carson, J. P.	M	26	.....	Farmer	Michigan	Massachusetts	New York
Matheson, Elmer	M	33	.....	Farmer	Michigan	Canada	Canada
Dickerson, E. E.	M	35	.....	Farmer	Michigan	Ireland	Scotland
Morton, Alex.	M	32	Head	Farmer	Illinois	Scotland	Scotland
Morton, Emma E.	F	12	Wife	.....	Illinois	Indiana	Kentucky
Morton, Cora E.	F	10	Daughter	.....	Illinois	Scotland	Illinois
Morton, Claude M.	M	8	Son	.....	Illinois	Scotland	Illinois
Morton, Maurice A.	M	3	Son	.....	Illinois	Scotland	Illinois
Morton, Arthur A.	F	1	Daughter	.....	Illinois	Scotland	Illinois
Moody, Jas.	M	32	Head	.....	Dakota	Scotland	Canada
Gilmore, Elizabeth	F	31	Head	.....	Canada	Scotland	Tennessee
Gilmore, William	M	4	Son	.....	Illinois	Indiana	Indiana
Gilmore, Willie	M	6	Son	.....	Missouri	Missouri	Missouri
Vinyard, Miles A.	M	32	Head	.....	Illinois	Illinois	Indiana

VILLARD COUNTY—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Vinyard, Alma F.	F	56	Head	House keeper	Iowa	Germany	Germany
Finger, Rudolph	M	28	Head	Farmer	New York	New York	New Hampshire
Lowe, Eugene	M	32	Head	Farmer and hunter	Kentucky	Virginia	Virginia
Lowe, Mary A.	F	22	Wife	.....	Virginia	Virginia	Virginia
Cary, Wm.	M	57	Head	Farmer	Virginia	Pennsylvania	Virginia
Cary, Martha	F	54	Wife	.....	Minnesota	Virginia	Virginia
Cary, Jno. B.	M	17	Son	.....	Minnesota	Virginia	Virginia
Cary, Rebecca	F	14	Daughter	.....	Virginia	Virginia	Virginia
Collins, Christopher	M	35	Head	Farmer	Kentucky	Kentucky	Kentucky
Collins, Cynthia	F	37	Wife	.....	Minnesota	Virginia	Kentucky
Collins, John W.	M	15	Son	.....	Minnesota	Virginia	Kentucky
Collins, Mary Jane	F	14	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Virginia	Kentucky
Collins, Sarah F.	F	12	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Virginia	Kentucky
Collins, Amanda	F	7	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Virginia	Kentucky
Collins, Tillie	F	5	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Virginia	Kentucky
Collins, Wm. Lewis	M	4	Son	.....	Minnesota	Virginia	Kentucky
Collins, Fred K.	M	4 mo.	Son	.....	Minnesota	Virginia	Kentucky
Warren, A. U.	M	50	Head	Farmer	Michigan	New York	New York
Warren, Orra	F	44	Wife	.....	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Warren, Arthur J.	M	16	Son	Farmer	Iowa	Michigan	Ohio
Warren, Jesse U.	M	8	Son	.....	Minnesota	Michigan	Ohio
Monaghan, John	M	40	Head	Laborer	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Monaghan, Mary	F	30	Wife	.....	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Monaghan, Mary	F	4	Daughter	.....	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Monaghan, Jane	F	1	Daughter	.....	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Branick, Jos.	M	28	Head	Laborer	Dakota	North Carolina	Pennsylvania
Branick, Amanda	F	25	Wife	.....	Illinois	Illinois	Indiana
Branick, Orrin P.	M	3	Son	.....	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois
Branick, Nassimo	F	3 mo.	Wife	.....	Dakota	Illinois	Illinois
Porter, Wm.	M	37	Head	Farmer	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	Massachusetts
Porter, Rebecca	F	39	Wife	.....	Denmark	Denmark	Denmark
Gibbons, Edward	M	48	Head	Farmer	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Montgomery, J. W.	M	33	Head	Farmer	Kentucky	Kentucky	Kentucky
Montgomery, Sarah	F	27	Wife	.....	Virginia	Virginia	Virginia
Montgomery, Ida	F	10	Daughter	.....	Kentucky	Kentucky	Kentucky
Montgomery, Ella	F	8	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Kentucky	Kentucky
Montgomery, Geo. W.	M	6	Son	.....	Minnesota	Kentucky	Kentucky
Montgomery, Martha	F	4	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Kentucky	Kentucky
Finger, Bermand	M	30	Head	Merchant	Minnesota	Kentucky	Kentucky
Finger, Thelma N.	F	24	Sister	.....	Kentucky	Germany	Germany
Harblson, Jno. W.	M	31	Head	Merchant	Iowa	Germany	Germany
					New York	New York	New York

VILLARD COUNTY—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Harbison, Carrie H.	F	26	Wife	.....	New York	New York	New York
Harbison, Eugene H.	M	4 mo.	Son	.....	Dakota	New York	New York
Zvingubl, Geo. A.	M	42	Head	Farmer	Bavaria	Bavaria	Bavaria
Zvingubl, Geo. A., Jr.	M	31	Son	Farmer	Illinois	Bavaria	Bavaria
Schaf, Jos.	M	28	Servant	Farmer	Austria	Austria	Austria
Kennedy, G. D.	M	27	.....	Merchant	New York	Scotland	Scotland
Holmes, F. P.	M	28	.....	R. R. Agent	Wisconsin	Ohio	Ohio
Blankenburg, Geo.	M	45	Head	Lumber Merchant	Norway	Norway	Norway
" Caroline	F	35	Wife	.....	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois
Blankenberg, Julia	F	13	Daughter	.....	Illinois	Norway	Illinois
Blankenburg, Alice	F	5	Daughter	.....	Illinois	Norway	Illinois
Auld, George	M	39	Head	Real Estate	Canada	Canada	Canada
Auld, Mary	F	33	Wife	.....	New York	New Jersey	New Jersey
Auld, Malvina	F	15	Daughter	.....	New York	Canada	New York
Auld, Story E.	F	13	Son	.....	New York	Canada	New York
Auld, Blanche	F	10	Daughter	.....	New York	Canada	New York
Auld, May E.	F	8	Daughter	.....	New York	Canada	New York
Auld, Stella	F	6	Daughter	.....	New York	Canada	New York
Josueks, Edward	M	31	Head	Farmer	Germany	Germany	Germany
Ohus, John	M	31	Head	Farmer and Hunter	Norway	Norway	Norway
Ohus, Lizzie C.	F	33	Wife	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
Nelson, Irbret	M	25	.....	Hunt, and Carpenter	Norway	Norway	Norway
Christianson, L.	M	39	Head	Plasterer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Christianson, Aldreda	F	37	Wife	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Christianson, Chris.	M	17	Son	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Christianson, Julia	F	15	Daughter	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Christianson, Jalmar	M	13	Son	.....	Illinois	Norway	Norway
Christianson, Hilda	F	10	Daughter	.....	Illinois	Norway	Norway
Christianson, Olga	F	8	Daughter	.....	Illinois	Norway	Norway
Christianson, Laura	F	3	Daughter	.....	Illinois	Norway	Norway
Christianson, Henry	M	3 mo.	Son	.....	Illinois	Norway	Norway
Montgomery, Robt.	M	50	Head	Hunter	Dakota	Ocean	Norway
Dow, Mrs. W. A.	F	43	.....	House keeper	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Dow, Lewis	M	43	Son	Hunter	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Anderson, Austin	M	22	Head	Teamster	Norway	Norway	Norway
Anderson, Annie	F	27	Wife	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Anderson, Henry	M	3	Son	.....	Illinois	Norway	Norway
Anderson, Alice	F	6 mo.	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Norway	Norway
King, Elmer	M	4	Son	.....	Minnesota	New York	Minnesota
King, Wm. E.	M	30	Head	Railroader	Minnesota	New York	New York
King, Alice	F	23	Wife	.....	Minnesota	New York	New York

VILLARD COUNTY—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
King, Earl G.	M	2	Son	.....	Minnesota	New York	Minnesota
Maggleson, H. G.	M	18	Head	.....	Wisconsin	Norway	Norway
Scales, Geo. E.	M	35	Mother	.....	Ohio	Virginia	Ohio
Phelps, Mrs. C.	F	59	Son	.....	Ohio	New Hampshire	Vermont
Scales, Dan E.	M	11	.....	.....	Minnesota	Ohio	Wisconsin
Price, Thos.	M	22	.....	Farmer and Hunter	England	England	England
Gundmanson, Ole	M	25	.....	Hunter	Norway	Norway	Norway
Smith, J. W.	M	21	.....	Railroader	Pennsylvania	Germany	Germany
Sexton, Mike	M	36	Head	Sec. Foreman	New Jersey	Ireland	Ireland
Sexton, Mrs.	F	29	Wife	.....	New York	Ireland	Ireland
Sexton, Annie	F	3	Daughter	.....	Maine	New Jersey	New York
McFarland, Jas.	M	31	Head	Railroader	Illinois	Connecticut	New York
Sweet, D. O.	M	34	Wife	Hotel Keeper	Maine	Connecticut	New York
Sweet, Nannie	F	32	Wife	.....	Ohio	New York	New York
Savage, Mrs. E.	F	21	Sister	.....	Minnesota	Connecticut	New York
Savage, Fannie	F	2	Niece	.....	Montana	Minnesota	Minnesota
Savage, Cora	F	7 mo.	Niece	.....	Minnesota	Ohio	Minnesota
Actly, W. W.	M	21	.....	Railroader	Wisconsin	New York	Ohio
King, C. W.	M	21	.....	Railroader	Minnesota	Sweden	New York
Lindquist, O. F.	M	24	.....	Teamster	Illinois	Pennsylvania	Sweden
Clark, S. F.	M	31	Head	Real Estate	New Jersey	New York	Ireland
Hay, Lewis C.	M	25	Wife	Cattleman	Ohio	Indiana	New York
Tittle, Wm.	M	59	.....	.....	Ohio	New York	New Hampshire
Tittle, Sarah A.	F	54	Wife	.....	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Tittle, Wm. M.	M	26	Son	Cattleman	Minnesota	Virginia	Ohio
Tittle, Jane F.	F	25	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Minnesota	Minnesota
Tittle, Freeman	M	11	Grandson	.....	Minnesota	Minnesota	Minnesota
Tittle, Otis G.	M	6	Grandson	.....	Minnesota	Ohio	Vermont
Coyle, Mrs. W. B.	F	26	Head	.....	Dakota	New York	Minnesota
Coyle, Fannie B.	F	4	Daughter	.....	New Hampshire	Virginia	Georgia
Pettit, Mrs. H. D.	F	28	Head	.....	Minnesota	New Jersey	New Hampshire
Pettit, Morton A.	M	10	Son	.....	Minnesota	New Jersey	New Hampshire
Pettit, Elsie	F	7	Daughter	.....	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Coulson, Benedict	M	39	Head	Farmer	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Coulson, Henricka	F	37	Wife	.....	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Coulson, Ericka	F	10	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Sweden	Sweden
Coulson, Hans	M	6	Son	.....	Dakota	Sweden	Sweden
Coulson, Retrick	M	8	Son	.....	Minnesota	Sweden	Sweden
Coulson, Hilda	F	4	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Sweden	Sweden
Coulson, Adolph	M	2	Son	.....	Dakota	Sweden	Sweden
Boolez, Marc	M	29	.....	Farmer	France	France	France

VILLARD COUNTY—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Conell, Alex.	M	38	Head	Freighter	Pennsylvania	New Jersey	New York
Schuika, Adolph	M	31	Wife	Farmer	Germany	Germany	Germany
Schuika, Marie	F	27	.....	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
Solomon, E. H.	M	53	.....	Farmer	Germany	Germany	Germany
Anderson, August	M	59	Head	Farm. and Carpenter	Norway	Norway	Norway
Anderson, Gus.	M	24	Son	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Anderson, Hilda	F	36	Wife	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Anderson, Fannie	F	20	Daughter	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Anderson, Hilda	F	12	Daughter	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Anderson, Hans	M	16	Son	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Anderson, Anton	M	13	Son	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Anderson, Chris	M	4	Son	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Hellman, Chas.	M	35	Head	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Hellman, Annie	F	33	Wife	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Hellman, Annie	F	12	Daughter	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Hellman, Anton	M	9	Son	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Berg, Will	M	25	.....	.....	Illinois	Germany	Germany
Thompson, Geo.	M	22	.....	Farmer	Illinois	Germany	Germany
Hanson, Peter	M	25	.....	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Abramson, Chris	M	38	Head	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Abramson, Gunda	F	32	Wife	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Abramson, Guseld	F	8	Daughter	.....	Illinois	Norway	Norway
Christianson, A.	M	61	Head	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Christianson, Hans	M	18	Son	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Indegard, Peter	M	29	Son	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Indegard, Carolina	F	26	Daughter-in-law	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Indegard, George	M	1	Grandson	.....	Dakota	Norway	Norway
Eklund, I.	M	52	.....	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Weber, John	M	35	Head	Farmer	Germany	Germany	Germany
Weber, Alvin	F	32	Wife	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
Weber, Guselda	F	7	Daughter	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
Weber, Arthur	M	4	Son	.....	Illinois	Germany	Germany
Young, John	M	37	Head	Farmer	Illinois	Norway	Germany
Young, Mrs. Jno.	F	32	Wife	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Young, Jennie	F	12	Daughter	.....	Illinois	Illinois	Norway
Young, Frank	M	9	Son	.....	Illinois	Illinois	Norway

WALLACE COUNTY.

Males	33	Attended school during	
Females	13	1885	0
Married	14	Ranchman	5
Single	32	Hunter	11
Under 21 years of age	15	Herder	3
		Settler	1
Born in Dakota Territory	4		
Born in other parts of the U. S.	27		
Foreign born	15		
Total population	46		

WALLACE COUNTY

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Turner, Ed.	M	42	Head	Settler	Wisconsin	Illinois	Massachusetts
Turner, Lizzie	F	38	Wife		Minnesota	Ireland	Ireland
Turner, James	M	7	Son		Minnesota	Wisconsin	Minnesota
Turner, Mary	F	4	Daughter		Dakota	Wisconsin	Minnesota
Schaefer, Chas.	M	28	Head	Hunter	Germany	Germany	Germany
Tyner, Frank	M	32			Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Lippold, Henry	M	42			Germany	Germany	Germany
Stackpole, John	M	26			Maine	Maine	Maine
Taylor, Wm.	M	49	Head	Ranchman	Maine	Maine	Maine
Taylor, Susan	F	41	Wife		Maine	New Brunswick	New Brunswick
Taylor, Mary	F	20	Daughter		Maine	Maine	Maine
Taylor, Fanny	F	13	Daughter		Maine	Maine	Maine
Taylor, John	M	4	Son		Maine	Maine	Maine
Swift, William	M	34	Head	Herder	New Brunswick	New Brunswick	New Brunswick
Emerson, Geo.	M	21	Head	Hunter	Massachusetts	Massachusetts	New Brunswick
Johnson, Samuel	M	40	Head	Hunter	New York	New York	New Brunswick
Edwards, Bill	M	32	Head	Hunter	New York	New York	New York
Conklingo, Fred	M	57	Head	Ranchman	Connecticut	Illinois	New York
Conklingo, Anna	F	51	Wife		Missouri	Missouri	Missouri
Conklingo, Fred J.	M	30	Son		Missouri	Kentucky	Massachusetts
Conklingo, Sarah	F	29	Wife		Massachusetts	Kentucky	Massachusetts
Conklingo, Bell	F	7	Daughter		Missouri	Maine	Massachusetts
Bowles, Henry	M	34		Ranchman	Missouri	Kentucky	Missouri
Bowles, John	M	28		Ranchman	England	England	England
Delaney, Dennis	M	37		Hunter	England	England	England
Bartello, Charles	M	30		Hunter	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Bartello, Henry	M	41		Hunter	France	France	France
Phillip, Emerson	M	21		Hunter	France	France	France
Brown, Timothy	M	25		Hunter	Massachusetts	England	England
Cummings, J. W.	M	34		Hunter	England	England	England
Esterbrook, A. J.	M	43		Hunter	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois
Esterbrook, Ellen	F	37	Head	Hunter	Wisconsin	Massachusetts	Massachusetts
Esterbrook, Jno.	M	17	Wife		Ireland		
Esterbrook, Edward	M	14	Son		Wisconsin		
Esterbrook, Emma	F	10	Daughter		Wisconsin		
Esterbrook, Frank	M	7	Son		Wisconsin		
Esterbrook, Henry	M	3	Son		Wisconsin		
Kale, Heinrich	M	48	Head	Stock raiser	Wisconsin	Wisconsin	Ireland
Kale, Francesca	F	47	Wife		Wisconsin	Wisconsin	Ireland
Kale, Peter	M	20	Son		Wisconsin	Wisconsin	Ireland
Kale, Edward	M	17	Son		Dakota	Wisconsin	Ireland
Kale, Annie	F	10	Daughter		Germany	Wisconsin	Germany
Everton, Orrin	M	32	Hired Man	Herder	Germany	Germany	Germany
Erenst, Edward	M	29	Hired Man	Herder	Germany	Wisconsin	Wisconsin
Erenst, Calle	F	22	Wife		Minnesota	Germany	England
Erenst, Alex.	M	2	Son		Dakota	Minnesota	Ireland

WARD COUNTY.

Males	163	Blacksmith	1
Females	94	Brickmaker	3
Married	80	Mason	1
Single	170	Miller	2
Under 21 years of age, ...	105	Dressmaker and Milliner.....	3
Attended school during		Rancher	2
1885	0	Miner	1
Farmer	59	Lawyer	1
Merchant	1	Engineer	1
Laborer	29		

Born in Dakota Territory, ...	32
Born in other parts of U. S.	120
Foreign born, ...	105
Total population	257

WARD COUNTY

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Cotton, J. L.	M	45	Head	Merchant	New York	New York	New York
Cotton, Deane	F	43	Wife	.....	.....	New York	New York
Cotton, L. D.	M	30	Son	.....	.....	New York	New York
Cotton, S. D.	F	16	Daughter	.....	.....	New York	New York
Allen, Frank	M	22	.....	Laborer	Illinois	Vermont	Vermont
Tygeson, Ed	M	22	.....	Laborer	Wisconsin	Norway	Norway
Lebacker, O. E.	M	23	.....	Laborer	Minnesota	Norway	Norway
Johnson, Ed	M	38	.....	Laborer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Strand, O. E.	M	32	.....	Laborer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Verlin, Peter O.	M	23	.....	Laborer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Syreson, Lou	M	23	.....	Laborer	Wisconsin	Norway	Norway
Brandhove, E.	M	25	.....	Laborer	Iowa	Norway	Norway
Labeker, A. J.	M	26	.....	Blacksmith	Canada	Canada	Canada
McDonald, A.	M	26	.....	Dressmaker	Canada	Scotland	Scotland
Coure, Bell	F	24	.....	Laborer	Illinois	Scotland	Scotland
Miller, Anna	F	17	.....	Farmer	Michigan	Canada	Canada
Baker, J. A.	M	34	Head	.....	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Baker, Alice	F	27	Wife	.....	Michigan	Ohio	Ohio
Baker, Andrew	M	5	Son	.....	Michigan	Michigan	Ohio
Baker, Barnon	F	8 mo.	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Michigan	Ohio
Waldref, John	M	64	Head	Brickmaker	Ohio	New Jersey	New Jersey
Waldref, Mrs. J.	F	54	Wife	.....	New York	New York	New York
Waldref, Ed.	M	24	Son	Brickmaker	Wisconsin	Ohio	New York
Waldref, W. D.	F	23	Daughter	.....	Wisconsin	Ohio	New York
Waldref, Anna	F	14	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Ohio	New York
Waldref, C.	M	3	Son	.....	Minnesota	Ohio	New York
Waldref, Louis	M	3	Son	.....	Dakota	Ohio	New York
Bates, Wm.	M	1	.....	Brickmaker	Wisconsin	Ohio	Pennsylvania
Coffenan, John	M	25	.....	Laborer	Ohio	New York	New Jersey
Coffenan, James	M	59	.....	Laborer	Ohio	New Jersey	New Jersey
Coffenan, John	M	16	.....	Farmer	Minnesota	Canada	Canada
Hounewill, John	M	38	Head	.....	Canada	New York	New York
Hounewill, Sarah	F	37	Wife	.....	New York	Canada	New York
Hounewill, Manda	F	15	Daughter	.....	New York	Canada	New York
Hounewill, Clarry	F	14	Daughter	.....	New York	Canada	New York
Hounewill, Thomas	M	12	Son	.....	New York	Canada	New York
Hounewill, R.	M	10	Son	.....	New York	Canada	New York
Hounewill, Velbert	M	5	Son	.....	New York	Canada	New York
Hounewill, Pearl	F	2	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Canada	New York
Monson, M.	F	62	Head	Farmer	New York	New York	New York
Johnson, James	M	33	Head	Brickmason	Denmark	Germany	Denmark
Johnson, Ida J.	F	22	Wife	.....	New York	New York	New York

WARD COUNTY—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Johnson, Arthur	M	4	Son	.....	Minnesota	Denmark	New York
Johnson, Carry	F	1	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Denmark	New York
Rasmuson, C.	F	28	Head	Farmer	Denmark	Denmark	Denmark
Rasmuson, Katy	F	21	Wife	.....	New York	Ireland	Ireland
Rasmuson, Adolph	M	4	Son	.....	Minnesota	Denmark	New York
Rasmuson, Velbert	M	3	Son	.....	Minnesota	Denmark	New York
Rasmuson, Ida	F	3	Son	.....	Dakota	Denmark	New York
Langer, Wm.	M	23 mo.	Daughter	.....	New Jersey	New Jersey	New Jersey
Parker, A. M.	M	24	.....	Laborer	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Vatni, I. O.	M	24	.....	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Vatni, O. L.	M	.....	.....	Miller	Norway	Norway	Norway
Vatni, Sarah	F	.....	.....	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Peterson, Eluf	M	32	.....	Dressmaker	Norway	Norway	Norway
Peterson, August	M	21	.....	Farmer	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Benson, O.	M	32	.....	Farmer	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Benson, F.	F	30	Head	Farmer	Wisconsin	Wisconsin	Wisconsin
Benson, E. L.	F	10	Wife	.....	New Hampshire	New Hampshire	New Hampshire
Benson, Emma	F	8	Daughter	.....	Wisconsin	Wisconsin	New Hampshire
Benson, Abba	F	3	Daughter	.....	Wisconsin	Wisconsin	New Hampshire
Svenson, P.	F	25	.....	.....	Dakota	Norway	Norway
Thorwalson, K.	M	57	.....	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Thorwalson, L.	M	51	.....	Farmer	Wisconsin	Norway	Norway
Tuleson, K.	M	25	.....	Farmer	Wisconsin	Norway	Norway
Ketleson, Ed.	M	25	.....	Farmer	Iowa	Norway	Norway
Keikely, Ed.	M	30	.....	Farmer	Iowa	Norway	Norway
Keikely, Liva	F	28	Head	.....	Minnesota	Norway	Norway
Keikely, Salmer	M	2	Wife	.....	Minnesota	Norway	Norway
Keikely, Sven	M	1	Son	.....	Dakota	Norway	Norway
Kirkelei, Henry	M	21	Son	.....	Dakota	Norway	Norway
Kettison, Ed.	M	16	.....	Farmer	Minnesota	Norway	Norway
Moore, James	M	50	.....	.....	Iowa	Wisconsin	Iowa
Moore, Alice	F	40	Head	Farmer	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Moore, Jas., Jr.	M	19	Wife	.....	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Moore, Frank	M	15	Son	.....	New York	Ireland	Ireland
Moore, Maggie	F	11	Son	.....	New York	Ireland	Ireland
Moore, Tom	M	17	Daughter	.....	New York	Ireland	Ireland
Moore, Mary Ann	F	4	Son	.....	New York	Ireland	Ireland
Moore, Alice	F	13	Son	.....	Minnesota	Ireland	Ireland
Bonhoiger, John	M	26	Daughter	.....	New York	Ireland	Ireland
Foot, L. S.	M	30	Daughter	.....	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Foot, Sady	F	28	Head	Farmer	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
			Wife	Stockman	Indiana	Ohio	Ohio
				.....	Pennsylvania	Ohio	Ohio

WARD COUNTY—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Foot, Ray	M	3	Son	.....	Minnesota	Indiana	Pennsylvania
Foot, Mable	F	62	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Indiana	Pennsylvania
Foot, R. S.	M	56	Head	Stockman	Ohio	Indiana	Pennsylvania
Foot, Fannie	F	20	Wife	.....	Ohio	Pennsylvania	New York
Foot, Frank	M	20	Son	.....	Indiana	Ohio	Ohio
Moure, Michael	M	30	Head	Laborer	.....	Ohio	Ohio
Moure, Alice	F	26	Wife	Farmer	.....	.....	.....
Moure, Anna	F	5	Daughter	.....	Scotland	Scotland	Scotland
Moure, Florence	F	1	Daughter	.....	Illinois	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Moure, Forest	M	1	Son	.....	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois
Miller, W. L.	M	44	Head	.....	Dakota	Scotland	Illinois
Miller, Anna M.	F	42	Wife	Coal Miner	Dakota	Scotland	Illinois
Miller, Jennie	F	19	Daughter	.....	Scotland	Scotland	Scotland
Miller, Valley	F	14	Daughter	.....	Illinois	Scotland	Scotland
Miller, Mary	F	11	Daughter	.....	Illinois	Scotland	Scotland
Miller, John	M	8	Son	.....	Illinois	Scotland	Scotland
Miller, Sarah	F	7	Daughter	.....	Illinois	Scotland	Scotland
Miller, Maggy	F	5	Daughter	.....	Illinois	Scotland	Scotland
Miller, James	M	4	Son	.....	Illinois	Scotland	Scotland
Erwin, Stanley	M	23	.....	Laborer	Minnesota	Minnesota	Minnesota
Haugan, S. P.	M	26	.....	Laborer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Nepe, Ole	M	18	.....	Laborer	Minnesota	Norway	Norway
Stevenson, W. W.	M	19	.....	Laborer	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan
Oleson, Knut	M	21	.....	Laborer	Norway	Norway	Norway
McAhon, Dan	M	26	.....	Laborer	Canada	Canada	Canada
Jameson, Ole	M	22	.....	Laborer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Oleson, Ole	M	24	.....	Laborer	Canada	Norway	Norway
Grenags, Ed.	M	32	.....	Laborer	Wisconsin	Wisconsin	Wisconsin
Baker, John	M	27	.....	Laborer	Wisconsin	Wisconsin	Wisconsin
Tilgren, John	M	27	.....	Laborer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Lim, Ole	M	22	.....	Laborer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Bogerson, T. K.	M	18	.....	Laborer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Klous, John	M	40	Head	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Klous, Rosy	F	29	Wife	.....	Illinois	Germany	Germany
Klous, Emily	F	14	Daughter	.....	Wisconsin	Germany	Germany
Klous, Nick	M	7	Son	.....	Wisconsin	Illinois	Wisconsin
Klous, Frank	M	5	Son	.....	Minnesota	Illinois	Wisconsin
Klous, Barbara	F	3	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Illinois	Wisconsin
Klous, Wm.	M	2	Son	.....	Minnesota	Illinois	Wisconsin
Klous, Bessie	F	3	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Illinois	Wisconsin
Schneider, Wm.	M	33	Head	Farmer	Dakota	Illinois	Wisconsin
					Illinois	Germany	Germany

WARD COUNTY—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family,	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Schneider, May	F	25	Wife	.....	Wisconsin	Germany	Germany
Schneider, Mary	F	5	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Illinois	Wisconsin
Schneider, Rose	F	3	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Illinois	Wisconsin
Schneider, Barbara	F	1	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Illinois	Wisconsin
Clemintitsch, Joe	M	48	Head	Farmer	Germany	Germany	Germany
Clemintitsch, Gusta	F	42	Wife	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
Clemintitsch, Joe, Jr.	M	21	Son	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
Dyesh, Joseph	M	55	Head	.....	Minnesota	Germany	Germany
Dyesh, Lizzie	F	22	Wife	.....	Minnesota	Germany	Germany
Dyesh, Gustave	M	18	Son	.....	Minnesota	Germany	Germany
Dyesh, Joe	M	21	Son	.....	Minnesota	Germany	Germany
Niuck, Wm.	M	21	Son	Miller	Minnesota	Germany	Germany
Nelson, J. A.	M	36	Head	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Nelson, Anna	F	29	Wife	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Nelson, Dora	F	7	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Norway	Norway
Nelson, Andrew	M	5	Son	.....	Minnesota	Norway	Norway
Nelson, Albert	M	2	Son	.....	Dakota	Norway	Norway
Bakeny, I. A.	M	26	Son	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Ageson, Hans	M	54	.....	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Ageson, Johanna	F	54	Wife	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Guistad, Peter	M	32	Head	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Guistad, Mary	F	28	Wife	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Guistad, Henry	M	1	Son	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Galeson, John	M	47	Head	.....	Dakota	Norway	Norway
Galeson, Maren	F	45	Wife	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Galeson, Jennie	F	15	Daughter	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Galeson, Maren	F	9	Daughter	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Galeson, Hans	M	7	Son	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Galeson, Syrina	F	5	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Norway	Norway
Galeson, Atele	F	2	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Norway	Norway
Mule, J. S.	M	36	Head	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Mule, Lena	F	29	Wife	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Mule, Hans	M	6	Son	.....	Minnesota	Norway	Norway
Mule, John	M	4	Son	.....	Minnesota	Norway	Norway
Mule, Andrew	M	2	Son	.....	Dakota	Norway	Norway
Mule, Maren	F	26	Daughter	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Ejkerky, Peter	M	27	.....	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Hay, Johan	M	27	.....	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Hay, Bergyta	F	27	.....	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Oleson, A. J.	M	32	Head	Farmer	Sweden	Norway	Norway
Oleson, Agust	F	35	Wife	.....	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden

WARD COUNTY — continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Oleson, Sarah	F	8	Daughter	.....	Norway	Sweden	Sweden
Oleson, Charley	M	6	Son	.....	Norway	Sweden	Sweden
Oleson, Oscar	M	3	Son	.....	Minnesota	Sweden	Sweden
Walén, John	M	24	Head	Farmer	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Walén, Christina	F	24	Wife	.....	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Walén, Mary	F	3 mo.	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Sweden	Sweden
Spokely, O. T.	M	42	Head	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Spokely, Guril	F	36	Wife	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Spokely, Knut	M	7	Son	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Spokely, Jonas	M	6	Son	.....	Minnesota	Norway	Norway
Spokely, Kjersten	M	4	Son	.....	Minnesota	Norway	Norway
Spokely, Charley	M	2	Son	.....	Dakota	Norway	Norway
Spokely, Engbert	M	4 mo.	Son	.....	Dakota	Norway	Norway
Kragenes, A. G.	M	26	.....	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Jernes, J. J.	M	35	.....	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Gesman, Alfred	M	29	.....	Farmer	Wisconsin	Norway	Norway
Gesman, Minnie	F	25	Wife	.....	Wisconsin	Norway	Norway
Gesman, Charley	M	2	Son	.....	Dakota	Wisconsin	Wisconsin
Gesman, Baby	M	3 mo.	Son	.....	Dakota	Wisconsin	Wisconsin
Gesman, Alfred	M	24	.....	.....	Wisconsin	Norway	Norway
Spear, F. W.	M	35	Head	Lawyer	Wisconsin	Vermont	New York
Spear, Anna C.	F	36	Wife	.....	Wisconsin	Wisconsin	New York
Spear, Henry	M	11	Son	.....	Wisconsin	Wisconsin	Wisconsin
Spear, Mandy	F	8	Daughter	.....	Wisconsin	Wisconsin	Wisconsin
Spear, Blanche	F	7	Daughter	.....	Wisconsin	Wisconsin	Wisconsin
Spear, Leonard	M	5	Son	.....	Minnesota	Wisconsin	Wisconsin
Spear, Mary	F	29	Head	.....	Michigan	Holland	Holland
Smith, Clement	F	29	Son	.....	Minnesota	Wisconsin	Wisconsin
Smith, Clement	M	5	Son	.....	Minnesota	Germany	Michigan
Crouse, Geo.	M	29	.....	Farmer	Canada	England	England
Morrison, R.	M	33	.....	Farmer	Canada	Scotland	Scotland
Wadref, Erwin	M	22	.....	Farmer	Wisconsin	Ohio	New York
Teacy, A. T.	M	30	Head	Farmer	Wisconsin	New York	New York
Teacy, Carry	F	28	Wife	.....	Indiana	Ohio	Ohio
Teacy, Ray	M	8 mo.	Son	.....	Dakota	Wisconsin	Wisconsin
Manger, Stork	M	26	.....	.....	Michigan	Norway	Indiana
Hibbelle, Ole	M	28	.....	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Mygesen, Ole	M	60	Head	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Mygeson, Weldel	F	56	Wife	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Mygeson, Annie	F	19	Daughter	.....	Wisconsin	Norway	Norway
Larson, Betsy	F	84	.....	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Ramestad, Erick	M	26	Head	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway

WARD COUNTY—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Ramestad, Lena	F	28	Wife	.....	Wisconsin	Norway	Norway
Guleson, Betsy	F	72	.....	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Ramestad, Annie	F	64	Head	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Ramestad, Bertha	F	25	Daughter	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Ramestad, G.	M	3	Grandson	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Ramestad, Peter	M	28	Head	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Ramestad, Mary	F	26	Wife	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Ramestad, Ola	M	1	Son	Farmer	Dakota	Norway	Norway
Skaro, Erick	M	29	.....	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Thompson, Sven	M	25	Head	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Thompson, Liva	F	54	Wife	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Swenson, Tom	M	58	Son	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Swenson, Iver	M	13	Son	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Swenson, Steno	M	10	Son	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Swenson, Ragmild	F	7	Daughter	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Swenson, Anne	F	4	Daughter	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Swenson, Ole	M	17	Son	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Thorsen, N.	M	21	.....	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Larson, Olaf	M	20	Head	.....	Norway	Norway	Iowa
Larson, Jennie	F	29	Wife	.....	Iowa	Norway	Norway
Larson, C.	M	3 mo.	Son	.....	Dakota	Norway	Iowa
Larson, Charley	M	29	.....	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Larson, Carl	M	56	Head	farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Larson, Alice	F	54	Wife	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Larson, L. O.	M	19	Son	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Larson, Olaf	M	17	Son	.....	Norway	Norway	Norway
Nelson, O.	M	24	Son	.....	Iowa	Norway	Norway
Oleson, Nells	M	28	Head	Farmer	Minnesota	Norway	Norway
Oleson, Haldis	F	24	Wife	Farmer	Minnesota	Norway	Norway
Oleson, Gustad	M	1	Son	.....	Dakota	Norway	Norway
Oleson, Ole	M	3 mo.	Son	.....	Dakota	Minnesota	Norway
Griggs, Walter	M	61	Head	Farmer	Maryland	Maryland	Maryland
Hay, Albert	M	24	.....	Farmer	Canada	Scotland	Scotland
Hay, W. S.	M	23	.....	Farmer	Canada	Scotland	Scotland
Pell, D. W.	M	29	.....	Farmer	Canada	Scotland	Scotland
Pell, J.	F	29	Wife	.....	Canada	Scotland	Scotland
Pell, J. D.	M	33	.....	Farmer	Canada	Scotland	Scotland
McKay, Donald	M	35	.....	Laborer	Scotland	Scotland	Scotland
Jackson, Thos.	M	45	.....	Laborer	Scotland	Scotland	Scotland
Pell, David	M	38	.....	Engineer	Scotland	Scotland	Scotland

WARD COUNTY—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Bell, Mary	F	30	.....	Milliner	Scotland	Scotland	Scotland
Murry, John	M	31	Head	Farmer	Canada	Scotland	Scotland
Murry, Jane	F	31	Wife	.....	Dakota	Scotland	Scotland
Murry, S.	M	4	Son	.....	Dakota	Canada	Canada
Murry, N.	F	1	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Canada	Canada
Neilson, Iver	M	29	.....	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Meirl, Erwin	M	21	.....	Farmer	Minnesota	Minnesota	Minnesota
Meirl, Joslin	M	24	.....	Farmer	Minnesota	Minnesota	Minnesota
Armstrong, E.	M	26	.....	Farmer	Canada	Canada	Canada
Armstrong, Millie	F	24	Head	.....	Canada	Canada	Canada
Armstrong, Anna	F	1	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Canada	Canada

WELLS COUNTY.

Males	202	Servant	3
Females	83	Laborer	2
Married	85	Teacher	1
Single	192	Lawyer	1
Under 21 years of age.....	109	Liveryman	1
Attended school in 1885.....	43	Hotel Keeper	1
Farmers	95	County Officer	3
Carpenter	5	Blacksmith	1
Merchant	2	Loafer	1

Born in Dakota Territory	7
Born in other parts of U. S.	201
Foreign Born	77
Total Population	285

WELLS COUNTY

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Tredwell, A. M.	M	34	Head	Lawyer	Ohio	New York	England
Tredwell, E. F.	F	33	Wife	.....	New York	Virginia	Ohio
Tredwell, Forrest	M	9	Son	.....	Ohio	Ohio	New York
Tredwell, Fred	M	7	Son	.....	Ohio	Ohio	New York
Tredwell, Sarah	F	2	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Ohio	New York
Jones, E. S.	M	35	.....	Farmer	Wales	Wales	Wales
Palmer, J. E.	M	39	Head	Farmer	Delaware	Delaware	Maryland
Palmer, Eliza	F	30	Wife	.....	Delaware	Delaware	Delaware
Palmer, Arnold	M	10	Son	.....	Delaware	Delaware	Delaware
Palmer, Liza	F	7	Daughter	.....	Missouri	Delaware	Delaware
Palmer, Julia	F	4	Daughter	.....	Missouri	Delaware	Delaware
Foster, George	M	34	.....	Carpenter	New York	New Hampshire	New York
Athon, Newton	M	41	.....	Co. Officer	England	England	England
Reed, Wm. J.	M	26	Head	Farmer	New Brunswick	New Brunswick	New Brunswick
Baker, Thos.	M	25	Wife	Liveryman	Iowa	England	England
Baker, Santee	F	23	Wife	.....	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois
Wikey, R.	M	50	Head	Merchant	England	England	England
Wikey, Mary	F	50	Wife	.....	England	England	England
Wikey, Samuel	M	19	Son	.....	Illinois	England	England
Wikey, Albert	M	17	Son	.....	Missouri	England	England
Wikey, Kate	F	14	Daughter	.....	Missouri	England	England
Wikey, Richard	M	12	Son	.....	Missouri	England	England
Evans, Edwin C.	M	29	Head	Farmer	Maine	Maine	Maine
Evans, Mary	F	23	Wife	.....	Maine	Maine	Maine
Evans, Frank	M	1	Son	.....	Dakota	Maine	Maine
Denzler, F. H.	M	31	Head	Farmer	Ohio	Maine	Maine
Denzler, Barbara	F	25	Wife	.....	Ohio	Maine	Maine
Denzler, Maville	F	3	Daughter	.....	Dakota	Ohio	Maine
Denzler, John	M	1½	Son	.....	Dakota	Ohio	Maine
Root, Frank	M	26½	.....	.....	New York	Germany	Germany
Wylder, J. C.	M	27	.....	Farmer	Illinois	Tennessee	Illinois
Chartier, Will	M	23	Head	Farmer	Canada	Canada	Canada
Chartier, Mamie	F	19	Wife	.....	Illinois	Canada	Canada
Truax, John	M	24	.....	Carpenter	Canada	Canada	Canada
Winschip, J. F.	M	53	.....	Farmer	New York	New York	New York
Lloyd, John	M	28	.....	Farmer	Wisconsin	Wales	Wales
Bausch, Jacob	M	29	.....	Farmer	New York	New York	New York
Schmitz, C. F.	M	38	.....	Farmer	Germany	Germany	Prussia
Ryan, John	M	40	Head	Farmer	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Ryan, Jane	F	34	Wife	Laborer	Indiana	Ireland	Ireland
Ryan, Grace	F	10	Daughter	.....	Wisconsin	Ireland	Indiana

WELLS COUNTY - continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Williams, Thos.	M	32	Head	Farmer	Wisconsin	Wales	Wales
Williams, D.	F	30	Wife	.....	Wisconsin	Wales	Wales
Williams, John	M	5	Son	.....	Wisconsin	Wisconsin	Wisconsin
Williams, Irwin	M	3	Son	.....	Wisconsin	Wisconsin	Wisconsin
Williams, Maud	F	1	Daughter	.....	Wisconsin	Wisconsin	Wisconsin
MERCHANT, Joseph	M	22	Servant	Servant	Canada	France	France
Farry, Owen	M	38	Servant	Merchant	Wales	Wales	Wales
Robinson, Louis	M	38	Servant	.....	Canada	Canada	Canada
Ringnett, Gilbert	M	32	.....	.....	Michigan	Canada	Michigan
Snure, William	M	28	.....	Farmer	Minnesota	Canada	Germany
Mathis, E. C.	M	23	.....	.....	Ohio	New Jersey	New York
Mathis, Clarissa	F	61	Head	.....	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Mathis, E. F.	M	56	Wife	.....	Illinois	Ohio	Ohio
Mathis, O. G.	M	18	Son	.....	Illinois	Ohio	Ohio
Mathis, H. E.	M	16	Son	.....	Illinois	Ohio	Ohio
Blodeau, Chas.	M	39	Head	Farmer	Canada	Canada	Canada
Blodeau, Rose	F	29	Wife	.....	Canada	Canada	Canada
Kady, Mark	M	23	.....	.....	Maryland	Ireland	Ireland
Nelson, John	M	28	Brother	Farmer	Maryland	Ireland	Ireland
Nelson, W. W.	M	50	Head	Farmer	Vermont	Vermont	Vermont
Nelson, Elizabeth	F	46	Wife	.....	Vermont	Vermont	Vermont
Nelson, L. A.	M	24	Son	.....	Vermont	Vermont	Vermont
Nelson, John C.	M	22	Son	.....	Vermont	Vermont	Vermont
Nelson, W.	M	14	Son	.....	Vermont	Vermont	Vermont
Nelson, Minnie	F	12	Son	.....	Vermont	Vermont	Vermont
Harding, Thos.	M	40	Daughter	.....	Illinois	Vermont	Vermont
Harding, Mary	F	42	Head	.....	Illinois	Vermont	Vermont
Harding, Harry	M	16	Wife	.....	Illinois	Vermont	Vermont
Harding, Samuel	M	12	Son	.....	Illinois	Vermont	Vermont
Harding, Edgar	M	11	Son	.....	Illinois	Vermont	Vermont
Harding, Mavlie	F	10	Son	.....	England	England	England
Harding, Robert	M	11	Son	.....	England	England	England
Harding, Marie	F	6	Son	.....	England	England	England
Harding, Chas.	M	5	Son	.....	England	England	England
Wetmore, Samuel	M	3	Daughter	.....	England	England	England
Griffith, Robert	M	31	Daughter	.....	England	England	England
Hardy, J. P.	M	25	Son	Farmer	Michigan	Connecticut	New York
Hardy, Mary A.	M	49	Head	Farmer	Wales	Wales	Wales
Hardy, L.	F	49	Wife	Farmer	Indiana	Massachusetts	Indiana
Hardy, John H.	M	20	Son	.....	New York	New York	New York
Hardy, A. H.	M	10	Son	.....	Illinois	Indiana	New York
Hardy, A. H.	M	23	.....	Farmer	Illinois	Indiana	New York

WELLS COUNTY—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Evans, E.	M	29	.....	Farmer	Minnesota	New York	New Jersey
Thorn, M.	M	29	.....	Farmer	Minnesota	New York	Ireland
Chaffu, F. N.	M	26	Head	Farmer	Vermont	Vermont	Vermont
Chaffu, Mary	F	21	Wife	Farmer	Vermont	Vermont	Vermont
Chaffu, Chas.	M	21	Brother	Farmer	Vermont	Vermont	Vermont
Chamers, Daniel	M	29	.....	Farmer	Minnesota	New York	New York
Sheard, J.	M	35	Head	.....	Michigan	England	England
Sheard, Anna	F	30	Wife	.....	Minnesota	Ohio	Ohio
Sheard, E. W.	F	10	Daughter	.....	Minnesota	Michigan	Minnesota
Woodward, P. H.	M	33	Head	Farmer	Vermont	Vermont	Vermont
Woodward, Mary	F	23	Wife	.....	Vermont	Vermont	Vermont
Woodward, Harry	M	5	Son	.....	Vermont	Vermont	Vermont
Woodward, Anna	F	3	Daughter	.....	Vermont	Vermont	Vermont
Woodward, J.	M	1	Son	.....	Vermont	Vermont	Vermont
Britton, M.	M	39	Head	Farmer	Michigan	New York	England
Britton, Rose	F	35	Wife	.....	New York	New York	New York
Britton, Pearl	F	10	Daughter	.....	Michigan	New York	New York
Britton, Ward	M	8	Son	.....	Michigan	Michigan	New York
Britton, Flora	F	6	Daughter	.....	Michigan	Michigan	New York
Britton, Russel	M	3	Son	.....	Michigan	Michigan	New York
Britton, Chas.	M	4	Son	.....	Michigan	Michigan	New York
Britton, R. Wells	M	1	Son	.....	Dakota	Michigan	New York
Heaveren, H.	M	27	.....	.....	Canada	Canada	Canada
Heaveren, M.	F	50	Mother	.....	Canada	Canada	Canada
Chess, H. B.	M	32	Head	.....	Minnesota	New York	Ohio
Chess, Hattie	F	22	Wife	Loafer	Minnesota	Minnesota	Minnesota
Rodney, J. F.	M	21	.....	.....	England	England	England
Huges, R. R.	M	45	Head	Farmer	Wales	Wales	Wales
Huges, Anna	F	40	Wife	.....	Wales	Wales	Wales
Huges, Mary	F	18	Daughter	.....	Wisconsin	Wales	Wales
Huges, George	M	22	Son	.....	Wisconsin	Wales	Wales
Huges, D.	M	17	Son	.....	Wisconsin	Wales	Wales
Huges, Alice	F	15	Daughter	.....	Wisconsin	Wales	Wales
Huges, R. A.	F	14	Daughter	.....	Wisconsin	Wales	Wales
Huges, D. O.	F	.....	Son	.....	Wisconsin	Wales	Wales
Ross, Albert	F	.....	Daughter	.....	Wisconsin	Wales	Wales
Johnson, Mathias	M	.....	.....	Farmer	Minnesota	Ohio	Indiana
Rotter, Adams	M	.....	.....	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
	M	.....	.....	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway

WELLS COUNTY—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Wright, Lizzie	F	9	Daughter	.....	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan
Wright, George J.	M	11 mo.	Son	.....	Dakota	Michigan	Michigan
St. Jacques	M	26	.....	Farmer	Minnesota	Canada	Minnesota
Vinal, George	M	26	.....	Farmer	Minnesota	New York	New York
Lee, Seymour	M	31	.....	Farmer	England	England	England
Baines, G. H.	M	37	.....	Farmer	England	England	England
Lee, Walter	M	28	.....	Farmer	England	England	England
Lousada, St. L.	M	37	.....	Farmer	England	England	England
Cole, S. W.	M	42	Head	.....	Ohio	New York	New York
Cole, Mary B.	F	39	Wife	.....	New York	New York	New York
Cole, E. A.	M	9	Son	.....	Pennsylvania	Ohio	New York
Cole, Lenore	F	3	Daughter	.....	Pennsylvania	Ohio	New York
Spokesfeld, E.	M	49	Head	.....	New Hampshire	New Hampshire	New Hampshire
Spokesfeld, Maria	F	45	Wife	.....	New Hampshire	New Hampshire	New Hampshire
Spokesfeld, Wm.	M	21	.....	.....	Wisconsin	New Hampshire	New Hampshire
Spokesfeld, Walter	M	9	.....	.....	Missouri	New Hampshire	New Hampshire
Smith, Chas.	M	24	.....	.....	Missouri	New York	New York
Halter, Harvey	M	32	.....	Farmer	Ohio	New York	New York
Perrott, G. St. J.	M	28	.....	Farmer	England	New York	New York
Middleton, John	M	30	.....	Farmer	England	New York	New York
Loyd, Thomas	M	32	.....	.....	Minnesota	England	England
Sanford, Wm	M	63	.....	.....	Wisconsin	Minnesota	Minnesota
Sanford, Mary	F	58	.....	.....	New York	Wales	Wales
Sanford, A. C.	M	27	.....	Farmer	Michigan	New York	New York
Sanford, George	M	17	.....	.....	Michigan	New York	New York
Huber, George	M	26	.....	.....	Michigan	New York	New York
Sager, John	M	35	.....	.....	Wisconsin	New York	New York
Coar, Grace	F	25	.....	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
Harris, David	M	33	Boarder	.....	Michigan	Germany	Germany
Harris, Carrie E.	M	30	Head	Teacher	New Jersey	New York	New York
Harris, G. Ewing	M	8	Wife	.....	New York	New Jersey	New Jersey
Harris, Lizzie R.	F	4	Son	.....	New York	New York	New York
Harris, Howard	M	2	Daughter	.....	Pennsylvania	New Jersey	New York
Cleaver, E. E.	M	21	Son	.....	Pennsylvania	New Jersey	New York
Mickelson, M.	M	29	.....	Farmer	Wisconsin	Illinois	New Jersey
Brundleson, G.	M	26	.....	Farmer	Wisconsin	Sweden	Sweden
Johnson, M.	M	28	.....	Farmer	Wisconsin	Sweden	Sweden
Reanson, G. O.	M	29	.....	.....	Minnesota	Sweden	Sweden
Slagert, O.	M	27	.....	Farmer	Minnesota	Sweden	Sweden
Roller	M	28	.....	Farmer	Minnesota	Sweden	Sweden
Dodsworth	M	28	.....	Farmer	Minnesota	New York	New York

WELLS COUNTY—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
O'Neill, James	M	55	Head	Blacksmith	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
O'Neill, A.	F	54	Wife	.....	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
O'Neill, Anna	F	20	Daughter	.....	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
O'Neill, P. J.	M	24	Son	.....	South Carolina	Ireland	Ireland
O'Neill, Thos.	M	18	Son	.....	South Carolina	Ireland	Ireland
Aderton, E. A.	M	38	.....	Carpenter	Iowa	Vermont	Connecticut
Lindsey, Albert	M	25	.....	Farmer	Iowa	Pennsylvania	Missouri
Hussey, John	M	25	.....	Farmer	Wisconsin	Ireland	Ireland
Belvan, Fred	M	25	.....	Farmer	Canada	Ireland	Ireland
Jobert, Mary	F	40	.....	Hotel Keeper	New York	Canada	Canada
Richards, A.	M	50	.....	.....	Canada	New York	Canada
Platts, Thos.	M	59	.....	.....	Canada	Canada	Canada
Platts, Alex.	M	24	.....	Carpenter	England	Canada	England
Sanford, Chas.	M	26	Son	Carpenter	England	England	England
St. Jacques, P.	M	21	.....	Farmer	Indiana	New York	New York
Dethloff, F.	M	31	.....	Farmer	Minnesota	Canada	Minnesota
Dethloff, Lizzie	F	32	Head	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
Dethloff, Louis	M	4	Wife	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
Dethloff, Emma	F	2	.....	.....	Wisconsin	Germany	Germany
Granman, F.	M	49	.....	Farmer	Wisconsin	Germany	Germany
Granman, Maria	F	47	Head	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
Granman, Chas.	M	23	Wife	.....	Germany	Germany	Germany
Granman, Otto	M	21	Son	.....	Wisconsin	Germany	Germany
Granman, Fred	M	18	Son	.....	Wisconsin	Germany	Germany
Granman, John	M	15	Son	.....	Wisconsin	Germany	Germany
Granman, Frank	M	11	Son	.....	Wisconsin	Germany	Germany
Sheard, Jos.	M	44	Son	.....	Wisconsin	Germany	Germany
Sheard, Chas.	M	13	Head	Farmer	Canada	England	England
Sheard, Harriet	F	36	Son	.....	Missouri	Canada	Connecticut
Sheard, Mabel	F	7	Wife	.....	Connecticut	Connecticut	Connecticut
Sheard, Allen	M	32	Daughter	.....	Missouri	Connecticut	Connecticut
Varnum, Zeph.	M	47	Brother	.....	Illinois	England	England
Varnum, L. W.	F	46	Head	Farmer	Canada	Massachusetts	Massachusetts
Varnum, Althia	F	16	Wife	.....	New York	New York	New York
Varnum, Edith	F	13	Daughter	.....	Michigan	Canada	New York
Varnum, Loren	M	11	Son	.....	Michigan	Canada	New York
Varnum, Clarence	M	6	Son	.....	Michigan	Canada	New York
Wright, Wm.	M	36	Head	.....	Michigan	Canada	New York
Wright, Elva	F	32	Wife	Farmer	Michigan	Canada	New York
Wright, Alfred	M	12	Son	.....	Michigan	England	England
Wright, Luther	M	11	Son	.....	Michigan	New York	New York

WELLS COUNTY—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Sanford, Winfield	M	40	Head	Farmer	Michigan	New York	New York
Sanford, Lottie	F	22	Wife	.....	Michigan	New York	New York
Mathews, Thos.	M	52	Head	Farmer	Michigan	Ireland	Ireland
Mathews, Kate	F	46	Wife	.....	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Mathews, J. C.	M	26	Son	.....	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Mathews, Thos.	M	19	Son	.....	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Mathews, Will	M	19	Son	.....	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Mathews, Sarah	F	12	Daughter	.....	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
Mathews, Frank	M	9	Son	.....	Minnesota	Ireland	Ireland
Mathews, Henry	M	5	Son	.....	Wisconsin	Ireland	Ireland
Mathews, George	M	3	Son	.....	Wisconsin	Ireland	Ireland
Mathews, Phil.	M	24	.....	Farmer	Germany	Canada	Canada
Dickey, Robert	M	32	.....	Farmer	Germany	Germany	Germany
Schultz, Robert	M	24	.....	Farmer	Canada	Canada	Canada
Heroux, V.	M	30	.....	Farmer	Canada	Canada	Canada
Heroux, A.	M	26	.....	Farmer	Germany	Germany	Germany
Olschlager, John	M	24	.....	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Reterson, H.	M	28	.....	Farmer	New York	New York	New York
DeLaund, C. E.	M	41	Head	Farmer	Maine	Maine	Maine
DeLaund, Grace E.	F	46	Wife	.....	New York	New York	New York
DeLaund, Clara	F	12	Daughter	.....	Maine	Maine	Maine
Brynjulson, Geo.	M	25	.....	Farmer	Pennsylvania	New York	Maine
Cravath, M. A.	M	20	.....	Farmer	Norway	Norway	Norway
Cravath, F. J.	M	24	.....	Farmer	Maine	Ohio	Ohio
Armstrong, R.	M	26	.....	Farmer	Maine	Ohio	Ohio
Dithloff, Lewis	M	23	.....	Farmer	Canada	Canada	Canada
Baker, George	M	23	.....	Farmer	Wisconsin	Germany	Germany
Baker, Walter	M	18	.....	Farmer	Iowa	England	England
Dufresne, Alfred	M	30	Brother	Farmer	Minnesota	England	England
Williams, E. A.	M	33	.....	Farmer	Canada	Canada	Canada
Rogers, A. P.	M	23	.....	Farmer	New York	Wales	Wales
Butts, D. J.	M	50	Head	Farmer	England	England	England
Butts, Ellen E.	F	47	Wife	.....	Indiana	Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania
Butts, Arthur	M	16	Son	.....	Ohio	England	England
Butts, Frank	M	13	Son	.....	Minnesota	Indiana	Ohio
Butts, Rubie	M	11	Son	.....	Minnesota	Indiana	Ohio
Pany, Owen	M	36	.....	Farmer	Wales	Wales	Wales
Long, Frank	M	26	Head	.....	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Long, Cora	F	19	Wife	.....	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan
O'Connell, J. J.	M	26	Head	Sheriff	New York	Ireland	Ireland
Boltju, Joseph	M	32	Head	Farmer	Ohio	England	New York

WELLS COUNTY—continued

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Boltin, Carrie	F	19	Wife	.....	Wisconsin	New York	Ohio
Bourk, A.	M	28	.....	Farmer	Canada	Canada	Canada
Bourk, T.	M	24	.....	Farmer	Canada	Canada	Canada
Ward, Joseph	M	25	.....	Farmer	Wisconsin	New York	New York
Erickson, John	M	26	.....	Farmer	Sweden	Sweden	Sweden
Yokell, George	M	32	.....	Farmer	Canada	Canada	Canada
Bronson, C. R.	M	43	Head	Carpenter	Vermont	Vermont	Vermont
Bronson, Emma	F	40	Wife	.....	Canada	Canada	Canada
Bronson, Maud	F	12	Daughter	.....	Vermont	Vermont	Canada
Bronson, Carrie	F	9	Daughter	.....	Vermont	Vermont	Canada
Bronson, Jennie	F	27	.....	Register of Deeds	Vermont	Vermont	Illinois
Brown, C. V.	M	26	Head	Farmer	Illinois	New York	Illinois
McKitterick, Thos.	M	34	Head	.....	Ireland	Ireland	Ireland
McKitterick, Josephine	F	32	Wife	.....	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
McKitterick, Ida	F	10	Daughter	.....	Ohio	Ireland	Ohio
McKitterick, William	M	6	Son	.....	Missouri	Ireland	Ohio
McKitterick, Alena	F	4	Daughter	.....	Missouri	Ireland	Ohio
McKitterick, George	M	1	Son	.....	Dakota	Ireland	Ohio
Lowery, Thos.	M	41	Head	Farmer	Ohio	Virginia	Ohio
Lowery, Nancy	F	31	Wife	.....	Illinois	Tennessee	Indiana
Lowery, Geo. H.	M	17	Son	.....	Illinois	Ohio	Illinois
Lowery, Anna	F	11	Daughter	.....	Illinois	Ohio	Illinois
Bradt, Thos. J.	M	51	.....	.....	Canada	Canada	Canada
Van Meter, E. A.	M	54	Head	Farmer	Kentucky	Kentucky	Kentucky
Van Meter, Carrie	F	48	Wife	.....	New York	Massachusetts	New York
Van Meter, George	M	21	Son	Farmer	Iowa	Kentucky	New York
Van Meter, Nellie	F	18	Daughter	.....	Iowa	Kentucky	New York
Van Meter, Harry	M	15	Son	.....	Iowa	Kentucky	New York
Williams, John A.	M	42	Head	Farmer	Michigan	Connecticut	Vermont
Williams, Anne	F	35	Wife	.....	Ohio	Ohio	Ohio
Williams, P.	M	13	Son	.....	Michigan	Michigan	Ohio
Williams, S.	F	11	Daughter	.....	Michigan	Michigan	Ohio
Williams, Ione	F	6	Daughter	.....	England	England	England
Hoodless, Wm.	M	40	.....	Laborer	Germany	Germany	Germany
Bousch, A.	M	63	.....	Farmer	Wales	Wales	Wales
Davis, David L.	M	40	Head	Farmer	Wales	Wales	Wales
Davis, Anne	F	40	Wife	.....	Wales	Wales	Wales
Davis, D. L.	M	16	Son	.....	Wales	Wales	Wales
Davis, Cora L.	F	11	Daughter	.....	Wales	Wales	Wales
Davis, James E.	M	9	Son	.....	Wales	Wales	Wales
Spizer, E.	M	23	Servant	Servant	Germany	Germany	Germany

WYNN COUNTY.

Males	6	Attended school during	
Females	4	1885	0
Under 21 years of age	3	Married	2
		Single	8
		Farmer	6
Born in Dakota Territory			0
Born in other parts of the U. S.			0
Foreign born			10
Total population			10

WYNN COUNTY

Name	Sex	Age	Relationship to head of family.	Occupation	Birthplace	Father's Birthplace	Mother's Birthplace
Manning, John	M	27	.....	Farmer	Canada	Ireland	Ireland
Manning, Daniel	M	30	.....	Farmer	Canada	Ireland	Ireland
Manning, Michael	M	22	.....	Farmer	Canada	Ireland	Ireland
Seaforth, Clements	M	54	.....	Farmer	Germany	Germany	Germany
Seaforth, Elizabeth	F	48	Head	.....	Scotland	Scotland	Scotland
Seaforth, Tena	F	17	Wife	.....	Canada	Germany	Scotland
Seaforth, Nellie	F	14	Daughter	.....	Canada	Germany	Scotland
Seaforth, Jennie	F	12	Daughter	.....	Canada	Germany	Scotland
Seaforth, August	M	21	Son	Farmer	Canada	Germany	Scotland
Davidson, Carter	M	24	.....	Farmer	Canada	Canada	Canada

Summary of Evidence in the Controversy
between The Hudson's Bay Com-
pany and the North-West
Company.

Reprinted from

Papers relating to the Red River Settlement, 1815-19.

Ordered by House of Commons to be
printed July 12, 1819.

No. 37.

COPY OF A LETTER from Lieut.—General Sir John C. Sherbrooke, G. C. B. to the Earl Bathurst, K. G.; dated Quebec, 20th July 1818:—One Inclosure, viz. Mr. Coltman's Report relative to the Disturbances in the Indian Territories.

My Lord,

Quebec, 20th July 1818.

I HAVE the honour to transmit your Lordship herewith Mr. Coltman's general Statement and final Report, relative to the disturbances in the Indian territories.

This report is so full and explicit, that any remarks from me would be quite superfluous; and I therefore merely refer your Lordship to it, as containing a circumstantial account of the rise, progress, and occurrences of the contest between the Hudson's Bay and North-West companies, which led to Mr. Coltman's appointment and mission to the Indian territories.

I have &c.

To the Earl Bathurst, K. G. (Signed) J. C. Sherbrooke.
&c. &c. &c.

A general Statement and Report relative to the Disturbances in the Indian Territories of British North America, by the undersigned Special Commissioner for inquiring into the Offences committed in the said Indian Territories, and the Circumstances attending the same.
(Signed) W. B. Coltman.

Inclosure in
Sir J. C. Sher-
brooke's, of
20th July
1818; viz. Mr.
Coltman's Re-
port, &c.

STATEMENT, according to the order of time, of the principal occurrences relative to the recent disputes between the Hudson's Bay and North-West companies, which appear to me, the undersigned Special Commissioner, to have been substantiated by the evidence taken before me, or to have been admitted by the parties in the respective official statements transmitted me, by the legal agents of the Earl of Selkirk, of the 18th February, and by the agents of the North-West Company, of the 14th March last, or in their generally acknowledged publications under the titles of "Statements respecting the Earl of Selkirk's Settlement," and "Narrative of Occurrences in the Indian Countries," and which appear to be material to the elucidation of the causes and circumstances of the late disturbances in the Indian territories.

N. B.—Whenever the statements in the publications have been relied on, they are especially referred to, and

(with the exception of the bills of indictment) the few facts resting on general notoriety, and personal knowledge, which it has been found necessary to notice, are mentioned as such.

Previous to,
and during
the course of
the years
1810 & 1811.

IT appears according to the evidence before me, supported by the frequent assertion of the principal facts in the publications of the North-West company, and the tacit admission thereof, implied by the silence of the opposite party, that the Earl of Selkirk became proprietor of £40,000 capital stock of the Hudson's Bay company, which (as their whole stock is stated to be £105,000, and about £25,000 thereof to be held by females and minors) gave his Lordship a predominant influence over the proceedings of the company; in consequence, several of the old committee (which body have the general management of the company's affairs) resigned and made way for his Lordship's relations and friends; the purchases were originally begun in conjunction with Sir Alexander McKenzie, a principal partner of the North-West company, who was to have one-third, and the Earl two-thirds of the amount purchased; these parties however soon disagreed, but after some threats of a chancery suit their disputes were compromised.

On the 29th
May 1811.

A grant was made by the Hudson's Bay Company to the Earl of Selkirk of a large tract of country, for the alleged purpose of forming an agricultural settlement to supply their trading servants with provisions, the company retaining to itself the right of jurisdiction over the said tract, which has since been called the district of Assiniboin; the boundaries thereof may be seen by reference to the annexed abstract, marked No. 1, taken from the map published by the North-West company to accompany the "Narrative of Occurrences in the Indian Countries," and the particulars more fully ascertained by the Abstract marked No. 2, taken from the map published with "the Statement respecting the Earl Selkirk's Settlement." This grant was strongly opposed by all the proprietors of Hudson Bay stock, connected with the North-West company, some of whom are admitted in the "Narrative" to have purchased their stock for that express purpose. Many other admissions, more or less direct, of the facts stated by the opposite parties, regarding this part of the subject, will be found in their respective publications; and from these admissions, and the evidence before me, no doubt can be entertained, that a spirit of decided opposition towards the intended establishment of an agricultural settlement, was entertained by the principal persons

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in London connected with the North-West company. The motives for this hostile feeling, it is more difficult fairly to estimate. On behalf of the Hudson's Bay company and the Earl of Selkirk, it is contended in the "Statement," that it arose solely from the interested fears of injury to the fur trade; and an apprehension of this nature appears, in fact, to be admitted in some degree by the declaration in the protest against the grant, "that colonization is at all times unfavorable to the fur trade;" the evidence of the former servants of the North-West company, has also been brought before me, to prove the apprehensions of the partners of that company, that the establishment of the colony would materially injure their trade, especially that of Mr. John Pritchard, a clerk in charge of a post on the Assiniboin river at the period of the first establishment of the colony, who (Deposition, No. 123) states expressly, that it was the general opinion of the partners in that quarter, that if the colony succeeded, the result would be to form a nursery of servants for the Hudson's Bay company, and thereby enable that company more effectually to oppose them in trade, exclusive of affording such facility for adventurers to get into the country, as must destroy the species of monopoly established by the North-West company; and that in consequence, although individually well-disposed towards the colony, he felt it his duty, as long as he remained in the North-West company's service, to oppose its interests by all fair means, and especially by buying up all the provisions he could get, which he did to a considerable extent in the winter 1813-14, (this last measure is, however, by other evidence, stated to have been rendered necessary by the events of the American war); he also states his belief, that the post of Pembina which had been abandoned two years before, was re-established for the purpose of opposing the colony in the purchase of provisions, and his knowledge, that Alexander McDonnell, in charge of this post, did so oppose them; other testimony (Deposition, No. 131) has also been brought before me, of declaration made by the said Alexander McDonnell, of his fears of ruin to their trade, in consequence of the great reduction in the price of all supplies, especially spirits and clothing, to be looked for from the future manufactures of the colony; and in a letter of 15th April 1815, from James Grant, at Fond du Lac, then a clerk, and now a partner of the North-West company, of which an extract has been proved before me (Deposition No. 167,) it is stated "if the colony stands any time, it will render the

29th May
1811.

Indians of this place so "independent of us, that it will be nearly impossible to stand our ground with "them."

On the part of the North-West company, it is on the other hand contended that independent of their objections to the settlement, as founded on the assumption of a right of territory (whereof they deny the existence on the part of the Hudson's Bay company,) over a country of which they have been in long previous occupancy; of their considering it as a measure injurious to their interests as traders; dangerous to the peace of the country, and likely to produce only misery to the settlers; they had before long reason to suspect that other views, besides the Earl of Selkirk's enthusiasm for colonization, had given rise to the project, and were gradually convinced that the establishment of the colony was (as is expressly stated in the "Narrative" published in London, where the alarm appears to have been first taken) only a pretext to induce settlers to emigrate, and thus introduce into the country at an inconsiderable expense a sufficient number of persons to carry into effect the plans of aggression and competition contemplated against their trade. In proof of these assertions, the evidence of Mr. Samuel Wilcocke has been brought before me, (Deposition, No. 102) who states himself to have been employed as a confidential assistant by the agents of the North-West company in London during the present disputes, and as such to have had a knowledge from information, and belief of declarations made about the period of the grant to the Earl of Selkirk, at the public meetings of the Hudson's Bay company, of hostility towards the North-West company, and of the resolutions of the new committee to enforce the rights of their charter. The same person also further proves the communication by Sir Alexander McKenzie to the North-West company, as early as April 1811, of his suspicions of the hostile views of the Earl of Selkirk. The strongest proof, however, that the suspicions entertained on each side were not without some foundation, is to be found in the intercepted letter of Simon McGillivray, the principal North-West agent in London (dated 9th April 1812,) a copy whereof was duly proved before me (Deposition, No. 103,) and in certain extracts of that of the Earl of Selkirk (18th June 1812,) which were proved before me (Deposition No. 104,) to have been taken from an original letter by S. H. Wilcocke; as this gentleman speaks however only from belief to the hand-writing of the Earl, his testimony is necessarily to be received with some caution, till an entire copy of the letter duly proved

29th May
1811.

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is produced; for although no probable doubt of the existence or genuineness of the letter exists in my mind, yet possibly other passages in it may materially tend to explain those extracted. In the former of these letters by Simon McGillivray addressed to the wintering partners of the North-West company, are to be found the following observations:—"The committee of the Hudson's Bay company, is at present a mere machine in the hands of Lord Selkirk, who appears to be so much wedded to his schemes of colonization in the interior of North America, that it will require some time, and I fear cause much expense to us as well as to himself before he is driven to abandon the project, and yet *he must be driven to abandon it*, for his success would strike at the very existence of our trade." And again, "In regard to the proposed expedition to the Columbia, I conceive it to be as much a matter of necessity for the North-West company to follow it up, as it is to prevent Lord Selkirk from establishing colonies on the Red River." Whilst in the extract of the letter stated to have been written by the Earl of Selkirk to Mr. William Hillier, a principal agent of the Hudson's Bay company, are to be found the following words:—"You must give them solemn warning that the land belongs to the Hudson's Bay company, and that they must remove from it; after this warning they should not be allowed to cut any timber, either for building or fuel; what they have cut should be openly and forcibly seized, and their buildings destroyed; in like manner they should be warned not to fish in your waters, and if they put down nets, seize them as you would in England those of a poacher. We are so fully advised of the unimpeachable validity of these rights of property, that there can be no scruple in enforcing them whenever you have the physical means."

29th May
1811.

Miles McDonnell, formerly a captain in His Majesty's regiment of Royal Canadian Volunteers (by the title of which military rank he appears chiefly to have been distinguished in the Indian Country,) was appointed by the Hudson's Bay company governor of the district of Assiniboin, and proceeded a few days afterwards for the same by the way of Hudson's Bay.

Inclosure in
June 1811.

This appointment, it appears however nearly certain, was never approved of by the King, in conformity to the Act of the 7th and 8th William 3d; and it is admitted by himself (Deposition, No. 112,) that he did not take any oaths of office, owing to there being no persons authorized to administer them on his arrival within the limits of the

district, as he came out to form a colony, and not to one already existing.

In August
1812.

Miles McDonnell, after having been detained the first winter on the sea coast, in Hudson's Bay arrived at the forks of Red River, and on or about the 4th September ensuing, caused the grant of the territory by the Hudson's Bay company to the Earl of Selkirk, to be read, together with his own commission, as governor, at a public meeting called by him for that purpose: this proceeding was at the time generally understood both by the North-West company's people and those Canadians, who having completed the engagements under which they were originally brought into the Indian country, continue to live there under the name of "Freemen," as a public declaration on behalf of the Earl of Selkirk and his agents, of their exclusive right to the soil and natural products of the country; and by testimony before me (Depositions, Nos. 108, 109, 113, &c.) appears to have created a partial uneasiness to the freemen, and to have been still more obnoxious to the North-West Company, whose inferior servants were forbidden by the partners and clerks to attend the public meeting. No immediate effects appear however to have followed from these impressions; on the contrary, it is admitted that the North-West company during the first winter (either from motives of humanity or views of policy, to establish an interest amongst the settlers to the prejudice of their own officers) furnished supplies of provisions to the colony, where there was much distress from want thereof; and that Alexander McDonnell, who was in charge of the North-West company's post, near which Miles McDonnell wintered, appeared for some time to live with him on the most friendly and intimate footing, as was natural, from their being both cousins and brothers-in-law; the freemen also, and their children by Indian women, who form the bulk of the population called "half-breeds" or "metis," and sometimes "bois-bruiles," finding that no practical exercise of their exclusive rights was attempted, and experiencing the advantages to be derived from amicable trade and intercourse with the settlers, appear to have become well disposed towards the colony. Such seems likewise to have been at all times the general disposition of the Saulteur Indians, who occupy the country in the immediate neighborhood.

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In April 1813.

The first open declaration of jealousy or coolness between Miles McDonnell and the persons in charge of the North-West company's post, took place at Pembina, in consequence, according to the statement of the said Miles

McDonnell (Deposition, No. 110,) of his having received proof on oath, that Alexander McDonnell and John Dugald Cameron, a partner of the North-West company, were endeavouring to inveigle away the servants, and sow dissatisfaction and disunion among the settlers; and having also learnt, that persons in the service of the North-West company were using language to excite the Indians against the colony.

In support of the first charge however, he produced no evidence to me; whilst on behalf of the North-West company there is filed (Deposition, No. 152) the original complaint made by him to the agents of the company, with copies of the depositions whereon it was founded, and the correspondence between them relative thereto; from these it certainly does not appear to me, that an adequate case is made out to support the charge of any general plan of seduction, particularly when considered in conjunction with the numerous complaints by former servants of the colony, of the many privations and hardships to which they were exposed, and of the severity and oppression exercised towards them, in consequence whereof, one of them by name Magnus Heissmaster, appears probably to have lost his life; these persons were brought before me as witnesses on behalf of the North-West company, and many of them acknowledge their having made application for relief to that company, but deny any knowledge that overtures were, at this period, made to any one, although some partial encouragement appears to have been given to individual complaints; several of these, from their declarations, appear to have had just cause for their complaints; and on that of one of them (John Feeny's) a bill of indictment has been lately found against Miles McDonnell. The only person actually brought out this year in the North-West company's canoes, was one John Walsh and he was sent back from Fort William, on account, as is stated on behalf of the North-West company, of his having left a wife and child in Red River, but as stated by Miles McDonnell, (on information which he declares to have received from one of the North-West partners, and to believe to be true) for the purpose of covering their designs of creating a more general desertion; in the ensuing year 1814, it does not however appear that any person was taken out by the North-West company except one, James Toomey, who was previously ascertained to have finished his service, and to be free from debt or obligation of any kind. With regard to exciting the Indians, the charge appears at this period to

April 1813.

rest on still weaker grounds, being supported chiefly by surmise, and reports at second hand; whilst any knowledge thereof was denied by the Indians at their public meeting with myself, and the reports as far as related to himself, positively contradicted by Mr. John Pritchard, one of the persons charged as having taken part in these practices.

On the 8th
January 1814.

Miles McDonnell issued a proclamation as governor of the territory of Assiniboin, stating the necessity of providing for the support of the families then forming settlements on Red River, and of those on their way thither, and therefore forbidding for twelve months, the exportation of any provisions procured or raised within the territory, except what might be necessary for taking to their respective destinations the trading parties then within the same; further directing, that all provisions so raised should be taken for the use of the colony, and paid for by British bills, at the customary rates; and finally ordering, that any persons attempting to take out provisions contrary to this proclamation, should be taken into custody, and prosecuted as the laws in such cases direct, and that the said provisions, together with the craft or carriages carrying them, and any other goods taken along with them, should be forfeited.

In March
1814.

Inclosure in
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brooke's, of
July 20th
1818; viz. Mr.
Coltman's Re-
port, &c.

A party of fifteen or sixteen of the colonial servants were furnished with arms and ammunition by Mr. John Spencer, commonly called the Sheriff, ordered to proceed under the command of Mr. John Warren, to the plains of Turtle River, and told that Mr. Miles McDonnell would join them the ensuing day; previous to arriving at their destination they were joined by Mr. Michael McDonnell, and afterwards proceeded to an encampment of free Canadian half-breeds and Indians, formed for the purpose of hunting. The same evening Jean Baptiste Desmarrais and others arrived at the camp, with two or three sleds belonging to the North-West company, for the purpose of taking in provisions; the next morning these sleds were accordingly loaded with meat, where upon Michael McDonnell and Warren, commanded their men to fall in with loaded arms, and not to allow the provisions to be taken away; the sleds were consequently unloaded, and the meat replaced on the scaffolds (the usual mode of keeping it in the Indian country,) and information was sent by Michael to Miles McDonnell, that he had taken from the North-West sleds, the provisions delivered them by the freemen, and wished him to come to the place. Miles McDonnell said it was well done, but was little compared

with what should be taken in a short time, and sent word to the said Michael McDonnell, to detain all the provisions till his arrival; what ultimately became of these provisions does not appear very clearly by any evidence before me; but a bill of indictment has lately been found against Michael McDonnell and Miles McDonnell, on this charge, as principal and accessory to grand larceny.

It is further stated (Deposition, No. 121,) that Mr. Spencer, in delivering out the arms, expressed his hopes, that a good use would be made of them, and subsequently declared to one Frances Enodit Delorme (Deposition, No. 113,) then in the service of the North-West company, that Miles McDonnell was gone out with a resolution of having provisions from the freemen, amicably if he could, but that if not he would take them.

Miles McDonnell finding that it was the avowed intention of the partners and servants of the North-West company, not to submit to his proclamation, and that a considerable number of their Canadian servants, with some half-breeds and Indians, were collecting by them at the forks of Red River; and he on his part, as appears by other evidence, having caused his men to be trained to the use of arms (a practice which appears to have been adopted by him in a greater or less degree from his first arrival in the country, and to have tended to excite feelings of jealousy against the settlement,) sent out an armed party, provided with two field-pieces, to intercept a part of the North-West company's provisions expected to come down the river Assiniboin; this party was afterwards increased to about fifty persons, completely armed and in uniform; and Mr. John Warren, who commanded the same in Miles McDonnell's absence, gave orders (Deposition, No. 122,) that in case any of the North-West boats or canoes proceeded down the river, and did not come ashore on the centinel's firing (as they were directed to do) over their heads, that the field-pieces should fire upon them and sink them; this order however the men appear to have been unwilling to obey; and on application to Miles McDonnell he told them the Canadians were such cowards they would come on shore at the first shot, and that he had no wish for bloodshed. Intelligence of this proceeding having been early given to the North-West company by Alexander McLean, one of the principal settlers, an express was sent by them, to stop the provisions, and in consequence Mr. John Spencer, the Sheriff, went up by water with a small armed party, to look for the same, but after some days search found only one empty boat, and

In May 1814.

May 1814.

the men who had conducted it down; these latter, named Portras and Saucisse, both free Canadians, he made prisoners, and took them down to Miles McDonnell, who threatened to send them to Hudson's Bay and compelled one of them to declare on oath where the provisions were concealed; whereupon Spencer was again sent up with a party and brought them down to Miles McDonnell's store; on this charge a bill of indictment has lately been found against Spencer as principal, and Miles McDonnell as accessory, to grand larceny.

In June 1814.

Mr. John Spencer, above mentioned, having been sent up with an armed force to the North-West post, at the junction of the Rivers Assiniboin and La Souris, where their principal supply of provisions had been collected together for greater safety, required the surrender thereof to him, in virtue of a warrant from Miles McDonnell, which being refused, he forcibly broke into the said post, by cutting down the stockades, and drawing the staples of the store door. The provisions thus taken, were partly conveyed to the Hudson's Bay post in the neighbourhood and partly taken down to Miles McDonnell, at the Forks. On this charge a bill of indictment for grand larceny was found against Spencer, so long ago as September 1815; but it is admitted by the North-West company, in the "Narrative," that as he might have acted under a misapprehension of authority, there would be a failure in proving against him the felonious intent. Shortly after this occurrence, Mr. House, in the service of the Hudson's Bay company, who had been present at the time, was made prisoner by Mr. Duncan Cameron and others of the North-West company, who previous to this period, are stated (Deposition, No. 113,) to have induced their servants chiefly by threats, (for much unwillingness in this respect appears to have been expressed by the men of both sides,) to take up arms, and had probably in view, to intercept Mr. Spencer, with the provisions he was bringing down. Miles McDonnell states, at least, that having been led to suspect it, he went out to meet and protect him, at the head of a party, with two field-pieces, having also himself apparently in view, to procure the release of Mr. House; a battery was likewise erected about this time to obstruct the passage of the river near Fort Douglas, and two North-West canoes coming up the river, were detained and disarmed. From these and other hostile measures on each side, matters appeared drawing towards a violent crisis, when Mr. John McDonald, commonly called "Bras (roche)", a brother-in-law of Mr. William McGillivray,

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(June 1814.)

arriving, an amicable settlement took place; Mr. House was released, and it was agreed that 200 bags of pemican, equal to a little more than a third of the quantity taken, should be retained by Miles McDonnell, and the remainder restored to the North-West company, on condition of their supplying an equal quantity of provisions to the colony the ensuing winter; but some little deviation from the original bargain having afterwards taken place, it does not appear quite clear, what were the exact terms carried into execution. Miles McDonnell in his deposition, states most positively, that the measure of embargo was adopted by him solely from the necessities of the colony, to which he was led to expect an accession of nearly two hundred persons in the course of the year, and that it was by no means intended to injure the trade of the North-West company, or connected with the difficulties to be expected by them, from the loss of the British fleet on Lake Erie, which he did not learn until after issuing the proclamation, and that he had in consequence frequently informed the gentlemen of that company, that it was not his intention to enforce the prohibition to its full extent. On the part of the North-West company it is stated, that the supply of provisions from Red River was indispensable to the subsistence of their people; that the loss of the fleet on Lake Erie, rendered them more dependent than ever thereon; and that the same must have been known very shortly after the date of the proclamation, and long before it began to be acted upon; and proof is given of different violent and hostile declarations made by Miles McDonnell and other officers of the colony, or Hudson's Bay company; viz. of a speech by Governor William Auld (Deposition, No. 114,) to the servants and settlers assembled at Red River; that whenever required to fight, they must do so, and not think what was right or wrong, but what were the company's orders, and that if directed to take the North-West company's provisions, they must not refuse. Of threats by Peter Fidler, a principal factor of the Hudson's Bay company (Deposition, No. 119,) of flogging and loss of wages, for refusing to take up arms; of a declaration by John Spencer (Deposition, No. 120,) whilst preparing cartridges for the field-pieces, "that he was making them for the damned North-West rascals; that they had run too long, and that they should run no longer;" and of promises made by Miles McDonnell (Deposition, No. 119,) of a pension to any man who might be wounded in action against the North-West company; and of a bounty of three pounds to each man on taking up

arms; of a declaration by him that there was no law in that country, but the law of the strongest; and that he could not get on without that being the case; and a further declaration on the first boat load of the captured pemican being brought down to his stores, that it was a good beginning, and that in a little time he would drive the North-West company out of the river.

Miles McDonnell on his part further states, that he had received directions from the Hudson's Bay company in 1813, to appoint counsellors and other officers for the colony, by commissions issued by himself, on the previous nomination of the company; and proves also (Deposition, No. 112,) certain extracts from letters of the Earl of Selkirk to himself, of which the most material, dated Stromness, 13th June 1813, states, that satisfactory progress had been made in ascertaining the rights of jurisdiction, legally vested in the company, but that it would require delicate management to take advantage of them; that full instructions could not be sent out by the company that year, and consequently great caution must be used in asserting these rights forcibly, especially towards the North-West company, who would be glad to catch at any flaw that could bring them into discredit with the public; that means would be found of bringing their legal rights to a fair trial before the supreme tribunal in England, and in the meantime any exercise of jurisdiction must be confined to what was strictly necessary, and any step carefully avoided that could give a handle to misrepresenting these proceedings, as directed to sinister objects, and particularly to the invidious purposes of monopoly, and concludes with the following practical directions:

"A very material point, which appears to be established
 "beyond all doubt is, that every person within the territories of the Hudson's Bay company, is under their jurisdiction. Therefore, if any of the North-West people
 "should attempt any violent aggression within the bounds
 "of the settlement, or against the settlers, you need not
 "scruple to lay hold of them, and proceed against them
 "as you would against any offender of our own people.
 "If they keep at a tolerable distance from the settlement,
 "and do not interfere with your internal affairs, you will
 "not seek a quarrel with them, but you cannot allow them
 "to insult the settlement, or to trample upon your authority. If the servants of the Hudson's Bay company should
 "claim your protection and redress, against any illegal
 "violence of their antagonists committed within the limits
 "of your government, you cannot refuse to interfere, and

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“the delinquents should be brought to punishment in the same manner as if they had attacked the settlers; but you must take care to deal with perfect impartiality between the servants of the two companies; indeed, in all cases of collision with the North-West people, it will be advisable to be very sure of your ground, and have a case well made out before you take strong measures.”

Of these extracts it is proper to remark, that as the original letters were not produced, nor even a declaration made by the deponent that they contain the whole substance of what is said on these particular subjects, they must necessarily be received with some caution till that is done.

In July 1814.

An order was published by Miles McDonnell, forbidding the hunting of buffalo on horseback, under the penalty of three months imprisonment for the first offense, and forfeiture of the horse with a similar imprisonment, for the second. Miles McDonnell states (Deposition, No. 110,) that he adopted this measure in consequence of having experienced the pernicious effects of some of the free Canadians and their half-breed sons, (several of whom he has been informed, and believes, were employed by the North-West company,) thus running the buffalo, whereby they were driven to a great distance, and the settlers as well as the larger proportion of freemen, who had not hunting horses, were deprived of the means of subsistence; the Indians also complaining thereof, as driving the buffalo towards the lands of their enemies, the Sioux Indians, where they could not pursue them without danger; that from these causes, having frequently before discouraged the practice in conversation, he was led (with the concurrence of several of the partners of the North-West company, with whom he had made the arrangement for provisions) to issue the order above-mentioned, which was translated into French, and the salutary effects thereof explained by two of the partners and one clerk of the North-West company; that it was therefore with the utmost surprise, that he found the measures subsequently to the arrival of Mr. Duncan Cameron, the ensuing fall, made a subject of accusation against himself, and represented to the free Canadians and half-breeds, as an infringement of their liberty. The fact of its being so considered, appears by a variety of other testimony, and also that it was one of the principal causes which rendered the freemen and half-breeds (amongst whom it appears by Deposition, No. 113, for some time to have excited great alarm) inimical towards the colony, inasmuch as it is stated by

different witnesses, not to be at all times practicable to ensure a supply of buffalo, without following them on horseback; other pretensions of Miles McDonnell, are also stated as having caused dissatisfaction, such as forbidding the inhabitants of the country to bark the trees, as customary for covering their houses; to take the larger trees for fire-wood, or to encamp near certain parts of the river for the purpose of fishing; as to which, although Miles McDonnell states, that he never made any such orders, there can be no doubt, from the various evidence on the subject, that claims of the kind had been advanced in a way to excite jealousy and suspicion; numerous complaints have also been brought before me, of the difficulty experienced by the inhabitants of every class, in obtaining any regular account of their dealings with Miles McDonnell; and of the injury caused them thereby on the other hand, evidence has been laid before me, for the purpose of showing, that previous to the measures taken this season by Miles McDonnell, against the North-West company, proceedings of an hostile nature had been adopted by them, particularly in ordering their hunters to drive away the cattle from the colonists; but independent of this fact not being stated by Miles McDonnell (who, if true, had the best means of knowing, and the greatest interest to show it,) and of the direct evidence produced of the parties having apparently continued on good terms up to the period in question; the same witnesses who are produced to prove the adoption of this measure, so universally attributed it to Mr. Duncan Cameron, who is otherwise indubitably shown never to have come to Red River till the difficulties about provisions took place, that there can be scarcely a doubt of their being mistaken as to the date; and on the whole, it seems evident, that up to this period, there not only is a want of evidence (which seems indeed to be tacitly admitted in the statement by the Earl of Selkirk's legal agents of the 18th February last) to prove the adoption of any measures of open and deliberate hostility towards the colony on the part of the persons acting for the North-West company; but on the contrary, it appears to me, that much moderation had been shown by them in resisting the pretensions of Miles McDonnell, who, besides the overt acts already stated, advances in a correspondence proved before me (Deposition, No. 152,) the exclusive rights of the Hudson's Bay company to the territory, government and jurisdiction of the country in the most direct terms, and states in substance, and for the most part in these very words, that he and his people were the government party, and that the North-West

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people were bound to acknowledge subjection to them as such. It is also stated, by one witness (Deposition, No. 107,) that about this period, Mr. Still, a clerk of the Hudson's Bay company, who had been in England the year before, declared he had often dined with the Earl of Selkirk, and that his Lordship was determined to take possession of his territory, meaning the Red River; that his people could not establish the colony without provisions, and that those that were found within their territory, ought to belong to them. It appears also, by two or more witnesses (Depositions, No. 107, 113, &c.) that during the present or previous summer, the surveyor of the colony in laying out some lots for settlements, insisted upon running one of his lines through the middle of the garden of the North-West company's post, which after some opposition was submitted to.

Alexander McDonnell, after the 45th annual meeting of the North-West partners at Fort William, addressed a letter, which has been duly proved before me (Deposition, No. 123,) from the portage La Prairie, about the height of land, to Mr. John McDonald, before mentioned, containing the following expressions:—"You see myself and our mutual friend Cameron, so far on our way to commence open hostilities against the enemy in Red River; much is expected from us, if we believe some; perhaps too much; one thing is certain, that we will do our best to defend what we consider our rights in the interior. Something serious will undoubtedly take place. Nothing but the complete downfall of the colony will satisfy some by fair or foul means. A most desirable object if it can be accomplished, so here is at them with all my heart and energy." This is the first and principal overt act of that conspiracy, which the North-West company are accused of having formed at Fort William, for the purpose of destroying the colony at Red River, conformably to the advice given them two years before by Mr. Simon McGillivray.

The principal additional evidence, which has come before me in support of this charge, exclusive of the admission by the North-West company, of the warrants issued by Archibald Norman McLeod, against Miles McDonnell and others, and of the authority given to the partners going to the Red River, to offer a passage and provisions to Upper Canada to any of the settlers inclined to avail themselves thereof, is contained in the deposition of Mr. John Pritchard (No. 123,) who states, that on his arrival at Fort William, he found the North-West people in gen-

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eral much enraged at the arrangement which had taken place at Red River, especially the principal agents and partners, Mr. William McGillivaray and Mr. Archibald Norman McLeod, the former of whom declared that it was not the value of the pemican, but the insult offered to the North-West company, which enraged them; and added, "During thirty years that we have been conducting this business, it has been my province rather to check the violence of the younger men, than to urge any one to act; it is the first time the North-West company has ever been insulted; towards the latter part of the business, you appear to have been disposed to do yourselves justice, had it not been for the arrival of that unfortunate man," alluding to John McDonald his brother-in-law; and afterwards on his (Pritchard's) observing that had they proceeded to violence, many lives might have been lost, Mr. McGillivaray replied with a sneer, "I know Miles McDonnell better; he would not have burnt a priming," and that in a subsequent conversation, Archibald Norman McLeod told him, that he had acted like a coward in not shooting Spencer, when he took the pemican. That on another occasion, McLeod made some inquiries of him respecting the manner of issuing warrants; and that he saw him push one Louis Blondeau out of the hall of the fort, for refusing to take an oath (which fact is also confirmed by Blondeau, Deposition, No. 284, with many details,) and that the same oath was afterwards administered to several others in his presence, being read out of a printed book; that he believes it might be the ordinary oath of a constable, but that the purport was explained to the parties, to be, "that it bound them to obey the commands of their bourgeois, and exempted them from any consequence that might accrue therefrom, for which the bourgeois alone would be responsible;" that from all these circumstances he was led to suspect measures of violence were intended to be adopted against the settlement, and was even told by Alexander McDonnell, that they would bring out Miles McDonnell in irons. But on his (Pritchard's) arrival at Montreal, he was further informed by Donald McKenzie, a confidential servant of the North-West Company, and brother of Mr. Roderick McKenzie, of Terre-bonne, a partner of that company, that it was the intention of the company to seduce as many of the settlers at Red River as possible to join them, and after thus diminishing their means of defence to raise the Indians of Lake Rouge and Fond du Lac, to act against and destroy the settlement. Mr. Colin Robertson, a principal agent

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of the Hudson Bay Company, states also (Deposition, No. 167,) that he received similar information towards the end of September 1814, from Mr. Robert Logan, a former clerk of the North West company, particularly as to the intended employment of the Fond du Lac Indians; as likewise from Donald McKenzie aforesaid, with the addition, that Daniel McKenzie, the person in charge of Fond-du-Lac, had been instructed to employ the Indians of that place against the settlement, but had declared to him, if the company chose they might make use of the said Indians, but that he would not be concerned therein.

Katawabetay, an Indian chief from Fond-du Lac, has however stated before me (Deposition, No. 402,) that Daniel McKenzie did offer him all the goods at Leach Lake, Sandy Lake, and Lac-la-Pluie, as an inducement to make war upon the English at Red River, but that he refused doing so, as already declared by him at Drummond's Island. It is true, he stated this to have been in the spring of the year 1816; a circumstance which was much dwelt upon by the North-West company, who proved (Deposition, No. 403,) that Daniel McKenzie was not at Fond-du-Lac that spring, and also produced evidence of Katawabetay having denied to them, his having made the declaration imputed to him when read as printed in the "Statement;" such denial, however, even if true, arising probably from some expectation of immediate advantage, or from fear, is little to be relied upon; and the error of date appears merely accidental, as he refers to his former declaration, where the date is stated correctly.

Daniel McKenzie himself, in his letter to the Earl of Selkirk, in consequence whereof he was liberated from confinement and allowed to proceed to Montreal, under the idea of his being found a necessary evidence for the Crown (a copy of which letter has been proved before me (Deposition No. 280,) says nothing on this particular subject, although it is affirmed by Mr. John Allen, the medical attendant of the Earl of Selkirk, that he had expressed much anxiety relative thereto whilst in confinement.

He states however the following circumstances, bearing on the charge of a previous conspiracy:—That in the year 1813, a deserter of the name of Walsh having been brought from the Red River settlement, Mr. William McGillivray found much fault therewith, on the principle that the colony ought to be disorganized on a more general scale, to cover which intention he was sent back; that in summer 1814 a considerable present of provisions and liquor was given to the people who came to Fort William

from Red River, although a period when the utmost economy was requisite, from the Americans being in possession of the Upper Lakes, and that Mr. William McGillivray made a speech to the men, dwelling much upon the unjust proceedings that had taken place; that a present to the amount of £60 or upwards was sent to Mrs. McLean, in consequence of the proposal of Mr. John McDonald, the brother-in-law of Mr. William McGillivray, as she was friendly, and wished well to the North-West company; and that Mr. Duncan Cameron was made a captain in the voyageur corps, in order that he might command captain McDonnell in Red River.

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This last measure appears by other evidence to have been adopted under the sanction of a letter said to have been written by E. Brenton, the civil secretary, to Sir George Prevost, dated 27th May 1814, ordering that military rank should be given to any person in the Indian territories whom Mr. William McGillivray should recommend; in consequence whereof the same was confirmed by a garrison order, issued by Colonel McDonnell, the commandant at Michilimackinack, which was forwarded by the North-West company into the Indian territory during the course of the winter. Daniel McKenzie further states, that whilst in charge of Fond-du-Lac he received a letter from Mr. Duncan Cameron at Red River, in the spring 1814 (evidently an error for 1815,) in which he mentions having orders to destroy the colony. Of this letter a copy has been filed with me (Deposition, No. 240,) on behalf of the Hudson's Bay company, as also (Deposition, No. 168,) of another letter written by Mr. Duncan Cameron in March 1816, to the person then in charge of Fond-du-Lac, together with copy of a joint letter (Deposition, No. 168,) from Duncan Cameron and Alexander McDonnell to their partners in the interior, dated 24th February 1816, and extracts of one (Deposition No. 167,) from Alexander McDonnell to the proprietors and agents at Fort William, dated 13th March 1816, and the whole of which appear to throw much light on the question of the degree in which the charges of previous conspiracy, and of inciting the Indians, are fairly imputable to the North-West company.

The fact that certain individual partners endeavoured to induce the Indians to accompany them in the spring of 1815, is established beyond a doubt by other intercepted letters which have been proved before me. In one of these, Seraphim Lamar, a clerk of the North-West company, writing from Qui Appelle (the post in charge of A.

McDonnell,) 8th March 1815, to John Dugald Cameron at Bas de la Riviere, after speaking of presents made to some of the Indians, and of their being told, that without their assistance it was doubtful whether the North-West company would be able to bring them in their supplies as customary, adds, "Hier au soir un *sonnant* un fameux guerrier et aussi ecoute que craint est venu de lui-meme offrir ses services, et nous promet entre 30 & 40 hommes tant Cris qu' Assiniboines qui seront entierement a l'ordre et la volonte de Mr. McD. Ce matin la manche de guerre s'est deployee, et apres avoir fume il est parti avec le Tobac Rougie (symbole de la guerre). Ce nombre, surquoi on peut compter, est plus que suffisant pour *deperruquier* Cartouche, et chasser toute la canaille de la Baye d'Hudson de la Riviere Rouge; mais je crains qu' avant ce tems la ils fassent tous leurs efforts pour se saisir du capitaine Cameron. ce qui changeroit diamement l'opinion des natifs, et nous mortifiera tous. Je me flatte que vous viendrez avec quelques uns de vos bons soldats. passer le printems avec lui. Pour moi, j'ai l'honneur d'etre appointe chef de la garnison de la Riviere la Souris, ou j'irai en cas d'attaque avant le terme de la sommation expiree." John McDonald, commonly called Fort Dauphin McDonald, writes on the 12th February to the same John D. Cameron:—"Our friend, Mr. Duncan Cameron, is in a critical situation, and am greatly afraid his mad neighbor will commence hostilities, before he can have any aid from this or any other quarter. You may rely on my being at the Forks as early as circumstances will admit. I hope to be able to raise, from thirty Indians, more or less, to accompany me and my people; this, with what can be recruited elsewhere, I think will decide the contest; a decisive blow must be struck, it will not answer to do things by halves, we had enough of half measures already; but we are poorly furnished with the requisite articles to stimulate our allies, unless a seasonable supply will be forwarded from headquarters or Rainy Lake." Parties of Indians appear also, in conformity to these letters. to have actually come down, both with Alexander McDonnell and John McDonald, after the opening of the navigation in 1815; the party with the former is stated in the deposition of John Pritchard (No. 187,) to have consisted only of seven Indians; that these were however most of them chiefs; but after visiting Miles McDonnell, and receiving from him an explanation of his views, they prom-

ised not to make war upon the settlers, as they intimated they had been solicited to do.

The party with John McDonald is stated in the deposition of Mr. John McLeod (No. 144,) a clerk of the Hudson's Bay company, to have been about thirty; but they did not arrive till after the settlers were gone; one of them, however, told him that they had come in consequence of engagements they had entered into with John McDonald, to assist the North-West company to drive away the settlers from Red River. McLeod also states, that after the departure of the settlers, Duncan Cameron severely reproached, in his presence, an Indian chief, from Red Lake (L'homme Noir) saying to him, "Do you not now feel "ashamed of yourselves, for having mistaken your own "interests so far, as to have endeavoured to assist those "English who came here, not to administer to your wants, "but to seize your country, and spoil your lands. Your "conduct was calculated to be as injurious to us as to "yourselves, yet we pitied your infatuation; and solicit- "ous only to provide for your future welfare, have driven "away those spoilers of the land, who, had they been "permitted to establish themselves here, would soon have "reduced you and your children to a state of slavery. "We have obliged them to quit your country; if they re- "turn again, their fires shall be totally extinguished; and "if you, or any other Indians take their part, you shall "share the same fate." That after this speech he invited the chief to go to his fort, to partake of a treat he was about to give, which the Indian refused, saying, "I feel "too much sorrow for the loss of my friends whom you "have driven away, to feel any inclination to partake of "your treats."

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The same facts are also stated, although less in detail, in the deposition of Francois Enodit Delorme (No. 113,) as well as that during the last of the disputes in 1815, he was himself employed, on behalf of the North-West company, to engage the Indians to fire upon the settlers, and actually gave ammunition to four Indians on this condition. This last witness, it is however to be observed, is contradicted in so many instances by other evidence, that it seems right to receive with some hesitation whatever rests solely upon his testimony. At the same time I feel inclined to think, that although a careless and inaccurate witness, he does not wilfully mistake, and is therefore generally entitled to credit on those points which he deposed on his personal knowledge.

Such are the principal facts that have appeared before me on the question of a connected conspiracy for the expulsion of the colonists, or as to the particular fact of a plan to incite the Indians to destroy the same; respecting both of which I have thought it right to enter into full details, inasmuch as the former imputation forms the foundation of the charges against the North-West company as a body; and the latter has been peculiarly dwelt upon in the correspondence between the parties and His Majesty's Government. On the whole, the impression on my mind is, that no sufficient proof of an illegal conspiracy, or of any concerted plan for exciting the Indians is made out.

With respect to the latter in particular, notwithstanding the singular coincidence between the previous information of Donald McKenzie, and subsequent declaration of Katakabetay, respecting Daniel McKenzie, I am of opinion, exclusive of any hesitation as to Indian testimony, that nothing more than loose conversations on the subject have taken place between individuals, one of which has probably been repeated by Daniel McKenzie.

The formal orders given at the meeting have probably therefore been confined to the execution of the warrants issued, and the affording passages to the settlers; but at the same time there can scarcely be a doubt that it was well understood by the parties, that every inducement was to be held out to the settlers to adopt this measure. This last fact is tacitly, indeed nearly admitted, in the late statement of the agents of the North-West company, and probably such further expressions of hostility towards the colony, and wishes for vengeance for the imputed insult sustained by the North-West company, may have been commonly used, as naturally to impress upon the minds of those employed the conviction declared by Alexander McDonnell, "that something serious would undoubtedly take place, and that nothing short of the complete downfall of the colony would satisfy some, by fair or foul means." In estimating the probable effect on the minds of the parties employed, of suggestions like those supposed, and indeed in some degree known to have been addressed to them, it is necessary to consider their peculiar situation, both as a body and as individuals. As a body, it is notorious that the North-West company enjoy a monopoly, yielding, as appears by an intercepted letter proved before me (Deposition, No. 218,) even in some of these years of contention, a dividend of £400 a share, or £40,000 on the whole, exclusive of the large

profits of the agents, and this founded not on any legal right, but arising from a junction of capital and connection, which has hitherto enabled them to overwhelm all competition. To effect this it is however obvious that they must at all times hold themselves prepared to resist, as it is publicly known they have done every attempt at encroachment, with promptitude and vigour, as also that they have not in general been very scrupulous as to the legality of the means pursued to accomplish an object involving the vital interests of the company. As individuals also, the stimulus held out by the large share of the profits reserved to reward those who may distinguish themselves by their zeal and exertions in the service of the company, naturally excites a spirit of bold and determined enterprize, which, whilst it has led to the extension of their trade nearly from ocean to ocean, has at the same time naturally tended to form an "*esprit de corps*," little attentive to the claims and rights of others, and much more disposed to inflict than submit to acts of insult or violence. A determined spirit of this nature is strongly exhibited in many of the intercepted letters proved before me; this may however have been partly formed by the local situation of the parties, especially in the more distant parts of the country, where, far removed from the protection of the law or civilized society, every man must feel his life to be, to a certain degree, in his own keeping, and to be best secured by a constant and open preparation for self-defense.

On behalf of the North-West Company, such parts of the present charge as are admitted, are either justified or excused by the previous provocations received; the necessity, owing to the state of public affairs, of securing their supply of provisions from the interior, and their right of adopting every legal means of self-defence against an establishment, of which the inhabitants, instead of continuing peaceable settlers, had been converted into an armed force, evidently for the purpose of their expulsion from the Red River, and ultimately from the whole country. In answer to the objections raised against the warrants being issued by a partner of the North-West company, and the presumption (which is much dwelt upon by the opposite party,) that they aimed at something beyond legal redress, or would have sought it by an appeal to the Privy Council, they state, that the first was a measure of necessity, as at the period in question, there were no other magistrates for the Indian country, (for the truth of which fact, they refer to the list of such magis-

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trates, published by authority, probably meaning the Quebec Almanack, which is not, however, a work so published,) excepting the immediate connexions and dependents of one company or the other; and that, with regard to the latter, independent of the urgency of the evil, which would not admit of so remote and slow a remedy, it would have been an admission of Miles McDonnell being a duly appointed governor of a British colony, which they have at all times denied in the strongest terms. These observations, although plausible, do not, however, remove from my mind the impression that the course pursued by the North-West company, was adopted rather from that general spirit which inclined them to seek redress from their private force, than from a deliberate consideration of the motives now assigned; the express declaration made by one partner, Mr. James Hughes, after his return to the interior, has indeed been proved before me to have been, "the North-West company will seek no redress from the law, for they are determined to redress all grievances "they may suffer, themselves."

On the subject of the partial employment of the Indians, and still more generally of the half-breeds, by particular partners in the course of 1815, no explanation is offered by the North-West company; it is right, however, to observe, that these measures were not adopted till further alarm had been caused, and provocation given, by the formal notices to quit their trading posts.

Mr. Duncan Cameron, a few days after his arrival to take charge of the North-West post at the forks of Red River, arrested Mr. John Spencer, in virtue of the warrant issued at Fort William against him, and the next day sent him off to Lac-la-Pluie. In passing Fort Douglas, the colonial servants forced open the store door for arms and ammunition to release him, but he would not allow them to interfere; Mr. Alexander McLean (who was evidently at this period an object of suspicion in the colony, and one of whose daughters had been taken down for her education to Montreal by the North-West company) was also active in preventing them. In the evening, as Cameron was returning, the men again forced open the store door for arms to shoot him; and it is stated by Duncan Cameron, in a letter to Miles McDonnell, that one McVicar actually fired upon him; but this latter charge is not established by evidence.

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About this time it is stated by different witnesses, that Duncan Cameron called a public meeting of the freemen and half-breeds, and made them a speech, stating, that he

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was appointed captain, and Mr. Alexander McDonnell his lieutenant, as it was apprehended the Americans might come, and that he had a right to command every one, not excepting captain McDonnell; and one witness (Deposition, No. 131) adds, that he also told them at this time, that the colonists were taking their lands, and that if they allowed them to go on, they would soon become stronger than themselves, and drive them from the country; and there seems no doubt that such representations were made at a subsequent period, if not on his first arrival; as also, that during the course of the autumn and winter, he adopted every measure in his power to increase his own influence, and to diminish that of Miles McDonnell, particularly by encouraging the free Canadians and half-breeds to treat with contempt McDonnell's order respecting the running the buffalo on horseback, ordering his own hunters to drive away the cattle from the colonial hunters, and punishing, when in his power, any persons appearing friendly towards the colony; this is particularly stated to have been done in the case of one Plante, who affirms, that after having been severely reproached by Mr. William McGillivray and Archibald Norman McLeod, at Fort William, for some slight services rendered Miles McDonnell, he was sent down to Montreal as a punishment, (a journey, which by the original terms of their engagement most of the freemen are liable to perform, and which is generally held over their heads in terrorem by the North-West company,) and that during his absence, four horses and a cart were taken from him, and that on the settlement of his account, a female slave, which he had been led to expect as a present, was charged him at eight hundred livres.

On the 21st
Oct. 1814.

Miles McDonnell, two days after his arrival at the forks of the Red River from Hudson's Bay, send a notice to Duncan Cameron, in the following terms:—"Take notice that by the authority and on behalf of your landlord. "the Right Honourable Thomas Earl of Selkirk, I do hereby warn you and all your associates of the North-West company, to quit the post and premises you now occupy at the forks of Red River, within six calendar months from the date hereof.

"Given under my hand at Red River Settlement, this
"21st day of October 1814.

(Signed)

"*Miles McDonnell.*"

Similar notices were sent to all the other posts within the district of Assiniboin, and like assertions of exclusive territorial right appear (although the *fault* is not strictly

proved) to have been made in various other quarters of the territories assumed to belong to the Hudson's Bay company. These notices are stated by Miles McDonnell to have been sent, in order to prevent the North-West company acquiring a prescriptive right to the soil; this view of the claim is not however at all noticed in the journal of Peter Fidler, a document of importance, of which the North-West company have filed (Deposition, No. 164) large extracts before me, and who was employed to deliver the notice to Duncan Cameron; at all events, in the relative situation of the parties, whether the notice was to quit at the precise time fixed, or merely to establish a future right, does not seem very material.

This being the first unequivocal declaration on behalf of the Hudson's Bay company; or the Earl of Selkirk, of an intention to enforce the rights of the charter, and furnishing also one of the strongest proofs of an organized plan, or as termed by the North-West company, of a conspiracy to expel them forcibly out of the Indian country, it may be necessary to advert to the causes which dictated the measure, as well as to the view in which it must have appeared to the opposite party.

By the general tenor of the testimony before me, and more particularly from the observations of the legal agents of the Earl of Selkirk, it appears, that the Hudson's Bay company virtually abandon the claim to those rights under their charter, which go directly to establish a commercial monopoly, or to provide for the enforcement thereof; but that supported by eminent legal opinions, they persist in their claim to the territorial and judicial authorities granted incidentally by the same, which in fact could they be strictly enforced, would virtually ensure to them the whole privileges of the charter.

The difficulties of enforcing the territorial rights are however considerable, inasmuch as although the clauses for the protection of the charter in general appear sufficiently strong; yet it is stated in the "Observations," that the breach of the territorial rights granted thereby, has been considered by the best lawyers as a mere civil trespass; and that a trespass of this kind committed within the colonies, was not within the cognizance of any of the courts of common law at Westminster. The Privy Council, it is further stated, though the proper court of appeal, would not take cognizance in the first instance, of a complaint against a private association of individuals like the North-West company, and the Act of the 43d Geo. III, cap. 138, even if applicable to the Hudson's Bay

territories, being limited to criminal cases, could not afford any redress for a civil trespass.

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On these grounds, therefore, the legal agents of the Earl of Selkirk argue, That the only mode in which the Hudson's Bay company could bring their rights of exclusive landed property and jurisdiction to a legal trial, was by enabling their governors to enforce the judgments of their courts, leaving the North-West company, or any others deeming themselves aggrieved, to appeal to the Privy Council; that consequently, the Hudson's Bay company has taken every step consistent with its rights as a chartered body vested with jurisdiction, for the purpose of appealing as early as possible to the laws of their country; and that in as much as the force furnished their governors to support their judicial proceedings, was legal and necessary for the due exercise of the company's rights of jurisdiction under the charter, it follows of course, that the employment of an *illegal* private force originated with the partners and agents of the North-West company.

This statement, although ingenious and plausible, is however far from being satisfactory to my mind, for without reference to the Act of the 43d Geo. 3. (under which it appears to me probable that any forcible *resistance* to the civil authority of their governors, instead of being put down by superior *force*, might have been brought to trial as a *criminal* offence,) inasmuch as the Hudson's Bay company generally deny the authority of that Act within their territory, on the grounds (as far as I have been enabled to infer from accidental allusions to the subject in the papers filed before me) that the Act being intended to give a jurisdiction, where none previously existed, cannot be held to extend over their territory, for which a jurisdiction had been provided by the charter, whereof the Legislature could not in presumption of law be supposed ignorant; I cannot but feel on those stronger grounds of natural equity, which in extreme cases must be allowed in some degree to control all law; that there must be some fallacy in any train of argument, which should lead (as the present does as nearly as possible) to this conclusion; that an interested party claiming rights, *long previously possessed by another*, can be entitled to become the judge of his own cause; and in the first instance at least, to place himself in forcible possession of the object of contest; and this fallacy I have little doubt, exists in the total omission to notice the long non-user of the contested rights; these it appears have never been claimed during the course of nearly a century

and a half, a circumstance which must necessarily affect the question in a material degree. Whatever may, however, be the final legal decision on this point, the primary appearance of doubt which it necessarily throws over the question, has produced on my mind a strong impression, that it was the moral duty of the Hudson's Bay company to have established their claims, by reference to some superior tribunal, or by petition to Parliament, if no other legal course existed, before attempting to right themselves by their private force; and further, as has already been stated in substance, in the paper No. 57 (transmitted by my late colleague and myself to Government, in our joint letter of 14th April 1817,) that whatever may be the ultimate decision respecting the right of jurisdiction, the claim thereto was of too doubtful and novel a nature for it to form a sufficient primary justification for any proceedings in the exercise thereof, which might otherwise be considered as breaches of the peace, or acts of violence; and it is in consequence of this latter opinion (exclusive of all others considerations.) that I have never felt the least doubt as to the propriety of the injunctions contained in the proclamation of the 3d May last, issued by command of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, to put an end to all such acts of violence, nor of the legality of my own proceedings, as far as necessary to give full effect to the same.

Such, according to the impressions on my mind, is certainly the correct view to be taken relative to the claims of the Hudson's Bay company; but at the same time, supported as that company was by high legal opinions in favour of their rights, it requires but little consideration, or allowance for the natural bias of all human beings in favour of their own opinions and interests, to account and find strong excuses for the course of conduct adopted by them, independent of the ultimate possibility of its being legally justifiable; and similar considerations will still further account for and excuse the conduct of their servants, acting *bona fide* in support of the company's rights.

Allowances of a similar nature ought also, in fairness, to be made for the conduct of the North-West company in several respects, and still more for that of many of their servants and partizans, in endeavouring to resist, what must to them have appeared a violent and unnecessary exercise of force, (for it is not pretended that the peculiar circumstances which led to the adoption of the measures pursued by the Hudson's Bay company, were explained to their opponents,) for the purpose of driving them from

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the country, which independent of the general notoriety of the fact, they show by evidence to have been occupied for the purpose of trade, by their immediate predecessors, for the period of forty years or upwards, and by the French traders of Montreal beyond the memory of man; the ruins of their old forts and buildings having been seen by the oldest men in the country on their first going there; whilst it is positively stated before me, to be only twenty-five years since the Hudson's Bay company first made an establishment on the Red River.

(21st October
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On the 9th
Feb. 1815

John McLeod, a clerk of the Hudson's Bay company, was made prisoner, and detained for five or six days at a camp formed on the plains near Turtle River, by some of the North-West company's servants, together with a number of free Canadians, and their half-breed children.

The present is the first occasion when the half-breeds appear to have taken any part in the disputes of the Indian country, and their present proceedings seem clearly to have originated in the apprehensions of themselves and the free Canadians, that Miles McDonnell was coming with an armed force to take their horses and provisions, as a punishment for their neglect of his order, in continuing to hunt the buffalo on horseback; in consequence of which alarm they took up arms to defend themselves, and detained Mr. McLeod, who went to them with a letter, from suspicion of his being a spy.

In the course of a few weeks afterwards, Peter Pangman dit Bostonois, a leading half-breed, and at this time an interpreter in the service of the North-West company, as he had previously been in that of the Hudson's Bay company, under the immediate orders of Mr. Hugh Heney, (a respectable Canadian, who was lately examined by me (Deposition, No. 109,) and gave Bostonois a favourable character,) was arrested by Miles McDonnell, at Pembina, on the complaint of John McLeod, of having been one of those principally concerned in his detention at Turtle River, and other violences connected therewith. This complaint, as well as a very long examination of Bostonois, is filed (Deposition, No. 111,) but establishes nothing very material. This arrest of one of their own body, without any adequate cause in their opinion (for McLeod's detention appears either to have been overlooked, or deemed by them justifiable,) is stated to have very much exasperated the half-breeds, and together with the order respecting the hunting of buffalo, to have principally given rise to their decided hostility to the colony, and their

subsequently making common cause with the North-West company.

Cuthbert Grant, another of the principal half-breeds (who left an orphan at the age of seven, had been protected and educated by the North-West company at Montreal, and at the early period of nineteen, was a confidential clerk in charge of one of their trading posts,) states these facts decidedly in his deposition, and particularly with respect to the order not to hunt buffalo on horseback; that a copy thereof was forwarded to him by Miles McDonnell, with a letter, threatening the most severe consequences if the order was disobeyed, and directing him to read the same to the people at his post, and affix it at the gate thereof, which he accordingly did, but that it was shortly afterwards torn down by some of the half-breeds. The remaining occurrences this winter in the neighborhood of Turtle River, are stated in various depositions, but generally in a confused and contradictory manner; the clearest and as appears to me the best accounts, are those of Jean Baptiste Davis (Deposition, No. 131,) and Joseph Jourdain (Deposition, No. 222.) both at that time in the employment of the North-West company, but who have since quitted their service, and were brought before me, as witnesses on behalf of the Hudson's Bay company; from their depositions it appears, that the armed camp was first formed in consequence of the statements made by John Warren, a clerk of the colony, of Miles McDonnell's intention of coming to seize the horses and provisions, that Bostonois having arrived with other servants of the North-West company for provisions, about the time the freemen and half-breeds were assembling, sent information of what was passing to Mr. Cameron, at the Forks, who replied he must act according to his own discretion, as he (Cameron) could not come; that subsequently, about the time Bostonois was taken prisoner, Cuthbert Grant had come up to Turtle River in charge of a warrant which had been issued at Fort William, against Warren, and that on receiving intelligence of Bostonois' arrest, Grant set out at the head of an armed party of about thirty men, all fully determined to liberate him; that this party consisted partly of servants of the North-West company, who went by orders of their masters, and partly of free Canadians and half-breeds, who accompanied them at their request, from friendship for Bostonois, together with an opinion of his being unjustly treated; that in their way to Pembina, this party fell in with Mr. Warren, whom they made prisoner in virtue of

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the warrant, the authority of which he denied, but was taken by them, with two of his followers, to Pembina; that when arrived there, the parties who had first mentioned the reports attributed to him, repeated the charge in his presence, and that of Miles McDonnell; that Warren denied the accusation, but Miles McDonnell observed that there were three witnesses against one, and added, if he had said what was imputed to him, he ought to be responsible for it, as he had no authority for the same; and that finally, after some further discourse between Cuthbert Grant and Miles McDonnell, Mr Warren, and his people were liberated, as was also Bostonois.

Respecting the freemen and half-breeds, it appears by other evidence, that the number of the former living on the Red River may be between twenty and thirty, and of the latter about seventy men, fit to bear arms; that of the half-breeds, perhaps a fourth may be in the regular employment of the North-West company as clerks, interpreters, &c.; of whom a part (the offspring chiefly of partners or clerks of the company) have received an ordinary school education, fitting them to act as clerks; but others even of this class can neither read nor write, as is well known to be the case with Bostonois. That the other three-fourths subsist chiefly by hunting the buffalo, and furnishing provisions to the traders of both companies, and frequently during the summer working as canoe-men for the North-West company, to whom, since the commencement of the disputes, they have indeed attached themselves almost exclusively; these latter are notoriously without any education, some, though few, scarcely speaking French, and being little removed from the savage state; the whole appear to keep up their connexion with their Indian relations, and to have exercised at all times, the rights of hunting and fishing, which a stranger could not have done.

It is further stated by witnesses, of whom one has frequented the Red River for forty-six years past (Deposition, No. 108,) that the half-breeds, with the Crees and Assiniboinis, were always considered the proprietors of the country; and it is fully admitted by all parties, that the Salteaux Indians who came there only about twenty-five years ago, have always been considered as occupying the lands under the permission of the Crees, and not as proprietors. It appears also, that although the half-breeds have of late principally associated with the Canadians, and in some degree adopted their manners, yet that various individuals of this class (whose names have been

proved before me, and who appear to have been descendants of former French traders,) were found living with the Indians, and established as chiefs on the Red River when the first traders came there after the conquest of Canada. It is further stated (Deposition, No. 108.) that as chiefs, they levied heavy contributions on those who came into the country to trade; also that the present half-breeds are very jealous, as were their ancestors of their rights, and that they often complained of the occupation of their lands by the settlers, especially when they found them acting with so much injustice in other respects.

An affray took place at Isle-a-la-Crosse, in which appears that one servant of the North-West company, and a clerk of the Hudson's Bay company (one Johnstone,) were killed. In the late statement of the North-West company to me, it is attempted to connect this event with the orders given in the Earl of Selkirk's letter of 18th June 1812, already mentioned; no other proof, however is produced, than a letter of Mr. Joseph House, the person in charge for the Hudson's Bay company, from which it appears only that the dispute was principally relative to a trap, and the chief blame of this fatal event, although totally unintended, is allowed by him to have rested with his party.

Four brass field-pieces, four iron swivels, and one howitzer, were forcibly taken from a dwelling-house adjoining to the Government House at the Red River colony, by a party of settlers who had left the same, amongst whom George Bannerman, Angus Gunn, Hugh Bannerman, Donald McKinnan, and Donald McDonald, are mentioned by name, whilst the principal officers in charge of the colony were detained prisoners by George Campbell, Andrew McBeath, Angus McKay, and John Cooper, until the cannon were taken away: and Robert Gunn and others stood at the door of the house where the officers were detained, for the purpose of preventing any one from coming to their assistance. Alexander McLean was at the same time made prisoner by Duncan Cameron and John Dugald Cameron, partners, and William Shaw, Cuthbert Grant, and Peter Pangman Bostonois, clerks of the North-West company, and several of their own servants, together with John Early, one of the settlers, and was detained by Shaw about two hours, whilst several of the last-mentioned party appear to have gone and met the settlers, on a concerted signal, as they were bringing off the cannon, huzzaing and expressing their satisfaction and joy. One of the evidence mentions also John Matheson, Angus Mc-

On the 14th
February
1815.

On the 3d
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Auley, William Sutherland and Angus Sutherland, by name, as having taken part in these proceedings.

On this charge, a bill of indictment was found at Montreal in March 1817, against George Campbell, John Cooper, Donald McKinnon and Hugh Bannerman, Duncan Cameron, John Dugald Cameron, Cuthbert Grant, William Shaw and Peter Pangman alias Bostonois.

From the following letter, filed in the evidence before me, and also admitted in the "Statement," published in London, I feel some doubt, however, although a violent riot and breach of the law may have been committed, whether the fact of stealing can legally be established.

"Mr. Archibald McDonald;

"Sir, Forks of Red River, 3d April 1815.

"As your field-pieces have already been employed to
 "disturb the peace of His Majesty's loyal subjects in
 "this quarter, and even to stop up the king's highway,
 "I have authorized the settlers to take possession of
 "them, and to bring them over here, not with a view
 "to make any hostile use of them, but merely to put
 "them out of harm's way; therefore I expect that you
 "will not be so wanting to yourselves as to attempt
 "any useless resistance, as no one wishes you or any
 "of your people any harm.

(Signed)

"D. Cameron, V. C."

The present is the first act of violence in which settlers who abandoned the colony, appear to have participated, and the only one in which any number of them took a share; the details thereof are not very fully before me, as few or none of the settlers examined by me spoke of it voluntarily, and from the number implicated in the offence, there was considerable delicacy in my questioning them. From the depositions, however, produced on behalf of the Earl of Selkirk, and other incidental evidence, exclusive of that collected from the settlers on behalf of the North-West company on their first arrival in Upper Canada, I have little doubt that their intentions were merely to prevent the cannon being used, to hinder them from quitting the country. Could entire dependence be placed upon these latter statements, the fact might be considered established; but it has appeared to me necessary to receive, with considerable caution, the depositions made by the settlers at the instance of either party, especially where copies only have been laid before me; at the same time, on a review of the whole evidence relative to the settlers, the following facts appear to be sup-

ported by such a concurrent strength of testimony, either direct or circumstantial, or to be so far admitted on both sides, as to satisfy me of their general correctness; that very great hardships were suffered, and considerable dissatisfaction had existed amongst the servants and settlers that came out in the year 1812; that equal hardships had been sustained, and similar dissatisfaction had prevailed amongst those who came out in the year 1813, and who had been obliged to pass the first winter at Fort Churchill; that these two sets of men, of whom the colony principally consisted in 1814, had been treated with severity by most of the officers (how far necessarily does not appear); that during the summer 1814, the North-West company, having apparently submitted to Miles McDonnell's authority, every thing appearing quiet, and the settlement remaining principally under the charge of Mr. John Spencer, who appears to have been much liked by the settlers, the former dissatisfaction was fast wearing away, and several of the last arrived settlers, pleased with the fertility of the soil, and the appearance of the growing crops, wrote about this time to their friends in Scotland to come out and join them; that on the arrest of Mr. Spencer, and their being subsequently compelled by Miles McDonnell to take up arms, he at the same time declaring that the laws of Canada had no authority over him; that in Red River the stronger party dictated to the weaker, and that as governor and representative of Lord Selkirk, he could recognize no superior authority, their sentiments began again to change; that as the season advanced, finding themselves ill supplied with provisions, and also that they could not be furnished with the tools and other necessary articles for carrying on their work as farmers, (all which, including provisions, the Earl of Selkirk had engaged to advance, till they could repay the same from the produce of their farms) the majority of the settlers determined to quit the country; and accordingly, towards the close of the winter, went over to the North-West post: That the repeated assurance of Duncan Cameron and his partizans, of the superior advantages to settlers in Upper Canada, and of the protection of the North-West company in settling themselves, and his known readiness to furnish passages free of expense to every one, joined to exaggerated statements of the dangers from the Indians, had a considerable share in producing this determination; and finally, that to some of the most influential settlers, as Alexander McLean and George Campbell, there can be little doubt that further rewards were offered by the partners of the

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North-West company to induce them to leave the settlement, although as to George Campbell there is no other proof of this than the presumption arising from his having actually received £100 after the colony was broken up.

On the 25th
May 1815.

(25th May
1815).

The first shot is stated to have been fired between the parties, after a succession of irritating occurrences. It appears, that shortly after the taking away of the cannon, Donald McKinnon, one of the parties thereto, was made prisoner, but rescued on the 5th April; that William Shaw, a half-breed, son of Angus Shaw, partner of the North-West company, was also arrested shortly afterwards, but liberated after a confinement of a few days; that about the 17th April, the warrant against Miles McDonnell was served upon him by one Longteus as a constable, but that he denied its authority, and, instead of obeying it, caused the constable to be confined for some hours. On the opening of the navigation, each party was joined by additional numbers; but of the further occurrences of this period, except the arrival of a party of Cree Indians, as already mentioned, with Alexander McDonnell, and a charge against the half-breeds, of having killed several of the colony horses, under pretence of its being done by these Indians, no details are before me previous to the 20th May, when the extracts of Peter Fidler's journal, (Deposition, No. 164,) hereinbefore mentioned, commence for this year, and are continued to the departure of the colonists: as these appear to contain a pretty full and candid account of the principal occurrences, (each day being extracted at length, when at all referred to,) they have been chiefly relied on for the period in question; the occurrences whereof will also be materially elucidated by reference to the annexed Plan No. 3, containing a sketch of the immediate neighbourhood of the forks of the Red River. By the aforesaid journal it appears, that on the 20th May some volleys of musquetry having been fired, and the bagpipes played, on account of some rejoicing at the North-West post, when fifty of the colony, or Hudson's Bay servants, (whereof each had separate establishments, although in houses nearly adjoining,) went down, with six or seven of their officers, and, by way of alarm, fired several rounds of powder; that on the 21st May, all persons were forbid to visit the Canadian house, supplied with ammunition, and formed into four divisions, to be ready in case of an attack; that on the 25th at sun-rise, several settlers, (who had been dancing the preceding night at the North-West post) with Green and Hector McDonald the piper at their head, came down to a fence adjoining the

colony buildings, and broke part of it; whereupon several shots were fired at them by the people there; that a wall-piece ball passed through the hat of one Joseph Cathers; and that George Campbell was nearly wounded, two balls having, as it is said, struck the ground very near him.

Respecting this affair, there is very much contradictory evidence, and a bill of indictment was found against George Campbell, Robert Gunn and Hector McDonald, for maliciously shooting in March 1817; and another bill against James Flynn, a servant of the colony, in March last, for the same offence; the parties respectively swearing, that the first shot was fired by the other without previous provocation. On the whole, however, there can be little doubt, that the account herein given from Fidler's journal, is the correct one. This appears to be the only charge against Hector McDonald, who states in his deposition, (No. 122,) that shortly before the indictment was found against him, after he had been many months publicly and openly in Montreal, he was spoken to by Hector McLachlan and Archibald McDonald, and that the former told him, that if he would not give his evidence in favour of the Earl of Selkirk, he (the Earl) would put him in gaol, and the latter hinted the same thing: It is notorious that he was since really confined in gaol for nine or ten months, but that Lord Selkirk was absent during the whole time in the Indian country.

It appears by Fidler's journal, that a large armed party was sent down from the North-West post, to take a position at Grenouilliere, or Frog Plain; that a notice was sent to Mr. James Sutherland, one of the chief factors of the Hudson's Bay company, that the same would not be withdrawn till Captain McDonnell was given up, and another to the servants, not to resist the law in supporting him; that Messrs. McLean, McLeod and D. McNaughton went down to see what the North-West party were doing at the Frog Plain, and McNaughton advanced near them, when on the war-whoop being given, he foolishly fired a pistol, at the distance of about 400 yards, whereupon immediately several shots were fired, both at him and at the other two; that the six cattle belonging to the colony were driven to the Frog Plain, the old bull killed, and the servant sent down for them told by Alexander McDonnell, that they would not be returned, unless tobacco was sent for the half-breeds.

By other evidence, (Deposition, No. 113,) it appears, however, that McDonnell had wished the cattle to be all returned. Miles McDonnell, in his depositions, Nos. 110

On the 7th
June 1815.

and 111, stated this affair pretty fully, and annexes copies of the depositions of McNaughton, McLean and McLeod, none of whom, however, mention the pistol fired by the first; but as they do not state the firing to have been without provocation, there is little doubt the fact is correctly stated in the journal.

On the 10th
June 1815.

It appears that about one o'clock in the morning, a number of persons, chiefly half-breeds, belonging to the North-West post, passed the ditch of the colony buildings, singing the war song, on which all hands there turned out under arms; that in the course of the day a small canoe arrived with a handbill, announcing peace with America, on the back whereof was written, "Peace with all the world, except in Red River;" and that the hand-bill, together with the Canadian jurisdiction act, was sent by Duncan Cameron to the colony servants; that a little after this the war song was again sung near the ditch, whereupon McLean and Flynn went away, with others following them; that Flynn having challenged a person four times, without any reply, fired; that many shots were afterwards fired on both sides, perhaps 100, but that on the wall pieces beginning to fire from the upper story of the colony buildings, the party soon disappeared, no one being hurt.

(11th June
1815.)

It appears by the aforesaid journal, that at half-past eight o'clock, A. M. the North-West party begun a sharp firing, with small arms, at the colonial buildings; that all hands there were busily employed in returning their fire, but that the former, firing from behind the bushes, could only be distinguished by the smoke of their guns; that Mr. McLean had the misfortune to shatter his left arm, by the bursting of a wall piece; and that Mr. Warren was also struck with a splinter behind his left ear, which nearly killed him; that a ball passed through the fleshy part of Duncan McDonald's shoulder; all which took place in less than half an hour, during which time the attacking party fired 150 shot; that the Hudson's Bay company's servants remained in the company's house, and did not fire a shot; that the Canadian party fired one volley at this house, and that two balls came through the logs, and Francis Mongeunier was wounded a little above the ancle; that the Canadian party begun by firing at Mr. Bourke and Flynn, as they came out of the colony house, that their party was supposed to consists of about twenty; that they fired at the distance of about 40 to 60 yards from the company's house, and about 160 from that of the colony, and that it was said Bostonois came down to take them away; that this affair intimidated the colony serv-

(11th June
1815.)

ants very much, and on the captain's (Miles McDonnell) making them a speech to defend the premises, they appeared not to refuse this, but objected to protect him against the warrant, as the Canadians invariably gave out that his person was the only cause of hostility.

The other accounts of this affair are very contradictory, especially as to the persons who were present. Bills of indictment for maliciously shooting were found against George Campbell, Duncan Cameron, Seraphim Lamar, Cuthbert Grant, and William Shaw, in March 1817.

The account of Jean Baptiste Dumarrais (Deposition, No. 307,) who acknowledges having been present with the attacking party, appears to me on the whole, to be the most clear as well as correct of those before me, and also to reconcile, in some degree, the contradictions of others, who have spoken on less certain knowledge. He states, that in the morning, before daylight, being at Frog Plain, several half-breed Indians and Canadians, about twelve in number, told him that they had been attacked, and had fought with the people of the colony, the night before, and that as they had got a supper over night they must give them a breakfast; that he endeavoured to persuade them to go first to the North-West post, but they would not agree thereto, Cuthbert Grant, who had the charge of the party, saying that Mr. Cameron would not allow them to fire, and encouraging them to go immediately to the attack, whereupon himself and all the other half-breeds, set off with Grant, after the latter had had a short conversation with Alexander McDonnell; that as he did not like the affair, he kept, in the rear of the party, with Shaw Bourassa and Antoine Ducharme, but on hearing the firing he advanced and found the greater part of the half-breeds, who were firing on the houses of the colony, from a distance (Miles McDonnell, Deposition, No. 110, estimates this distance at 300 yards,) and the people of the colony returning their fire; that nearly at the same time, a number of Canadians, amongst whom it appears by other evidence, were Seraphim Lamar and George Campbell, came from the North-West post, to see what was the cause of the firing, and that soon afterwards he saw Mr. Cameron, who called out to them and to all others, to leave off, in the King's name, and to return to their post, which they accordingly did, and that the half-breeds were conducted back, the same evening, to the Grenouilliere by Duncan Cameron, with orders to remain quiet, and to watch that Miles McDonnell did not escape.

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On the 21st
June 1815.

Miles McDonnell quitted the Red River, having surrendered himself a prisoner, under the warrant from Fort William, a few days before to Alexander McKenzie, a partner, and one of the agents of the North-West company. It appears that from the period of the encampment being formed at Frog Plain, every method was adopted by the North-West party to harass the people of the colony, for the ostensible purpose of compelling them to surrender McDonnell: That Laughlan McLean, a clerk of the North-West company, who had brought a party of half-breeds from the Saskatchewan River, went round and disarmed the settlers; that several settlers were taken down to the camp and confined, and their property plundered; that all the horses belonging to the colony were taken away; that about the 15th day of June, Alexander McDonnell came with a party, and took forcible possession of the farm houses belonging to, and situated about an hundred yards distance from the colony buildings, and erected a battery with cannon against these latter; and finally, that the servants of the colony under all these circumstances continuing daily to desert, Miles McDonnell (with the advise of Messrs. McDonald, White, Fidler and James Sutherland, his appointed council) determined to surrender himself, in hopes that the safety of the rest of the colony might thereby be ensured, and on his srrender, it does appear the North-West camp was broken up, and everything moved back to the Forks.

On the 27th
June 1815.

The colony was finally broken up, and the remaining settlers and servants, consisting of 13 men with their families, in all about forty persons, embarked for Jack River.

It appears by Fidler's journal, that on the 19th June there had been a meeting at the North-West post, between three of the partners and several of the clerks and half-breeds, and the four persons above mentioned, as forming the council of the colony; for the purpose of making some arrangement for peace, and the restitution of the property taken; but that nothing could be done, as although the North-West partners declared their readiness to deliver up every thing their Canadian servants had, they professed to have no control over the half-breeds, and these latter declared they would not allow any of the colonists to remain; Shaw, the half-breed, even told them, that the Hudson's Bay company's servants would only be allowed a month to take away the company's property. In all this, the half-breeds were supported by Duncan Cameron and Alexander McDonnell, at whose instigation they were thought to act; as Duncan Cameron was said to have

told McNalty, one of the settlers, some time previous, that he was determined not the least vestige or trace of the colony should remain after him: subsequently it appears, that a good deal of negotiation took place between the persons in charge of the colony, and the half-breeds; whom they endeavoured to conciliate, on finding that the colony's being allowed to remain depended upon them; and for that purpose employed some of the Hudson's Bay company's half-breeds to speak to them. That these endeavours proving unsuccessful, an agreement was finally entered into, on the 25th June, between the half-breeds and the Hudson's Bay company, which is given at length in the journal, and by which it was settled that all the colonists were to retire; that the Hudson's Bay company should be allowed to send in three or four boats yearly for the purpose of trade, but should not occupy any of the colonial buildings: That the settlers did accordingly retire with the bulk of their own and the property of the colony; Mr. John McLeod remaining with some goods for the company's trade, and in the charge of every thing left; Cuthbert Grant, in the name of the half-breeds, finally granted McLeod permission to remain in one of the colony houses, and to have the crop.

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About this time, an address to the government of Canada was prepared by the half-breeds, respecting their claims to the lands of Red River, the contents whereof are stated in Cuthbert Grant's deposition, (No. 216,) as well as his ignorance of its ultimate fate. Some testimony has been produced to show, that an open and direct part was taken by Duncan Cameron and Alexander McDonnell, in Driving off the colonists; but it appears either to be contradicted by circumstances of time, or place, particularly as to Duncan Cameron, who is proved to have left the Red River on the 21st June, with Miles McDonnell, and not to have returned till about the 30th of the month; or not to be sufficiently precise to establish the charge to the extent intended. That menacing language of such a nature was sometimes used by them, as hereinbefore mentioned, to McNalty, or that attributed by McLachlan, (Deposition, No. 127,) to Duncan Cameron, "that Miles McDonnell wanted to get them out of the river, but that they, the North-West company would drive him out of it," admits of little doubt; as also that whatever influence they had over the half-breeds, was used to promote this purpose. Duncan Cameron's letters to Hesse, (Deposition, No. 168,) show his early and strenuous endeavours to incite the half-breeds and others

(27th June
1815.)

against the colony; and Desmanais (Deposition, No. 407) states, that this was the first year the half-breeds began to talk of a recompense for their lands from the colonists; that Bostonois, who first spoke of it to him, said it had been mentioned by persons better informed than either of themselves; also afterwards, when treating with the colonists, these latter offered to confine themselves to three small points of land, until some arrangement could take place between the Earl of Selkirk and the half-breeds, they rejected the proposition for fear of some treachery, the partners and clerks of the North-West company telling them they could not depend on what the colonists said to them. Desmanais further states, that of the half-breeds then assembled, one-fourth were in the regular pay of the North-West company; and it is quite notorious that the whole must have been fed by that company, or could not have kept together. Finally, the letters from James Grant, of Fond-du-Lac, and from Alexander McDonnell to Duncan Cameron, dated the 15th April and 22d June 1815, of which extracts have been proved before me, (Deposition, No. 167,) fully establish the charge to the extent now stated at least; the former containing these expressions, "your present popularity, "both with whites and natives, in your district, added to "which, your vigilant penetration and general knowl- "edge of men and things, put it beyond a doubt with me, "that notwithstanding his future ungenerous and diabolical intentions, that you will, as you have hitherto done, "anticipate his most violent measures, and put a final end "to his republican colony, without being under the disagreeable necessity of shedding blood; this at least is "my sincere wish for you:" and the latter, these following: "matters not being settled more than when you left "here, made it necessary that I remain longer than "I am inclined other wise; I send off two boat for Bas- "de-la-Riviere with some passengers, an account of which "is herein inclosed. Provisions are going fast; the consequence will turn out most serious to us. Archibald "McDonnell is the acting man for the colony; he is proud "of being called the governor; he appears to muster the "appearance of a colony to support his rank; however, "he and the half-breeds must settle that point. Father "Fidler and suite were disturbed this morning by a salute of fire-arms; the half-breeds are going down for "the last time, to hurry them off. The salute of fire-arms "above alluded to, is mentioned in several depositions, "but appears to have been merely for the purpose of cre-

“ating alarm, and to have been the last occasion when
“arms were used this season.”

All the colonial buildings were burnt down, consisting of four houses, forming what was called the fort, and five farm houses standing near the barn and stables; these last were also burnt at the same time, together with the mill; it appears also, that between the departure of Captain Miles McDonnell, on the 21st June, and this date, all the settlers houses, to the number of about eighteen, had been burnt.

John McLeod (Deposition, No. 144,) states, that on the 27th June he was informed by Cuthbert Grant and others, that they would come the next day and burn all the colony buildings, excepting one pointed out to him, and in which accordingly he put his goods. That the next day Grant, Shaw, Bostonois, Bonhomme, Montour, Charles Hesse, Michel Bourassa, Francois Deschamps, George Campbell and about sixty more men, Canadians, half-breeds and settlers (amongst whom, in a subsequent deposition, is mentioned Jean Baptiste Dermarrais) came over from the North-West company's post, of which Alexander McDonnell was then in charge, and set fire to all the buildings. That the house in which he had placed his goods was burnt with the others, and that he was able to save from the flames only a part thereof, with eminent hazard to himself and men, and of that part many articles were stolen by the incendiaries; of these he more particularly specifies a gun stolen by Michael Bourassa, and a bag of clothes by Francois Deschamps before-mentioned. By other evidence it appears, however, probable, that this house either took fire accidentally, or was set on fire by some particular individual contrary to the general intent; for several witnesses (Depositions Nos. 113, 147, 159, and 161) state, either from their own knowledge or from information, that the half-breeds exerted themselves to save the property; and one in fact deposes, that John McLeod himself mentions this fact, as well as that the house intended to be left for him was burnt by accident. One witness has been brought before me, who deposes, that the burning of these houses was by the express order of Duncan Cameron, Alexander McDonnell, John Dugald Cameron and John McDonald; but as the charge is evidently unfounded as to the first, who did not arrive till after the houses were burnt, and had not been at the Red River for months before, and so improbable from various local circumstances, as to all the others except Alexander McDonnell, little weight can be attached to the evidence.

On the 28th.
June 1815.

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McDonnell is however liable to great suspicions, from being at the post from whence the party sallied. The charge against Cameron has probably arisen from an order Jean Baptiste Desmarrais states Alexander McDonnell to have given for the burning of the houses of the settlers; this order Duncan Cameron afterwards sent to recal, but his counter-order arrived too late. Martin Jordan, a witness on behalf of the Earl of Selkirk, who had his own house burnt down, states (Deposition, No. 147) that he has understood that the settlers houses were in many instances burnt at the desire of the owners, and that all had previously been deserted, except that of Alexander McLean, which was not burnt till four days after the others and that before its being burnt, he was himself employed by some of the half-breeds to inform Mr. McLean, who was then confined to bed by his wounds, that he must leave the house, or they would burn it over his head; in consequence whereof he was moved to the government-house a few days before the colony was broken up. A bill of indictment for arson was found at Montreal, in March 1817, against George Campbell, Cuthbert Grant and William Shaw, as principals, and Duncan Cameron as accessory before the fact, in the burning of the public buildings of the colony, and Alexander McLean's house on the 28th June (with regard to which last there is evidently a mistake as to the date;) a similar indictment was also found in February last, against Desmarrias, Bostonois and two others as principals, and Alexander McDonnell as accessory before the fact. The evidence on which these bills appears to have been found, has not been produced to me, but there is quite sufficient grounds for such a procedure against all but Duncan Cameron in the depositions filed; although as to the half-breeds in particular it may be doubtful how far the offence will ultimately be held in law to amount to arson; as in their proceedings against the settlers (however illegal and violent) they may probably have acted under a mistaken sense of right, inconsistent with the existence of a felonious intent.

The treaty entered into with them, by the representatives of the Hudson's Bay company, contains indeed an indirect relinquishment of property in the buildings in question.

As respects the partners of the North-West company, whatever doubt may exist as to their being accessaries to the present and other offences before the fact, there can be little or none of many of them having become so afterwards; for that the half-breeds who went down from Red

River, were favourably received by the partners assembled at Fort William, is proved by various witnesses; as also that they were thanked publicly for the services rendered the company, a feast prepared for them, and a suit of clothes given to each, and swords to two (Bostonois and Antoine Houle) who are in the regular employment of the of the North-West company and chiefs of their own party. Amongst the partners present on this occasion at Fort William, the following only are named; viz. Simon McGillivray, (of London,) Archibald N. McLeod, Duncan Cameron, Alexander McDonnell, Alexander McKenzie, Kenneth McKenzie and John McDonald of Fort Dauphin, although probably many others were there at the time, as Daniel McKenzie acknowledges of himself in his letter before-mentioned. Some evidence has also been produced (Depositions, No. 149 and 284) of a speech made to the half-breeds by Simon McGillivray, saying, that they had done well to drive away the colonists, and to defend their lands; and that if the colonists attempted to return they should drive them away again, and would be supported by the North-West company. And one of the witnesses adds, that the said McGillivray did not tell them they might kill the colonists; but that Duncan Cameron, Alexander McDonnell and Archibald Norman McLeod have frequently told him, that if they could not otherwise drive away the colonists they might kill them. Francois Eno dit Delorme, in his deposition (No. 113) states also that he was present when Duncan Cameron and Alexander McDonnell, before leaving Red River to go to Fort William, gave orders to prevent the return of the colonists; and that he has heard similar orders given at other times, and the Sourlt a la Biche (a Rapid) spoken of as a suitable place to sink their boats when coming up the river. The settlers and servants of the colony (admitted in the publication of both parties to have been about one hundred and thirty or forty in number) appear also to have received marked attention; and the presents of money made to different individuals who had been particularly active in promoting the views of the North-West company, as well as the purchase from others of various articles brought by them from the colony (a mode of securing their wages previously recommended by Duncan Cameron (Deposition, No. 127,) are established beyond a doubt by John Pritchard (Deposition, No. 123,) proving the hand-writing of different partners to a book of accounts, endorsed "The Red River and Colonial" Register, 1815," detailing the whole of the above proceedings, and which

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are also indirectly admitted by the North-West company in the charge they bring (Deposition, No. 151,) against the Earl of Selkirk, and James Stuart the barrister, of having seduced one of their clerks to purloin the aforesaid book from their country house.

On the 19th
August 1815.

Colin Robertson arrived in Red River, accompanied by the colonists who had been driven off, together with about twenty clerks and servants.

It appears that this gentleman had come to Canada in the autumn of 1814, for the purpose of engaging clerks and canoe-men to proceed into the Indian territories, in the service of the Hudson's Bay company, an object for which he was well qualified from having been formerly, as is well known, a clerk of the North-West company: that in March 1815, he received a letter from the Earl of Selkirk, in reply to a communication he had made of his fears, that the destruction of the colony would be attempted by the Indians, at the instigation of the North-West company; a copy of which letter he has attested (Deposition, No. 167,) and which states in substance the law opinions in support of the Hudson's Bay company's rights of jurisdiction, and that the Act of the 43d Geo. III. cap. 138, does not apply to their territories, which have since been published at length, and filed before me (Paper No. 411.): that in May following, he determined to proceed to the interior with the persons he had engaged, intending to return to England by way of Hudson's Bay: that in the course of his journey to Lake Winipic, he was informed of the destruction of the colony, and proceeded to Red River, for the purpose of obtaining further information: that he there learnt from various half-breeds and freemen whose names he mentions, that the settlers had been driven away at the instigation of the North-West company: that some of the half-breeds showed the horses taken from the colony, which had been given to them; and others spoke of the rewards which they expected, whilst some of the freemen mentioned the offers which they had refused: that having afterwards proceeded to Jack River, and delivered over his party to Mr. Thomas Thomas, the governor of the northern department of Hudson's Bay, he was prevailed upon by the solicitation of several of the settlers, joined to the request of Mr. Thomas, (signified by letter which he attests) to conduct the settlers back to Red River. Respecting these latter the evidence is contradictory, Pritchard (Deposition, No. 187,) stating that they joyfully accepted the proposal; and

Pambrun (No. 173) that many of them made great difficulties.

Duncan Cameron and Seraphim Lamar, were attacked whilst riding upon the plains, by Alexander McLean, John P. Bourke, Michael Heyden, and another. Seraphim Lamar states (Deposition, No. 161,) that this was done without provocation; Heyden presenting a pistol at him, whilst Bourke gave Mr. Cameron some blows with a horse-whip, saying to him something which Lamar did not hear; after which both were made prisoners, and taken before Colin Robertson. It appears (Deposition, No. 113,) that from the first arrival of Robertson some jealousy had been shown as to his intentions by Lamar, the clerk then in charge of the North-West post at the Forks, and (Depositions, No. 161 and 167) that after the arrival of Duncan Cameron and Alexander McDonnell, about the 13th September, to take charge of their respective posts at the Forks and Qui Appelle, feelings of a similar nature were much increased on both sides, by contests in engaging hunters, and relative to dogs, horses, &c. of which latter it is expressly stated, (Deposition, No. 161,) that those formerly belonging to the colony had been restored on demand. Colin Robertson states however, (Deposition, No. 167,) that these feelings were on his part nearly removed by the assurances of Alexander McDonnell, of his regret for what had taken place the preceding spring; and his wish that a good understanding might exist between the colonists and themselves; until he received information of an attack being threatened against the Hudson Bay Company's post at Qui Appelle, the principal station for collecting provisions; whereupon he thought that the only chance of self-preservation, was to take possession of the North-West post at the Forks, wherein there was still a considerable quantity of the arms taken from the colony the preceding spring, and to keep Cameron in custody till security should be given, that no further injury should be attempted against the colony, nor the provision-post molested; that it was not, however, his intention to have carried this measure into immediate execution, had it not been for the accidental seizure of Cameron and Lamar, on account of a private quarrel; but that fearing to miss the opportunity, on Cameron's arriving at Fort Douglas, and demanding to be set at liberty, he told him that the arms and artillery taken from the colony in the spring, must first be restored: that Cameron agreed to deliver up such of the arms as were in his possession, and acknowl-

On the 15th
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edged that a part of the muskets had been sent into the interior; and further declared, the artillery to be out of his reach: that thereupon Mr. Alexander McLean, and twelve men, were sent with Lamar to receive the same, and had also orders from him (Robertson) to take and keep possession of the North-West post, till he should receive from Cameron sufficient assurances for the security of the colonists; and the same was accordingly retained about two days; that Cameron was then set at liberty, and the post restored with the property therein, as he believes, in the same state as when taken, except the arms delivered to McLean; Cameron having during his confinement, dispatched messengers to Alexander McDonnell at Qui Appelle, to refrain from any attack, and promised not to attempt to seduce the settlers, or injure the settlement directly or indirectly.

John Pritchard (Deposition, No. 187,) states these proceedings were partly adopted in consequence of a menacing speech made by Cameron to the Indians; and this fact is further confirmed by an intercepted letter of Robertson's (Deposition, No. 152, marked Q.) which states several particulars of the affair omitted in his deposition; particularly his threats of sending Cameron and Lamar off to Hudson's Bay, and his publicly reprimanding them before two Indians, evidently present for the purpose.

These omissions, together with the tone of the present and his other intercepted letters (Deposition, No. 152,) have produced some doubt on my mind, whether Robertson acted in this case merely on principles of self-defence, or whether he did not rather take advantage of circumstances to justify his adoption of a measure, which one witness (Deposition, No. 159,) states him afterwards to have declared, to be "absolutely necessary to revive the "courage of his own people, and to re-establish "their "influence amongst the free Canadians, half-breeds, and "Indians;" and those doubts are rather strengthened by reference to the deposition of John Richards McKay, the clerk in charge for the Hudson's Bay company at Qui Appelle, (No. 169,) whose letter respecting the threatened attack on his post is stated by Robertson, who attests the same at length, to have caused his first alarm; and to that of Louis Nolin (No. 210,) who interpreted the report of the Indians relative to the speech of Duncan Cameron; by the former of these, exclusive of the same fact being stated at length in a letter from Alexander McDonnell to Robertson, which has been proved before me (Deposition, No.

165, marked F.) it appears, that the dispute at Qui Appelle originated as to the site whereon the Hudson's Bay post, which had been burnt the year before (by what means does not appear, but no charge is made of its having been done purposely) should be rebuilt; and by the latter, that the interpreter himself attached but little importance to what the Indians stated, as it had arisen on an application made by them to Cameron for liquor, of which they had previously received a supply from the colony. The probability is, that Robertson was actuated by a variety of motives predominating in his mind according to circumstances, of which sometimes one and sometimes another might naturally be mentioned by him as the causes of particular proceedings. Nolin further states, that McLean and Bourke had been laughing and talking with Robertson, immediately previous to their attack on Cameron and Lamar; and it is proved by other evidence (Deposition No. 159 and 161,) that besides the colony arms, two small cannon and some guns, the property of the North-West company, were taken away, which Robertson stated his people would not allow him to return according to agreement. Some variations appear in the different depositions as to the terms of the agreement entered into with Cameron, which do not seem to have been very clearly explained.

On the whole, the impression on my mind respecting Robertson, is, that convinced of the superior rights of the Hudson's Bay company, and of the illegal and unjustifiable proceedings of the North-West company, he has with the natural feelings of a partizan, omitted to give even their fair weight to those circumstances which are urged by the North-West company in justification of some, and apology for other parts of their proceedings; and that considering the re-establishment of the colony not only as justifiable, but in him a meritorious service, he felt warranted in adopting for that purpose, such measures as appeared to him dictated by necessity. "at a distance (as he states) from the protection of law, and exposed to the attacks of a violent enemy, whose criminal views had already been disclosed." In the prosecution of these objects he seems to have had particularly in view, to guard against the effects of that violent spirit, which has been already mentioned as influencing the North-West party; and in some instances to have allowed, perhaps from this very cause, his own actions to be guided by a similar spirit.

Mr. Robert Semple arrived in Red River as governor in

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chief of the Hudson's Bay territories, accompanied by a Mr. Alexander McDonnell, sheriff to the settlement, in charge of about one hundred and sixty persons, a few of them servants, but the greater part settlers, with their families from Scotland, and by Mr. James Sutherland, in charge of supplies for the Hudson's Bay trading posts. It appears from the publications of the respective parties, that this gentleman had been appointed in consequence of resolutions entered into by the Hudson's Bay company at a general meeting on the 19th May preceding, for the purpose of enforcing their rights of jurisdiction, and from his subsequent proceedings he seems to have been equally, if not more deeply impressed with the rights of that company, and the gross criminality and total want of excuse for the conduct of their opponents, than even Robertson himself; from his correspondence (Depositions No. 167, 177 & 179,) it is evident he was a man of considerable talents and attainments, although his language is often far from being conciliatory, particularly as addressed to persons by whom, whatever his own sentiments might be, he could scarcely be ignorant that very different opinions were entertained on the subjects in contest; he appears also for the most part to have looked for the justification of his proceedings, rather to a general sense of natural justice combined with some reference to the chartered rights of the Hudson's Bay company, than to any acknowledged principles of law; and it is accordingly stated by Robertson, that he expressed his approbation of what he had done, excepting that he thought that Cameron should have been detained in custody as his sincerity could not be depended upon.

On the 17th
March 1816.

The North-West company's post at the forks of Red River was again forcibly seized by Colin Robertson, who is stated (Depositions, Nos. 161 & 180,) to have entered the same at the head of an armed party, consisting of Alexander McLean, John P. Bourke, Michael Haydon, Martin Jordan, and several others, to have immediately collared Cameron, and taken away his personal arms, and to have made prisoners of him, Seraphim Lamar, John Siveright, and Joseph Laurent, clerks of the North-West company, whilst Bourke collected and carried off the papers found in Cameron's desk and on the table.

It is further stated, that Robertson the next day informed Siveright that he was going to send off three men to intercept the North-West express, and desired him to propose to Cameron, that if he would promise not to take any means to prevent the express coming in, the letters

addressed to himself alone, should be opened, and the others allowed to proceed, to which Cameron, from the necessity of the case agreed; that Cameron then desired that the post might be given up, and the trade allowed to go on, which Robertson refused, saying it was the key of the Red River, and that he was determined to keep it at all events; and that accordingly during that and the next day he caused a quantity of small arms and pieces of cannon to be brought over; that on the 19th March the North-West express arrived, when Robertson opened in Siveright's presence, six or more letters addressed to Cameron, and one to Lamar, and retained all the remainder (about one hundred,) excepting three addressed to Siveright himself, and that the next day this latter was liberated and allowed to proceed to Qui Appelle. It is further stated (Depositions, No. 159 and 182.) that after the taking of the post, Robertson declared he had succeeded beyond his expectations, as well in getting possession of the fort without bloodshed, as in having found papers therein which would justify all he had done; and that after the capture of the express he further said, that he was now in possession of such documents, and so completely master of the secrets of the North-West company, that he should be able to bring them to what terms he pleased in the coalition which must take place, to prevent the ruin of both companies; and lastly, that he declared he would fortify the post, and sink all the boats and pemican that Alexander McDonnell of the North-West company might bring down, should he venture to make the trial.

Colin Robertson, on his part, states, that he was left in charge of the colony by Governor Semple, who, on the 19th December set out on a tour to inspect the Hudson's Bay posts in the neighbourhood, wherein he was occupied for upwards of three months; that in January credible information was given to him, that Cameron had asserted, that the half-breeds were again to be assembled from as great a distance as Fort des Prairies, and would be joined by Cree and Assiniboiné Indians, to drive away the colonists; that reports of the same kind having much alarmed these latter, he went, towards the beginning of February, in company with two of them, to Cameron's post, and expostulated with him on the impropriety of exciting alarms in the minds of the settlers, contrary to his previous engagements; to which Cameron replied, that the report did not originate with him; that he wished well to the settlers, and was shortly going to Qui Appelle, and would endeavour to bring Alexander McDonnell to his own peacea-

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ble views; that Cameron did soon afterwards set off for Qui Appelle, and he (Robertson) for Pembina, where he found the conduct of the free Canadians and half-breeds quite changed from what it had been in the autumn; and that reports were prevalent of a great assemblage of Indians and half-breeds, from various and distant posts of the North-West company, to drive off the colonists, and punish those who had assisted them; that finding it impossible to dissipate the impressions made by these reports, both on the freemen and colonists, he hastened back to Fort Douglas, and thence addressed Mr. Semple respecting the state of affairs; that he received from him, on the 10th March, a letter, written previous to the receipt of his, and dated Brandon House, the 5th of the same month, of which he attests a long extract, (Deposition, No. 167, page 9,) detailing different hostile proceedings attributed by him to Cameron, particularly an insolent letter written by Cuthbert Grant to John R. McKay before-mentioned, his brother-in-law, calling upon him to deny having ever heard him (Grant) make an apology or express any regret for the part he had taken last year at the Forks, stating his own opinion, that Cameron, in his intercourse with him (Robertson,) had been endeavouring to amuse him with fine words, whilst extracting from his most causal expressions, the materials for future mischief, and mentioning the strongest apprehensions of attempts on the part of the North-West company, to induce the Indians to prevent their bringing out their provisions from Qui Appelle; that about the period this letter was received, Cameron returned from Qui Appelle, assumed an air of authority, and was generally seen dressed in regimentals; that the colonists gave information of his endeavours to induce them to leave the country, by the offer of a free passage to Canada, and of his remarking, he had driven them away once, and would do so again; that about the 13th March, a number of the North-West servants began to assemble at the Forks, some from Manitaboo, others from Bas de la Riviere, under one Laurent, and others from Qui Appelle, under Fraser the half-breed; that menaces and reports of intended injuries by the North-West company became more frequent and alarming, and that in consequence, he wrote to Governor Semple, suggesting the necessity, for their safety, of again taking possession of the North-West post; that immediately after dispatching this letter, he learnt that Fraser had gone to Pembina, with the intention of bringing down the half-breeds from that quarter in the spring, and that

more half-breeds and other servants continually arriving at the post, he thought unless he acted immediately, he might not be able to succeed, therefore without waiting a reply from Governor Semple, he again took possession of the post, and placed Cameron in custody.

In his further details of the capture, both of the post and subsequently of the express, there is not much variation from the statements on behalf of the North-West company, excepting that he mentions, that the place being taken by surprize, he found, on entering Cameron's room, an open letter, in his hand-writing, to James Grant of Fond-du-Lac, a copy of which has been filed before me (Deposition, No. 168, letter I,) in which Cameron expresses a wish, that Grant would send his Pilleurs, a band of Indians in that neighborhood, to Red River, as they would find plenty of pillage, if they went cunningly to work; the sight of which, he says, induced him to seize the whole of the papers; and that with regard to the express, his promise of letting it proceed was conditional, provided the letters to be opened contained no mention of plans against the colony. In further justification of his proceedings, Mr. Robertson naturally dwells much upon the contents of the letters intercepted by him, whereof he attests large extracts (Deposition, No. 167,) copies of many of which have been proved at length (Depositions, No. 168 and 240,) relative to the affairs both of 1815 and 1816.

In regard to those of the former year, reference has already been made thereto, in stating the transactions of that period, as proving that the influence possessed by the North-West company over the half-breeds was deliberately used by the partners on Red River, to effect the expulsion of the colonists; and those respecting the latter, are chiefly remarkable for the undisguised expressions of a most violent and hostile spirit on the part of the writers, Cuthbert Grant and Alexander McDonell, joined to an open avowal by the former of a resolution again to expel the colonists, and a scarcely attempted concealment by the latter of his participation in, and instigation of the design; a knowledge of which is directly confessed in the following terms:—"Our complete annihilation from this river is in contemplation by Robertson, and his annihilation by the half-breeds." By an extract from one of his letters, it appears however, that no preconcerted plan could have been formed on this subject by the partners at large, as writing on the 13th March 1816, to the agents and proprietors of the company, he says, "contrary to

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“our expectations, that hero, Colin Robertson, brought back in the course of last summer, the settlers who left this river with an intention of visiting their own country.”

Robertson dwells also much upon the gross deceptions Cameron attempted to practise upon him, by assurances of his pacific and friendly intentions, whilst actually a party to plans of the most determined hostility; in proof of this he refers to a letter from Alexander Fraser, dated 28th January 1816, found amongst Cameron's papers, wherein Fraser requested him (Cameron) to visit Qui Appelle, as his presence would have material weight with regard to the rendezvous of his (Fraser's) countrymen; which rendezvous Robertson refers to have been the object of Cameron's journey to Qui Appelle, when he stated he was going to bring Alexander McDonnell to his own peaceable views, and in further confirmation of this opinion, he refers to a joint letter of Cameron and McDonnell (Deposition, No. 168, marked H.) written at the period of this visit to the North-West partners at Fort des Prairies and elsewhere, wherein they say, “the spirit of our people, especially the half-breeds, will require to be roused, and we think the appearance of a few of their colour from the nearest posts, would again have the desired effect.” Of the circumstances, as well as the terms, in which the assurances before-mentioned were given by Cameron, Mr. Robertson however has produced no evidence except his own, and the opinion of Mr. Semple; and consequently without any impeachment of their sincerity, some allowance is to be made for the natural prejudices entertained by them, particularly as Cameron has as yet had no opportunity of being heard on his part.

That in the respective situations of the parties, mutual deception would frequently be attempted, there can be little doubt; and that Robertson had himself views, even at an early date, beyond what he publicly acknowledged, appears evident by his letter to John Fritchard, of 18th December 1815, wherein he says, “I have physical force sufficient to punish these rascals, but I would not willingly have recourse to hostile measures in the present infant state of the colony; indeed I am by no means inclined to ride with too much authority, till I am firmly seated in my saddle.” Whilst at the same time, the general spirit of his correspondence (Deposition, No 152,) and that of Mr. Semple and the other officers of the colony (Deposition, No 179,) especially the letters of John Rodgers and E. Holte, evince a spirit of violence and hos-

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tility to have pervaded the whole party; as on the other hand, the declarations which Nolin, the Hudson's Bay company's interpreter at Red River (Deposition, No 210,) states to have been made to him by Bostonois and Lamar, show a similar spirit to have been early entertained on the other side; the former of these having mentioned, (17th March 1816.) "that Cameron very shortly after his arrival, had remarked that it would be easy to drive away the colonists whilst weak; on which he himself had said, that it would not be proper to attempt it, as the colonists had done nothing to them, and that they should be always in time to drive them away when they pleased;" and Lamar on occasion of a visit made by Nolin some time after the assault on him on New Year's day (detailed in Rodger's letter, and for which an apology had been made by Mr. Robertson,) having told him that he had just received a letter from Fraser, the half-breed, saying, "that he is the fifth to command the half-breeds, and that if the least further insult is offered to me, he is ready to come down and chastise the colonists."

In a previous deposition by Nolin before the Earl of Selkirk (No. 209,) inserted in the printed "Statement," there is a material difference in respect to the terms of these communications; this latter deposition was not however before me, when examining Nolin, so as to question him respecting this difference; and having been at all times myself very careful to take down the words used by witnesses, I have thought it right in all doubtful cases to rely principally upon the depositions as taken by myself.

On the complaints of the North-West company in the present case, three bills of indictment have been found at Montreal against Robertson, Bourke and Haydon; one in September 1816, for stealing the papers and private property of Cameron, and the others in March last, for stealing the property of the North-West company, and for riot and false imprisonment of Duncan Cameron and others.

The North-West establishment at Pembina, was forcibly entered about eight o'clock at night by Alexander McDonnell, the colony Sheriff, John Pritchard, John McLeod, and others. Bostonois, who was in charge thereof, was made prisoner, together with Fraser, Hesse and Cottonaha, three half-breeds, the keys of the store seized, and all the arms and ammunition carried away. It further appears, that the third day, Bostonois was brought to the post, and asked to whom he wished the keys of the store to be given, to which he replied, that they had been

On or about
the 19th
March 1816.

forcibly taken from him contrary to all law, and he would agree to nothing; that in consequence, an inventory of the goods was made, and they were removed to the colony store at Pembina; that Bostonois and the other half-breeds were sent down prisoners to Fort Douglas, and that some time afterwards the goods were also sent down there, in consequence of a letter from Governor Semple to Pritchard, stating that the North-West company having taken the property of the Hudson's Bay company in Peace River, "they must try to have a few things to balance the account."

On the 10th
April 1816.

The clerks and most of the servants of the North-West company quitted the post at the forks of Red River; it being stated in the deposition of Seraphim Lamar (No. 161.) the principal clerk of the post, that Colin Robertson retained possession of the stores and buildings, and allowed no one at the post to attend to the affairs of the company; and in Siveright's (No. 159,) that having returned from Qui Appelle with letters from Alexander McDonnell, demanding the peaceable restitution of the post, and the same being refused, he went to his own post at White River.

Colin Robertson states however in his deposition (No. 167,) that he had sometime before returned to Lamar the North-West company's books, and informed the Indians that they must pay their debts faithfully, that the trade also was allowed to go on, Lamar being in charge of all the property except the spirits and ammunition of which he feared an improper use might be made; that on Siveright's arrival with McDonnell's letter, he renewed the offers of allowing the trade to be carried on either at the North-West post, or that the property, with the exception of the spirits and ammunition, might be removed to the house of a neighbouring free Canadian; the delivery of the post itself he however admits was refused, as inconsistent with the safety of the colony, and that in consequence Siveright, after making out an inventory of the property, and delivering it to him, left the place with many of the servants, and Seraphim Lamar states, that he also went away about the same time.

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The apparent contradiction between this last witness and Robertson, may probably arise from his considering the offers made so inadmissible as to amount to a total denial, which indeed appears by the deposition of Nolin (No. 210,) to have been practically the effect, except as to the collection of debts.

(10th April
1816.)

The continued resolution of keeping possession of the

North-West post (which was again shown on a subsequent application in May, although the question was not then brought so absolutely to the point,) is urged by that company as a strong evidence of that spirit of aggression on the opposite party, which called forth the measures of defence adopted by them; and it certainly does go very far to impress upon my mind a persuasion, that the seizure of the post was not a mere defensive measure, but part of a system for giving effect to the intended exercise of the exclusive territorial rights of the Hudson's Bay company; a persuasion which has been further confirmed by observing, that Governor Semple, in a letter to the agents and proprietors of the North-West company, written shortly before his death, a copy of which is attested by Robertson (Deposition, No. 167,) speaking of this measure, says, "a regular notice to quit the Forks, the focus "of so much mischief, had been delivered in October 1814, "by Mr. Peter Fidler, and treated with contempt; it be- "came necessary to have recourse to legal force, and "bring the question to issue, whether the Hudson's Bay "company are to be allowed a right over their own terri- "tories." That the Earl of Selkirk, in a letter to Colin Robertson, from Montreal, 30th March 1816 (Deposition, No. 280, marked R.) says, "there can be no doubt that "the North-West company must be compelled to quit all "their intrusive possessions upon my lands, and especially "the post at the Forks; but as it will no doubt be neces- "sary to use force for this purpose, I am anxious that this "should be done in a regular manner, under a legal war- "rant from the Governor, so that there may be no ground "for charging us with acts of illegal violence, similar to "the conduct of the North-West company;" and in a subsequent part of the letter, Lord Selkirk gives the plan and site of a village, to be built in the event of the North-West post being actually in his possession; that Captain D'Orsonnens, in his deposition, No. 286, and his agreement of October 1816, with J. A. Dease, for the surrender of the post at Lac la Pluie, which has been proved before me (Deposition, 273,) speaks of an intended notice from Miles McDonnell, to quit that post at the end of six months, as a legal order which he evidently meant to enforce; and lastly, that it is attested by Siveright (Deposition, No. 159,) that he heard Robertson declare, "That "it was the intention of the Hudson's Bay company to "act up to the authority of their charter, and in virtue "thereof to take possession of every North-West post es- "tablished within, what they conceived, their limits; and

“thereby to cut off the communications between Fort William and the countries beyond Lake Winnipic, that this might produce a law suit, which would require a long time to decide; but, that in the mean time the Hudson’s Bay company would keep possession, and that at all events they could lay the blame of whatever might occur on their charter:” and by Loucisse (Deposition, No. 219,) that Robertson, speaking of the capture of the North-West post, said he had done nothing but in conformity to his orders: it is true Colin Robertson denies, towards the close of his deposition, (No. 167,) having made use of such expressions, or having any knowledge of such orders; but he allows that he may have stated such proceedings to be what he would advise; and the terms of his denial are not inconsistent with the fact of a general knowledge of the designs and wishes of his employers, of which it is scarcely possible to conceive him ignorant.

It appears to me also, not very probable, that persons of the known talents and general information of the Earl of Selkirk and Governor Semple, could really suppose, even allowing the rights of territory and jurisdiction claimed by the Hudson’s Bay company to be vested in that body, that a non-compliance with notices, such as those issued by Miles McDonnell could legally authorize (under any warrant from their governors) an attempt to give effect to them by force, particularly as the right of appeal to the Privy Council from the judgments of their courts, when exercised with every proper legal form, has at no time been denied; and should it even be supposed that such an opinion could ever have been *bona fide* entertained, the proceeding to act thereupon without due legal advice (for it is impossible to suppose any such can have been obtained for conduct so opposite to the circumspection recommended by the printed opinions,) in enforcing the judgment, even of their courts, evinces such a blameable carelessness as to consequences, on a subject likely to endanger both the peace of the country and the lives of individuals, as to make but little difference in the merits of the question, otherwise than as it may materially vary the legal consequences, should the imputed conspiracy, or any other criminal charge, be brought before a court.

Pierre Chrysoloque Pambrun, a clerk of the Hudson’s Bay company, formerly a Lieutenant in the Voltiguer regiment, was sent by Governor Semple to Qui Appelle, at the head of an armed party. It is stated by the North-West company, that this force was intended to take their post

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at Qui Appelle, and seize Alexander McDonnell; and some grounds for the opinion seem to have existed, from the letter of E. Holte (Deposition, No. 179, marked C.) and from a declaration stated by Lamar (Deposition, No. 161,) to have been made to him by Pambrun; but the instructions from Governor Semple to this latter, of which he has attested a copy (Depositions, Nos. 172 and 173,) seem clearly to show that the measures in contemplation were chiefly defensive.

On the 12th
April 1816.

James Sutherland, P. C. Pambrun, and twenty-two men, in the service of the Hudson's Bay company, in charge of five boats, containing twenty-two packs of furs, and about six hundred bags of pemican, whilst embarrassed in the rapids of the river Qui Appelle, were attacked by a party of about forty-nine persons, under the command of Cuthbert Grant, Thomas McKay, Roderick McKenzie, and Bostonois, clerks or interpreters, and Brisebois, a guide in the service of the North-West company; the property seized, and themselves made prisoners, and taken to the North-West company's post, where Alexander McDonnell avowed what had been done to be by his orders. On this charge a bill of indictment was found in February last, at Montreal, against Cuthbert Grant, and seven others as principals, and against Alexander McDonnell, as accessory before the fact. Colin Robertson, in his deposition, attributes some importance to the circumstance of this event having occurred within three days after Alexander McDonnell had dispatched his last propositions for a peaceable arrangement; but the following extract from a letter of Mr. Sutherland's, inserted in Peter Fidler's journal (Deposition, No. 164,) removes in a great degree the apparent charge of duplicity.

On the 8th
May 1816.

"This has solely occurred through Mr. Robertson's "having liberated Bostonois, who arrived the night previous to the attack, with horrid accounts from the Forks; "had he not arrived, we should have passed down the "river without molestation." An account which certainly appears more probable, than that McDonnell, if he had previously intended the seizure, should have allowed the provisions to depart at all; and should in his letter to Robertson (Deposition, No. 177, marked E.) have taken credit for the same as a proof of his peaceable views, when the reverse must have appeared before any advantage could have been derived from the attempted imposition: the charge against Bostonois, however, appears aggravated by this circumstance, as it is stated by Robertson, that Bostonois before being liberated, solemnly promised,

that he would not disturb the tranquility, or attempt to injure the interests of the colony; a promise which appears also to have been given in very strong terms by Alexander Fraser in a letter, a copy of which Robertson has attested (Deposition, No. 167.) The promise of Bostonois, who was kept prisoner after Fraser, appears, however, as stated by Louis Nolin (Deposition, No. 210,) to have been simply not to attack the colony. On this point, however, Nolin does not go much into detail.

On the 18th
May 1816.

Duncan Cameron was sent off as a prisoner to Hudson's Bay, under the charge of John McLeod.

On the 31st
May 1816.

The furs taken at the North-West post at the Forks, consisting of about forty packs, were embarked in three canoes which had been taken with the post, and sent off to Hudson's Bay, under charge of Mr. James Sutherland.

On or about
the 1st June
1816.

The Hudson's Bay company's post of Brandon House, on river La Souris, was plundered by a party dispatched by Alexander McDonnell, consisting of Cuthbert Grant, Alexander Fraser, Louis Laserbe, Bonhomme Montour, Thomas McKay, Antoine Houle, and about twenty others. On this occasion it has been reported, that a good deal of private pillage took place, and Joseph Pelletier dit Assiniboine, who was present at the time, states (Deposition, No. 149,) that Louis Laserbe was the ring-leader, and distributed to the party all the property found at the post, except the furs, tobacco and ammunition, which were reserved for the North-West company. Pembrun also (Deposition, No. 194) states, that he saw Bonhomme Montour divide part of the property taken. On this charge, an indictment was found in February last, at Montreal, against Cuthbert Grant and six others, as principals, and against Alexander McDonnell, as accessory before the fact.

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On the 10th
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Governor Semple gave orders to take down the North-West company's post at the forks of Red River; which it appears (Depositions, No. 182, 219, 222 and 223) were immediately carried into execution under his orders, and those of Robertson, Bourke and Nolin; that all the best of the timber was rafted and carried down to Fort Douglas, and one bastion, and the remainder of the timber burnt. By the adoption of this measure, Governor Semple appears finally to have put an end to all probable prospect of an amicable settlement (for the overtures of Alexander McDonnell had always been founded on a supposition of the post being restored,) and thereby to have practically determined on the assertion, in this instance, of the Hudson's Bay company's territorial rights, trusting at the

same time to his physical force for the protection of the colony; such a determination appears indeed quite consistent with the hostile preparations witnessed by, and the tone of defiance used towards Siveright, and still more towards Lamar, the persons whom Mr. Alexander McDonnell had sent with his propositions, as stated in their Depositions (No. 159 and 161;) these statements, although to be received with some caution, as those of parties interested, are yet so far conformable to the tenor of Semple's own correspondence, as to appear entitled to some consideration, and are further confirmed by the deposition of Francois Eno dit De Lorme, an interpreter in the service of the colony (No. 113,) who states that previous to the arrival of the half-breeds "he had been consulted by the "Governor as to the conduct he ought to pursue, and had "warned him he would have little chance on the plains, "although he was strong whilst he remained at home, and "in opposition to Mr. Pritchard, who asserted that fifty "English were equal to two hundred half-breeds, had "said, that on the contrary, fifty half-breeds in the plains, "would kill two hundred English;" and further adds, that after the battle he remarked to Mr. Bourke and Mr. Pritchard, who had been the most eager for going out to meet the half-breeds, that they would have done better to have followed his advice, to which Pritchard replied, "that it would have been an honour to them had they succeeded." The great alarm universally allowed to have pervaded the settlers, and which was evidently shown in their burying their property, as stated in various depositions (Nos. 198, 199, 200 & 207,) further shows the general conviction, that hostilities were nearly inevitable. On this charge a bill of indictment has been found at Montreal, in February last, against Colin Robertson and four other persons, for riot and destroying houses. With regard to the persons present at the burning of the remains of the fort, there is some contradiction; two witnesses (Depositions, No. 182 and 219) stating that Governor Semple was there at the time, and another (Deposition No. 113,) that he had heard him forbid the burning. Robertson, no one states to have been present, and by his own deposition (No. 167,) it appears he left the forks of Red River the 11th June, the day after the orders had been given to take down the post, as although he entirely approved of the measure, he was unwilling to remove to Fort Douglas, as it might lead to the renewal of discussions which he had already had with Governor Semple, respecting the proper mode of defending the colony.

When arrived at Lac Winnipic, he however returned to within a few miles of the settlement, and sent a letter offering his services to Governor Semple, if they should be thought useful; they were however declined. The final cause of disagreement he states to have been, his urging that the settlers should be called from their lands to the fort, a measure which Governor Semple deemed unnecessary. It appears also by his deposition, that on many previous occasions he had thought Governor Semple by no means sufficiently decisive in his proceedings against the North-West company; for although after his return to Fort Douglas, he signified by letter, his approval of the capture of the North-West post at the Forks, and of the intercepting of their express, yet he delayed sending off Cameron, or adopting the precautionary measures of taking down one or other of the posts, and collecting the people about the one to be left, although strongly urged by himself; and that Cameron was not finally sent off till after they burnt the capture of Mr. Sutherland, with the furs and provisions, nor the North-West post taken down, till they had received information of the capture of Brandon House. It might indeed be inferred from these circumstances, and the declaration which Cuthbert Grant (Deposition, No. 216) states, that Mr. Semple made to him when wounded, of his not having been present at, nor ordered the capture of either of the North-West posts, or of their express; that he had never cordially approved of Robertson's proceedings, although publicly justified by him.

On the 17th
June 1816.

Moustouche Boutino, a half-breed, arrived at Fort Douglas with intelligence that the party of half-breeds was arrived at Portage de Prairies with Alexander McDonnell, and would be down in two days to attack them, and talked of nothing but taking the fort, and making the Governor prisoner. Moustouche, in his deposition (No. 204) translated by Joseph Pelletier dit Assiniboine, he himself not speaking French, states, that having heard Captain Bourassa declare, that in case the colonists came to attack them they must fire upon them; he not being in the service of the North-West company, and not wishing to take arms on either side, left the party to come down and join his family at the Grenouilliere, although Grant did every thing in his power to engage him to remain with and assist them in making the colonists prisoners; and that in passing the fort he informed the colonists, that the half-breeds were coming down to attack them; and Nolin, the Hudson's Bay interpreter, also a half-breed, in his deposition states (No. 210) what passed nearly in similar

terms, with the addition, that Moustouche mentioned that having been cured by the doctor of the colony of a wound, when neglected by his former masters, he thought it his duty to offer them his services if attacked. Nolin further adds, that he received private advice from the half-breeds, by Moustouche and some Indians, warning him not to join in any affair with the colonists, for if he did he would not be better off than another, as they were resolved to take the fort and the Governor, and to drive away the colonists; and that as to Robertson, they would cut him in pieces. In the course of the day that Moustouche arrived, two Saulteur chiefs, with about ten other Indians, came to offer their services to Governor Semple in case the colonists should be attacked; adding, that they believed all the other Indians entertained similar sentiments; to this offer Nolin states, that Governor Semple replied with thanks, but expressed his hopes, that things would not come to such an extremity; and declared, that in any event he could not accept their services, being of opinion that he ought not to induce the Indians to take any share in the disputes of the Whites, and therefore begged them to remain quiet; after which he made them a present. John Pritchard states, in his deposition (No. 187,) that the Indians expressed great regret at the Governor's rejecting their assistance, and the next morning returned again, stating their fears that the colonists would be driven off, and requesting, lest such an event should happen, to give them some ammunition for the support of their families; that he replied, he did not fear those who were coming to attack them, but as nothing was certain in this world, he would order them a sufficiency of ammunition for the summer. In consequence of the information received this day, an order was issued, that the colonists should come in and sleep at the fort every night.

Alexander McDonnell dispatched from Portage des Prairies, an armed party of sixty to seventy men, for the purpose of escorting to the Grenouilliere two carts with twenty bags of pemican; this party was commanded by Cuthbert Grant, under whom Bourassa and Antoine Houle acted as captains, and consisted of four Indians, six Canadians, and the remainder half-breeds; the orders given them by McDonnell appear, by a concurrence of evidence (Depositions, No. 161, 203, 204, 205, 206, 208, 215, 220, and 221,) to have been to pass in the plains as far distant as possible from Fort Douglas, to avoid making any attack, or causing alarm, and

On the 18th
June 1816.

to wait at the Grenouilliere the arrival of the canoes from Montreal, for whose use the provisions were sent, but that in case of being attacked, they might defend themselves. P. C. Pambrun, who was at the time a prisoner at Portage des Prairies, in his depositions (No. 172 and 173) states positively, that this party was sent to attack the colony, and that he was told so by Alexander Fraser, Thomas McKay, Hesse, and others of the party; there can, however, scarcely be a doubt that this information related to an attack contemplated at a subsequent period, probably after communication with the canoes from Montreal, for that some, although not an immediate attack was intended, there can be little or no doubt. Pambrun states, that on his first being taken a prisoner to the North-West post at Qui Appelle, McDonnell declared it was his intention to compel the colonists to surrender by famine, and that it was with this view he had taken Sutherland's provisions; that on the way down he further stated, that the business of last year was but a trifle in comparison with what would take place the present one, and that the North-West company and half-breeds were now one; that McDonnell having met at the forks of the Assiniboine River an Indian chief and his band, made a speech, by means of his interpreter, to induce them to accompany and assist him in driving off the settlers; adding, that if these latter resisted, "the ground should be "drenched with their blood, that not one should be "spared;" that Alexander Fraser and the other half-breeds spoke of the different modes in which, according to circumstances, they intended to attack the colony; to-wit, that they would make prisoners of all they found out of the fort, and that if the fort should be too strong to attack openly by day, and the people therein well supplied with provisions, they would tie bundles of hay to the pickets at night, and set fire to them, so that the buildings of the fort might take fire, when they would secure the people as they ran out, or if the stock of provisions was small, they would place themselves in ambush, and shoot if they could not take those who went out for fish, food or water, till the fort should be compelled to surrender. The substance of this statement, particularly as to the intention of compelling the fort to surrender by famine, is confirmed by various evidence (Depositions No. 174, 176, 187, 198, 200, 210, 219 and 237.) especially by Pierre Soucisse, one of the most respectable of the free Canadians (at whose house I lived when at Red River,) and who appeared to me to have at all times continued

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on friendly terms with both parties: this person in his deposition (No. 219) states, that Cuthbert Grant, Antoine Houle, and Michael Bourassie, the three half-breed captains, publicly acknowledged "that on their first starting "from Qui Appelle, their intentions were to retake Mr. "Cameron and the North-West post, and that on learning "the destruction of the latter, they determined to besiege "and endeavour to take that of the colony, relying chiefly "on cutting off their supply of provisions, and that they "intended to take a position at the Grenouilliere, which "would at the same time enable them to cut off the com- "munications of the colony, and secure their own; that "they did not avow their intention of driving off the col- "onists, although he believes they might have entertained "it even before the battle;" and further, that on the arrival of Alexander McKenzie, formerly an agent of the North-West company, he was present at his first meeting with Alexander McDonnell, his partner, when the latter told him "that his general plan, and that which he had "recommended to the half-breeds, was to blockade the "fort of the colony, and cut off their provisions and wa- "ter, by placing themselves on both sides the river, so "as to oblige them to surrender, from famine." Similar declarations appear also to have been openly made by Grant and Fraser, the night after the battle, to their prisoners, and Alexander Sutherland (whose deposition, No. 200, I took with much care) says he learnt from them, "that their plan was to erect a battery on the opposite "side of the river, and to fire from it upon every person "who should come out for water, or other purposes; and "that they should also set fire to the houses by arrows, with "lighted touchwood, which they would fire at the roofs." With regard to the speech made to the Indians, James Bird, junior, a half-breed son of the Hudson's Bay Governor of that name, who was with the party at the time, and was told by the Indians what had passed immediately afterwards, differs from Pambrun in his account thereof (Deposition No. 175,) in not mentioning the violent menaces towards the settlers, imputed to McDonnell. The number of the whole party collected at the Portage des Prairies, is stated by different witnesses (Depositions No. 159, 173, 204) to have been from one hundred to one hundred and twenty persons, of whom about three-fourths were half-breeds, some few of these clerks and interpreters, but chiefly canoe-men in the service of the North-West company, with others who came down to assist in protecting the property of the said company. .

This assembling of the half-breeds by Alexander McDonnell is acknowledged by the North-West company in their late statement to me, and is even attempted to be justified as a measure of defence to which, under similar dangers, they must again of necessity have recourse. This excuse of self-defence however, such as it is, will not apply to the ulterior intention of driving off the colony; for even believing the North-West company to be persuaded, as it appears to me they were, on sufficient grounds, of the intentions of the Earl of Selkirk and Hudson's Bay company to drive them by force from the country, under an idea of legal right, either real or assumed, they, who possessed no shadow of right, could not deem an attempt to retaliate by driving off their opponents a legitimate mode of self-defence, and more particularly when it was to be effected by employing against their fellow subjects an ungovernable and nearly savage force; a measure which nothing could justify, nor any thing, as appears to me, dictate, but that lawless spirit of violence and oppression by which the North-West company has so long maintained its monopoly. Numerous instances of this spirit will be found in the intercepted correspondence of the partners (Depositions Nos. 103, 123, 124, 125, 126, 168, 240, 335, 336, 337,) and other documents filed, which have fully convinced me, not only that the expulsion of the colony was contemplated by McDonnell, and those immediately acting with him, but that it has been more or less directly approved either before or after the occurrence, by nearly, if not all the partners of the company who had an opportunity of expressing an opinion, or taking part therein, accompanied in some instances, particularly in those stated by Louis Blondeau (Deposition, No. 171,) and F. D. Huarter (Deposition No. 235,) if the witnesses can be entirely relied upon, with threats or declarations of the most savage ferocity.

The unfortunate affray took place, in which Governor Semple and about twenty of his officers and men lost their lives. The annexed plan (No. 3) shows the exact spot where this melancholy event occurred, together with its immediate neighbourhood, and explains many local circumstances connected therewith, respecting some of which the parties agree, and differ as to others; the whole of which will be found more particularly stated in the depositions relative thereto (No. 184, 185, 186, and 217.)

It further appears by various depositions, (Nos. 189, 190, 191, 198, 201 and 207,) that about five o'clock in the afternoon the party of half-breeds and others dispatched

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by Alexander McDonnell from the North-West encampment at Fortage des Prairies, were seen crossing the plains near Fort Douglas by the men kept there on watch; by the depositions of John Pritchard (No. 187,) who appears to have been present at the time, of Alexander McDonnell, the Sheriff of the colony, and the person next in command to the Governor (No. 195,) and of John Farquharson one of the men on watch (No. 196,) it appears, that the half-breeds when first seen were nearly opposite to Fort Douglas, at a considerable distance from the usual road in the plains, so that it was only on crossing a rising ground that they could be distinctly seen; that on their being first perceived, immediate notice was sent to the Governor, who was in the house, and that Alexander McDonnell mounting with a spy-glass to the top of a barn, saw a considerable number of horsemen advancing towards the upper part of the settlement; whereupon Governor Semple said we must go and meet these people, let twenty men follow me; that this number was accordingly sent after him by Alexander McDonnell, who remained in charge of the fort, exclusive of officers, who followed one or two at a time; that many others wished to go, but were not allowed, Governor Semple having declared he only went out for the purpose of ascertaining the intentions of the half-breeds, and to afford some protection to the settlers, who were working on their lands.

Alexander McBeath, an old soldier, formerly of the 73d regiment, in his deposition (No. 197) states, that having seen a large body of horsemen and carts crossing the plains at about three quarters of a mile distance, and been visited at his own lot, No. 3, by three of them, for the purpose of obtaining information, he was coming to the fort for protection, together with William Sutherland and their respective families, (who with James Sutherland and his family appear to have been the only settlers that came in for that purpose before the battle,) when they were met by Governor Semple, to whom, perceiving that he had not much above twenty or thirty persons with him, he remarked that the North-West were very numerous, and that he would do well to take two field-pieces with him, and to keep his back to the river to avoid being surrounded, and offered if he could have a gun to go out with him; to this the Governor replied, "No, no, there is no occasion, I am only going to speak to them;" whereupon McBeath went on to the Fort, but was shortly passed by Mr. Bourke, whom the Governor had ordered to go back

for one of the great guns, observing it was well to have it in case of need.

By the deposition of John Pritchard (No. 187) it appears, that after halting some time for the cannon, the Governor ordered the party to advance along the road; that they had proceeded but a short distance when they perceived the North-West party coming forward on horseback, far superior in number, and the half-breeds painted like Indians; that the Governor's party thereupon, by a common impulse, began to retreat, walking backwards, and at the same time extending their line so as to present a larger front, whilst the horsemen continued to advance on them at a hand gallop, and surrounded them in the form of a half-moon; that almost immediately afterwards a Canadian, named Boucher, rode up to them, waving his hand and calling out in a most insolent manner, "what do you want;" the Governor replied, "what do you want," to which Boucher answered, "we want our fort," and the Governor said "go to your fort;" that after this he (Pritchard) could not hear what passed, but saw the Governor lay hold of Boucher's gun, and that immediately afterwards a general discharge of fire-arms took place, but he could not distinguish on which side it commenced, but in a few minutes almost all the Governor's party were either killed or wounded; that Captain Rodgers, who had fallen, rose up and came towards him, when he advised him to give himself up; for which purpose he ran towards the enemy, raising up his hands and calling out in English and broken French for mercy, when a half-breed of the name of Thomas McKay, a clerk of the North-West company, shot him through the head, and another cut open his body with a knife; that his own life was saved with the greatest difficulty, one Lavigne, a Canadian, joining with him in entreaties to that effect; that he was then sent under the guard of two Canadians, Morrin dit Perrault, and Mageau, to the head quarters of the half-breeds at Frog Plain, where he found Alexander Murray and his wife, two Bannermans, Alexander Sutherland, and Anthony McDonnell, also prisoners; that at the time he was conveyed away, several of Governor Semple's party, who were only wounded, called to him for God's sake to come to their assistance, and that several of the half-breeds afterwards told him that they had completely dispatched those who were wounded; that Cuthbert Grant told him that Governor Semple was wounded by a shot from himself, and that lying on the ground, his thigh bone being broken, he asked him if he was Mr. Grant, and

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being answered yes, he said, "I am not mortally wounded, "and if you could get me conveyed to the fort, I think I "should live;" that Grant promised to do so, and then left him in the care of a Canadian, but that the Governor was afterwards shot through the breast by an Indian.

These particulars agree nearly with what Grant stated in his deposition (No. 216,) and he further adds, that the name of the Indian was Machicabaou, and that he was informed by himself of his having killed the Governor.

Nolin, in his deposition (No. 209) states, he was told at the time that it was Deschamps, a Canadian, who killed him; but this report has probably arisen from his having afterwards plundered the body.

Machicabaou was present at the Indian council held by myself, having been admitted to a friendly intercourse by the agents of the colony, either from motives of policy towards the Indians, or from discrediting the imputations against him, of which I was not aware at that time. He appeared, however, rather to avoid this subject; but on another Indian's mentioning that most of the bodies were found naked, except that Semple's had a shirt on, he said, it was he who put the shirt on the body.

The account of Pritchard is further confirmed in many material points by the depositions of Anthony McDonnell, and Donald McKay (No. 192 and 193,) who were both present at the battle, but cannot say on which side the first shot was fired; as also by the different depositions of Michael Haydon (Nos. 189, 190, and 191,) in which he states in substance the following additional facts:—That in answer to the last speech of Governor Semple, mentioned by Pritchard, Boucher said, "Why did you "destroy our fort you damned rascal?" whereupon the Governor laid hold of the bridle of his horse, saying, "Scoundrel, do you tell me so!" and called to some of his men to take him prisoner, when Boucher slipped off his horse and escaped to his party, by whom a shot was instantly fired, by which Mr. Holt, a clerk in the service of the colony was killed; that Governor Semple himself was wounded by a subsequent shot, and thereupon called out to his men, "Do what you can to take care of yourselves;" but they instead of seeking their own safety, crowded round the Governor to ascertain what injury he had received, and that while thus collected a general volley was fired upon them, by which the greater part were killed on the spot; that those who were left standing took off their hats and called for mercy, but in vain, being

nearly all either shot or stabbed with spears; that upon the Governor's party coming round him, some of them fired upon the half-breeds; that he (Haydon) was a little to the right of the party, with Michael Kilkenny, George Sutherland, and Donald McKay, when observing that nearly the whole on their side were either killed or wounded, they endeavoured to make their escape, together with Dr. White, who being behind the others was killed by a party of six half-breeds who pursued them; that he and the three others escaped, and were with John Pritchard and Anthony McDonnell (who was made a prisoner by Alexander Fraser,) the only persons spared of the party with Governor Semple; Michael Kilkenny and George Sutherland above-mentioned, have not been brought before me for examination, although in the neighbourhood of Lake Winnipic, whilst I was at Red River, nor do their depositions appear to have been taken elsewhere; it is probable therefore they have nothing material to state; particularly as Martin Jordan, one of the colonists, in his deposition (No. 147,) says, that they were left by him at Jack River the 1st of August last, and that he has heard them often speak of their having been in the battle of the 19th June, and that they had narrowly escaped with their lives, but has never heard them mention how the affair begun, or give any particular account thereof. By the depositions of John Bourke (No. 201,) Hugh McLean (No. 202,) John Farquharson (No. 196,) and Alexander McDonnell (No. 195,) it further appears, that on the arrival of Bourke with an application, as McDonnell understood from Governor Semple, for a 3-pound field-piece, it (having been already prepared) was immediately sent, and Hugh McLean to drive it; that they had advanced about half a mile, when they perceived that the Governor's party was surrounded, and saw the flashes of the guns which were firing; that Bourke fearing the cannon might be intercepted, thought it prudent to convey it back to the fort, and went part of the way with it himself; that meeting ten men advancing he went with them towards the place, where they expected to find the Governor, but not seeing him, and observing the half-breeds dispersed over the ground, they hesitated to go forwards, when some of the hostile party cried out "Come on, come on! here is "the Governor, won't you come and obey him;" and on advancing a little further, the same persons cried out, "Give up your arms," whereupon fearing that the Governor was destroyed, and that it was intended also to get

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possession of themselves, they made all haste to escape, and that in the flight John McNaughton was killed, and Bourke himself wounded; that the gun having been sent out a second time under charge of McLean, accompanied by Farquharson and two others, they met Bourke coming back wounded, who told them all was over and that they had best return, which they accordingly did, placing him in the cart.

With regard to the prisoners taken before the action, it appears by the depositions of three of them, William Bannerman (No. 198,) Alexander Murray (No. 199,) and Alexander Sutherland (No. 200,) that they were all at work upon their lands the evening the half-breeds arrived; Alexander and William Bannerman on their father's lot, No. 21, and Alexander Murray on his lot, No. 23, and that these three, with Murray's wife, were made prisoners by the half-breeds as they went towards the Frog Plain, and Alexander Sutherland as they passed his lot, No. 12, on returning to meet Governor Semple's party; that some threats were used towards Sutherland on his being taken, and strict inquiries made of them respecting Robertson, against whom the half-breeds vowed vengeance, and said, that nothing could save his life if he fell into their hands; that they did not intend to kill the settlers, but wanted to get hold of the officers of the colony; that on their arrival at Frog Plain they were put into a tent, and one of the half-breeds placed as sentry over them; that after the battle, John Pritchard and Anthony McDonnell were also brought in as prisoners; and that a large party of half-breeds arrived who appeared quite frantic, and threatened to murder all the prisoners, and led them out apparently for that purpose; that after many alarms, they were however on the intercession of Mr. Pritchard, who told the half-breeds, "That blood enough had been shed," and that the fort should be given up without the loss of "lives," assured of protection by Cuthbert Grant, but appear to have continued in great alarm and considerable danger during the night.

The depositions of Joseph Pelletier dit Assiniboine (No. 149 and 204,) and Jean Baptiste Marsellois (No. 206,) half-breeds, who were present at the battle, but who have since made their submission to the Earl of Selkirk, and are either in the service or living under the protection of the colony, and were examined at his Lordship's instance, agree generally in the foregoing account of the affray, except only as to Haydon's statement of the first shot being fired on the side of the half-breeds, which they positively

deny; and both state, that before any shot was fired on their side, one had been fired at Boucher, which passed him so close as to stun, and cause him to fall off his horse; and Pelletier, that a second was fired at an Indian, after which the action became general on each side; that after about three discharges the colonists began to give way, but the battle continued between individuals. Marsellois mentions the circumstance of Mr. Rodgers being killed when asking quarter; but says it was done by one of the deschamps, called "Grossetete;" a fact which Desmarrais (Deposition, No. 317,) also attests to have been the general report; and that he was urged on by his father, a Canadian, who cried out "no pardon." Pelletier adds that he heard Cuthbert Grant, on sending Boucher to the Governor's party, say to him; "go to them, and tell them to ground their arms, and to surrender, or we will fire upon them." That such, in fact, were their orders if the least resistance were attempted; and that Grant told them they were conformable to the instructions of Mr. McDonnell; and that Antoine Houle said more positively, that if the colonists did not immediately surrender their arms, they must fire upon them; and that he would give a shout, as a signal, when to begin; for they must not be allowed to escape. He also states, that the half-breeds had painted themselves, and put feathers in their heads, in the Indian mode, which was not customary with them before the attacks on the colony began; when their employers furnished them with paint, and directed them to paint themselves before an attack.

Pelletier, it is however proper to observe, is an inaccurate witness, having deposed to two facts, one relative to a speech made by Duncan Cameron, and the other to the residence of the settlers made prisoners before the battle, both of which are certainly erroneous as to time or place.

Michael Bourassa, also a half-breed, who was in the employment of the North-West company, but examined by me at the instance of an agent of the Earl of Selkirk, on my first meeting with A. N. McLeod and Alexander McDonnell, under the idea that he could depose to facts requiring the arrest of these gentlemen, gives a similar statement to that of Pelletier with regard to the first shot.

Cuthbert Grant, in his deposition (No. 216,) and Boucher, both in his deposition (No. 215) and his examination (No. 214,) the only witnesses examined on behalf of the North-West company who speak to this point, concur also in similar statements; and Grant specifies John Moor as the person who fired the first shot, which he considers

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to be that at the Indian; but thinks it to have been fired from misapprehension, owing to the Indian's continuing to advance after he had made him a sign to keep back. Grant agrees also in the statement of there being three or four general discharges of fire-arms.

From the deep interest of these last parties in the event, their evidence can have little direct weight; yet the general conformity of many depositions collected from different persons at various times and places, with the previous statements made by Bouchier, gives to them some importance as moral testimony; as the clearness and apparent frankness of Grant's deposition tends to produce confidence in it.

At the council held by me with the Indians, the account of the battle given by Machicabaou confirms, in almost every respect, the statements made by the half-breeds; and at the same time appeared to be tacitly assented to by the other Indians, as the public belief.

Nolin, the interpreter, in his deposition (No. 211) before me, (annexing and explaining the original certificate given by him to Mr. McGillivray, previous to the Earl of Selkirk's arrival at Fort William, the paper so much referred to in the respective publications of the parties,) states also, that such was the general report, and his own belief. The same thing appears also from other depositions (No. 205, 218, and 307,) stating it in positive terms, and many others less directly.

Such is the evidence by which the fact of the first shot being fired by the colonists stands supported; of those present, five witnesses speak positively to its being so; and not one, except Haydon, states the contrary, even on belief; and all others who have spoken to the question concur in stating, that such was the general report; whilst the opposite statement of Haydon remains unsupported by a single evidence, either direct or indirect. Other collateral circumstances have also combined, with this weight of evidence, to convince me, that the declaration made by him is, in this respect, unfounded.

It is admitted in the published "Statements," that the minute accuracy of the observations he states himself to have made in the confusion of such a business, might raise doubts; and in the following cases, where his statements have been compared with those of others present at the transactions, the result certainly does not lessen those doubts. In his deposition (No. 189,) he states, that he only saw three Indians, and that he did not see any of these fire a shot, although he had his eyes upon them a

principal part of the time. Now the Indians at their council stated to me, that of the three present on the occasion, one ran away as soon as the battle began; and Machica-baou said, that he hid himself in a hole in the ground immediately after the first shots, and continued there till the battle was nearly over. Haydon further states, that the bodies of the slain, which were not brought in by the Indians, remained on the ground a prey for the wild beasts. Now, by the deposition of Nolin (No. 210,) it appears that Cuthbert Grant told him, the morning after the battle, that the colonists ought to bury the bodies, and that they need not fear any injury whilst so employed; and by other depositions (No. 195, 197, 200 and 232,) it appears beyond a doubt that they were buried.

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In a subsequent deposition before myself (No. 190,) Haydon mentions, "having thought it his duty to communicate to one Chatelain, a clerk of the Earl of Selkirk, who was, at the period in question, waiting for his Lordship's arrival at the Traverre Island, in Thunder Bay, a certain intelligence respecting a plan to murder the Earl."—Chatelain, in his deposition (No. 265) states, that Haydon did visit him at Traverre Island, and spoke to him of the affairs of Red River; but that the only message he can recollect his giving him was, to tell the Earl of Selkirk, "that everything was in his favour;" and he appears quite confident, that nothing was said of warning his Lordship of any plan of assassination; it is proper, however, to observe, that Haydon no where says he made the communication, although he strongly implies it.

In his deposition before me at Red River (No. 190,) it is remarkable also, that Haydon repeats neither the statement of the settlers having taken off their hats and asked quarter after the first discharge, nor that of the general plunder of private property, both which facts he had stated in his deposition (No. 189) taken at Montreal. In other depositions (No. 191, 227 and 228,) he charges Paul Brown, a half-breed, with being present at the battle, and having robbed him of a blanket the next day; Cuthbert Grant, on the contrary, who, as to this particular fact, appears to be a competent witness, states in his deposition (No. 216,) that Brown was not present at the battle, and that it was another half-breed, who resembles Brown in person, that took Heydon's blanket; and Nicholas Ducharme in his deposition (No. 213) states having seen Brown at the Grenouillierre at a period which renders it,

in his opinion, impossible that he should have been in the battle.

These various inconsistencies and contradictions, although they may not establish wilful falsehood, appear to me to prove beyond a doubt, that Heydon has not given his evidence with that care and accuracy which would entitle him to credit, in contradiction to the concurrent testimony on the other side.

Respecting the intentions of the parties immediately before the battle, the deposition (No. 208) of Charles Bellegrade, a free Canadian, brought before me at Red River on behalf of the Earl of Selkirk, is very important; he states, that about four o'clock, he saw Governor Semple at the Grenouilliere before the battle, and said to him, "My Governor, are you not afraid; it is said the half-breeds are coming to make you prisoner?" to which Semple replied, "No, I am not afraid; I have a paper which I will go and read to them, and afterwards if they choose to kill me, they may;" whereupon he (Bellegrade) added, "I do not think they intend to do you any harm, but they may very likely make you a prisoner;" this communication, he states, did not arise from any particular information, but from the general reports prevalent amongst the free Canadians, who are most of them related to the half-breeds, which were, that the colonists were to be blockaded, so as to compel them from famine to surrender themselves prisoners, and to quit the country; that subsequently he saw the first party of half-breeds, about fifteen in number, arrive and unsaddle their horses; that they brought with them, as prisoners, some of the settlers who inhabited the lands next adjoining the Grenouilliere, saying, they did not intend to keep them, but should send them to the Fort to eat up the provisions; that a second party of half-breeds, about double the number of the first, had just arrived, when he heard the cry, "See, the English pursue us," upon which those who could get their horses went off at full speed, and the others followed on foot; that he himself followed, supposing that there would be nothing more than some parleying, both from what the Governor had told him, and because the half-breeds had said, they were ordered not to attack; that it was consequently with the utmost surprize when he arrived near the place he saw the firing, whereupon he turned about and went home.

This statement is confirmed in several particulars by the deposition of Cuthbert Grant (No. 216,) who speaking of the circumstances immediately preceding the bat-

tle, states, that on arriving near the Grenouillierre, he met Bellegrade, who told him, that Governor Semple had been there shortly before, and had said, that he wished to read a paper to the half-breeds, and to make some arrangements with them, which if they could not agree to, they must take the consequences; that Bellegrade was the only person he spoke to, but that he learnt from him, that others of the half-breeds had taken prisoners three of the colonists, who lived near the Grenouillierre, and were waiting for his arrival to know whether they should detain them or not; that as he was on the point of arriving, those behind who were accompanying the provision carts, rode up, and informed him the colonists were coming after them, whereupon he immediately turned back towards the carts, and ordered the drivers to make dispatch towards the Grenouillierre, whilst himself and others rode forward to protect them from any attack.

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Boucher's statement, (Deposition, No. 215, and Examination, No. 214,) that the numbers present at the action were fifty in the whole, of whom thirty had got up when it began, agrees also with Bellegrade's account.

Nolin, in his deposition (No. 210,) states, that in the course of the day in which the action took place, Governor Semple told him, that if the half-breeds went past without doing any harm to his people, he did not intend to attack them, as they were not absolutely at war, and that, on their side, he did not suppose they would make an attack, without giving him an opportunity of speaking to them.

John Pritchard, in his deposition (No. 187,) states, that he does not believe that Governor Semple gave any orders to his party to fire, but, on the contrary, when upon the advance of the horsemen, one of the party said they must fire to keep them off, he reproved him with great severity; he also states, that Grant told him, "that they "had not expected to have fought the Governor that day, "for in that case they would have allowed them to pass "some part of the woods, before they had shown them- "selves in force, and would then have run the Governor's "party like buffalo in the plains, so that not one would "have escaped."

Michael Haydon (Deposition, No. 190,) also states, that "before the half-breeds were within gun-shot, a gun "went off by accident, belonging to Mr. Holt, who was "checked for his carelessness by the Governor, who ob- "served, we are not to fire unless fired upon," and the fact of the gun being so fired is confirmed by Michael Bourassa (Deposition, No. 203).

Pierre Soucisse, in his deposition (No. 219,) further states, that Grant and the other principal half-breeds, always declared, "that the battle was unintended and unforeseen by them, but that having learnt that their rear was pursued by Governor Semple and an armed party, they went to meet him to protect the same, when the battle took place accidentally, from the manner in which Boucher, their messenger, was seized by the said Governor;" and further, that McDonnell, in his conversation with Alexander McKenzie before-mentioned, said, that the battle was not foreseen nor intended by him.

With regard to the fact of Governor Semple's having ordered his men to fire or not, the evidence is contradictory. Boucher, both on his examination (No. 214,) and in his deposition (No. 215,) states positively, that he did give such orders; and that such was the belief of the North-West party, appears nearly certain from the intercepted letter of Robert Henry, filed on behalf of the Earl of Selkirk (Deposition, No. 218.) and by the statement of Jean Baptiste Desmarrais (Deposition, No. 307). It seems evident, however, that if he did so, it was an act of momentary passion, and by no means his previous intention.

Another point also, respecting which there is a contradiction in the evidence, is the firing of the cannon; this Cuthbert Grant states (Deposition, No. 216,) he saw thrice attempted with a pistol; and Boucher (Deposition, No. 215,) and Joseph Hupe (Deposition No. 205,) say they saw the priming go off; whilst on the contrary, John Farquharson, (Deposition, No. 196,) who went out with it the second time, says, "no attempt was made to fire the cannon, nor was there any match, which he particularly remarked, having himself made a stick for using the same." Hugh McLean also, who drove the cannon the whole time, states in his deposition (No. 204,) "that the leaden apron on the touch-hole was never taken off that day while the gun was out of the fort;" this last evidence would be decisive, was it not that this witness has deposed to other facts, the contrary of which have been clearly established before me. On the whole, therefore, my mind remains in doubt as to this particular; for that the North-West party believed an attempt to fire the cannon was made, appears nearly certain from the intercepted letter last referred to, and is in some degree confirmed by the deposition of William Smith (No. 185,) and by the statement of Moustouche (Deposition, No. 204,) of a report of the cannon being spiked, although some of the details given by this latter witness, do not appear very probable.

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Another point on which the parties differ is, with respect to the object which led the settlers to take off their hats after the first volley; Haydon (Deposition, No. 189.) states, as already mentioned, "that they took off their hats, and called for mercy, but in vain." Cuthbert Grant (Deposition, No. 216,) on the other hand states, "that after the first round, the half-breeds in general threw themselves on their backs whilst loading; whereupon the colonists, conceiving many were killed, took off their hats and huzzaed:" the fact of the half-breeds throwing themselves down when loading, is mentioned also in other depositions on their behalf (Nos. 215, 217, and 317.) as the reason of the much smaller number killed on their side; and from this fact, if admitted, it would necessarily follow, that they had dismounted at the beginning of the action, a circumstance which is not, however, positively stated either one way or the other in the depositions, although it seems inconsistent with the general tenor of those of Bourke and Haydon; at the same time, on any other supposition, it would be difficult to account for their escape, and that of the other parties advancing from the fort, as described by them, and by the "Fils Kenis," an Indian sent out from the fort to see what was going on (Paper, No. 409.)

Of the general existence of hostile feelings, and mutual designs of future aggression, there can be no doubt; as, exclusive of individual acts or declarations, it appears to me, as already stated, fully established, and in fact scarcely denied by the parties, that at this period it was the determination of the Hudson's Bay party to keep forcible possession of the Forks of Red River, in support of their territorial rights; and equally the determination of the North-West party to oppose their doing so by force, and to revenge the injuries they conceived themselves to have suffered, in the imprisonment of Duncan Cameron, and the seizure of their property; whilst on behalf of the half-breeds, the intention of driving off the colonists is openly avowed by Cuthbert Grant, on the grounds that their pretensions were inconsistent with the rights of natural justice, both in respect to themselves, and of the North-West company, and had been the cause of continued disputes from nearly the first establishment of the colony. These feelings had been further irritated during a long period of hostile preparations, by mutual injuries and menaces; of which the threat Bourke (Deposition, No. 201) states Grant to have used in regard to Robertson, "that if he could have got hold of him, he would have had

"him scalped," and that of Robertson's towards the half-breeds, which Grant (Deposition, No. 216) states Bellegrade to have repeated to him immediately before the battle. "that the freemen were to get their kettles ready to "boil the blood of the half-breeds," may give some idea; that, with these impressions, the parties meeting in arms should have been brought to action by the accidental circumstances which are stated to have occurred, appears by no means improbable; indeed the event seems almost to have been foreseen at the time by the individuals best able to judge.

Nolin declares (Deposition, No. 210,) that if not prevented by the orders left by Governor Semple, he should have followed, on hearing of his having gone out, to warn him of his danger; and Francois Enodit Delarme (Deposition, No. 113,) that on learning the circumstance, he exclaimed, "Heavens! how unfortunate; so many men who "are going to be butchered; perhaps not six of the number will ever return." The Indian, Fils Kenis, states also in his declaration (Paper 409,) that he endeavoured in vain to stop the party when going out. The probability is, that Governor Semple, as stated by Pritchard (Deposition, No. 187,) was not fully aware of the number of the half-breeds, and felt himself peculiarly called upon, from what had passed with Robertson, to afford protection to the settlers, of whom he might have supposed a greater number to have been absent from the fort; that with these feelings, and apparently brave, but without military experience of any kind, and possibly induced by the representations of those around him, to entertain too contemptible an opinion of his opponents, he went out without any distinct view of the probable consequences, intending to act according to circumstances; and that on the two parties meeting, suddenly, irritated by the insolent address of Boucher, he made that assault upon him which naturally, whether he gave the order to fire or not, led to the melancholy events that occurred.

This view of the subject, although certainly not favourable to Governor Semple's character, either for judgment or command of temper, yet appears to me the only one that can be taken consistently with the facts proved; and from other circumstances, particularly the language of his correspondence, and his apparent vacillation respecting Robertson's proceedings, it might be inferred, that these particular qualities were what he was least remarkable for; that he was, in many respects, a man of

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talents, and, from the attachment of his people, of an amiable disposition, there can be little doubt.

The numbers killed and wounded on each side appear to have been:—one killed, and one wounded, on the part of the half-breeds; and one wounded, and twenty or one-and-twenty killed on that of the colonists; the latter has been the number generally mentioned, and sometimes even two-and-twenty; but Martin Jordan, one of the settlers (Deposition, No. 147,) states, that he had been informed, and believes, that the total number was twenty, exclusive of one man, who, having been drowned the day before, has been generally reckoned amongst those slain; which account appears confirmed by the declaration of the Indian, "Fils Kenis," that he saw twenty bodies, when he went next day to bring in part of them to the fort, and by the circumstance, that Alexander McBeath, who assisted to bury those which remained after the Indians had brought in nine, speaks in his deposition (No. 197,) positively only as to eleven bodies being found: In any case, however, the disparity between the numbers killed on the two sides is so great, as naturally to raise a suspicion, that the one party had massacred the other in cold blood, rather than that such could have been the result of a mutual contest. On a strict examination, I am inclined, however, to think, that such was by no means generally the case, but that the battle, having been begun, as already stated, by the colonists, continued till the whole either fell or ran off; and that, with the exception of the wounded, quarter was never asked by any but Pritchard and Rodgers; the contrary is, indeed, stated by Haydon; but his statement is positively denied by J. B. Lafontaine (Deposition, No. 217,) and indirectly so by Cuthbert Grant (No. 216,) whose account of the motive which led the settlers to take off their hats is certainly more consistent with general usage than Haydon's. Exclusive also of the inaccuracy of this witness, already mentioned, his present statement is not supported by any other evidence, and seems in some degree inconsistent with the general tenor of the depositions on his own side, and even with the fact stated by himself (Deposition, No. 190,) that he was preparing his gun, when called upon by Kilkenny to observe how few were left standing of their party. A similar statement is also made by the Indian, "Fils Kenis," respecting Dr. White, who accompanied Haydon in his escape, that he was actually aiming his gun at the moment he was first wounded. On a more mature consideration also of the respective cir-

cumstances of the parties, the one standing together in a crowd, unaccustomed to the use of fire arms, or any of the practices of irregular warfare, the other all excellent marksmen, advantageously posted in superior numbers around their opponents, and accustomed as huntsmen, and from their habits of Indian warfare, to every device that could tend to their own preservation, or the destruction of their enemy, the actual result can by no means be considered so extraordinary as it appears on a first and general view.

With regard to the massacre of the wounded there can be no doubt, independent of the universal report to that effect, and of the depositions directly establishing it (No. 149, 187, 204, and 216,) amongst others that of Cuthbert Grant (stating his fruitless efforts to prevent the same;) it is self-evident, that of those who fell, scarcely one half would in the first instance be mortally wounded; the ill usage and pillage of the dead bodies is also established by a mass of evidence (Depositions No. 195, 197, 198, 199, 200, 202, 207, 210, and 222.) which leaves no doubt on the subject.

These various acts of savage ferocity call loudly for some example! The selection of the proper objects for punishment may however be attended with some difficulty; possibly, in construction of law, the charge of murder may apply to the whole party as engaged in unlawful pursuits, which led to the commission of that crime by a part of their number; yet it would seem contrary to equity to push the principle to this extreme in a case where there were so many gradations of guilt, and some circumstances of extenuation even for many of the most criminal.

The time occupied by the whole affair, as it appears by the different depositions (No. 195, 200, 209 and 218,) which allude to this point, did not exceed a quarter of an hour, consequently as it may admit of doubt, whether the immediate act of escorting provisions by an armed force, in which the parties were engaged, was unlawful, the crime of all may perhaps in construction of law rather be deemed manslaughter than murder; more especially if the fact that the colonists were the assailants (of which I apprehend there can be little doubt) be admitted, and due allowance made for the disturbed and hostile state of the country, which the half-breeds at least appear sincerely to have attributed to the attacks of the opposite party. On the whole, the impression on my mind, after much reflection, is, that the persons whom it would be desirable to select for such punishment as the law may award, would

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be those individuals, either Canadians or half-breeds, who having had the advantage of a civilized education and religious instructions, may appear to have participated either in the massacre of the wounded, or those asking quarter, (if any other instance than that of Captain Rodgers does exist) or in the mal-treatment and pillage of the dead bodies; for with regard to those half-breeds who have never been out of the country, a further palliation of their crime is to be found in their half savage state, and in the general system of revenge recognized amongst the Indians, and so natural to all uncivilized nations; where the only security individuals can feel for themselves or their families, must be founded on a confidence that any injuries inflicted on them will be revenged by the body of the tribe at large, a principle which is well known to be carried by the Indians to the extent of refusing quarter almost universally to their conquered enemy; in whatever degree this consideration may however be conceived to palliate the fault of this portion of the half-breeds, in an equal degree must it attach moral criminality to those who collected for hostile purposes so savage a force.

Amongst the persons particularly mentioned in the depositions, as having participated in the more horrid crimes, is Francois Deschamps, a Canadian, who had three sons, (half-breeds) present with him in the battle, Francois, Joseph commonly called Grossetete, and a young lad whose name is not mentioned; exclusive of the doubtful charges already mentioned of their being the persons who dispatched Rodgers and Semple, Joseph Pelletier dit Assiniboin (Deposition, No. 204,) states positively, that he saw the father kill one of the wounded, and plunder the body of Governor Semple; he also mentions having seen the clothes of others in the possession of the sons; Charles Bellegrade (Deposition, No. 208,) states his having seen part of Governor Semple's clothes in the possession of Francois Deschamps, the son. Francois Enodit Delorme (Deposition, No. 113,) states that Bourassa and Priemeau, two of the half-breeds present at the battle, told him that it was old Deschamps and younger son who dispatched the wounded, having, as Bourassa said, remained behind by the advice of the two Haules and others; that he understood it was they also who had the largest share of the pillage, and that many of the half-breeds had told him, that old Deschamps had even taken off the bloody shirts, and was washing them till they themselves cried out shame on him; that he had also seen the hats of Governor Semple and Mr. Wilkinson in the possession of the

two elder sons of old Deschamps, of whom Francois stated in his presence that he had himself killed six, and his younger brother four persons; Soucisse also (Deposition, No. 219,) states, that it was universally reported that the cruelties committed after the battle were the acts of this man and his sons; and that the reports were apparently so well founded that he has no doubt of the truth thereof, and in consequence when he met the said Deschamps, he refused him his hand before a large party, and publicly assigned the reason; and that no one else has ever been named to him as having taken part in the said cruelties.

With regard to the number of bodies plundered, the evidence is contradictory; the greater number of witnesses speak however of their being generally so; but on the other hand, few persons are named as having partaken of these spoils. Pierre St. Germain (Deposition, No. 224,) who gives the fullest evidence on this point, states that he saw Lacerte wearing a watch and silk sash, which he believed to have been the governor's; that one Allard had on Mr. McLean's sword and cap; that one Cotonohaye had the governor's double-barrelled gun; that another, whose name he does not recollect, had his pistols; and that he recognized several articles of the clothes of the gentlemen killed, worn by other half-breeds.

Francis Boucher, in his examination (No. 214) states, that Vasseur, in whose care Governor Semple was, after the battle brought away his sash, watch and pistols. Joseph Hupe (Deposition, No. 205,) states, that he saw Michael Bourassa strip the breeches off one body, and endeavoured in vain to prevent it. At the Indian council it was stated, that one Sacastan, a half-breed from Fort des Prairies, on the Saskatchewan river; wore the coat of Dr. White, one of those killed; and it seemed to be the general opinion of the Indians, that it was the half-breeds from a distance who had carried away most of the articles so plundered. Pritchard also states, that these were the parties who generally appeared to him the most violent.

Against Cuthbert Grant or Alexander Fraser, the two principal North-West clerks of the half-breeds party, there have been no charges made before me of participating either in the plunder or any of the outrages committed. With regard to Fraser, it appears, both by Anthony McDonnell's deposition (No. 193) and by that of Michael Haydon (No. 190) that the former (one of the few persons whose lives were preserved) was made prisoner by Fraser; it is also stated by John Pritchard (Deposition, No. 187) that having, on some alarm of the settlers respect-

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ing the safety of their women, applied to Grant and Fraser for a safeguard; they immediately assured them thereof. And with regard to Grant, the various depositions (Nos. 196, 198, 199, 200, 202, 210, and 224) which mention instances of his justice and humanity, form such a body of evidence in his favour as show, that in the opinion even of his adversaries, he would not be the fit object to select for an example, four of the witnesses attributing to his exertions alone the prevention of much further bloodshed. A similar opinion may also be still more certainly inferred from the original draughts filed by Daniel McKenzie (Deposition, No. 267, marks B. and C.) of letters written by him to Grant shortly after the period of his own submission to the Earl of Selkirk, and corrected and re-corrected by Miles McDonnell, for the purpose of inducing Grant in like manner to make his submission and become a witness; these papers certainly render the subsequent offers which Grant in his deposition (No. 216) states to have been made to him, more probable than they would otherwise appear; offers, which if certainly established, would show that a change of party was, in the opinion of his opponents, all that was required to entitle Grant to rewards instead of punishments. On the present charge bills of indictment for murder were found at the Court of Oyer and Terminer, held in February last at Montreal, against Cuthbert Grant, Alexander Fraser, Michael Burassa, Antoine Houle, and twelve other half-breeds or Canadian servants, as principals; against Alexander McDonnell, Allan McDonnell, John Siveright, Seraphim Lamar and Peter Pangman, as accessaries before the fact; and Archibald Norman McLeod, Alexander McKenzie, thirteen other partners, and five clerks or interpreters of the North-West company, as accessaries after the fact.

On the 22d
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The colony was a second time broken up, and the settlers proceeded on the afternoon of that day from Fort Douglas to Lake Winipic. It appears by the depositions of John Pritchard (No. 187) and Alexander McDonnell, the colony sheriff, (No. 195) that Cuthbert Grant and the other half-breed leaders, taking advantage of the dismay excited amongst the settlers by the fatal event of the 19th June, induced the persons in charge of the colony, by threats of a general massacre, to agree to give up Fort Douglas, with all the property therein, except what belonged to private individuals, and to quit the Red River; this agreement was accordingly carried into effect, an inventory of the property being first taken, and signed by Cuthbert Grant, as a clerk of the North-West company.

By various depositions, (Nos. 196, 198, 199, 200, 202, and 204) which mention Grant's exertions to prevent further bloodshed, it appears also, that he stated his having orders for all that he had done, and that he had not acted with so much severity as he had been ordered to do.

These declarations tend to raise some suspicions that private instructions had been given to Grant, independent of those already mentioned as having been publicly given by Alexander McDonnell to the party of half-breeds, on leaving the Portage des Prairies; a supposition which is rendered the more probable by the general violence of McDonnell's conduct as a partizan; at the same time, there is no other evidence of the fact than the declarations of Grant, who might very possibly have used expressions of this kind, in the double view of deterring the settlers from returning hereafter; and by keeping up at the time a general feeling of alarm, of preventing disputes and collision of any kind with the other half-breeds; both which objects he appears by the depositions to have had in view, and to have had some difficulty in giving effect to the latter.

By the deposition of John Pritchard (No. 187) it appears, that about the time the settlers were ready to depart, Grant stated, he had received an order from Mr. Alexander McDonnell, the North-West partner at Portage des Prairies, to detain them till his arrival; that he (Pritchard) entreated him in vain to allow them to depart; but on Mr. Sheriff McDonnell's observing, that he plainly saw Mr. Alexander McDonnell wanted to rob Grant of the honour of the day, Grant's pride was hurt, and he declared in an intemperate manner, that he would keep his word in spite of the said Alexander McDonnell, and immediately desired them to depart. In the deposition of Michael Haydon (No. 189) and John Bourke (No. 201) taken at Montreal, it is stated by both, that nearly all the private property was plundered, contrary to the agreement that had been entered into. This complaint was not, however, made before me at Red River by the sheriff McDonnell, who was in charge of the colony, nor by the settlers themselves; nor, as already observed, was it then repeated by Haydon, who, on the contrary says, in his deposition (No. 190) taken before me, "the settlers all embarked, being allowed to take away their own private property;" the probability is, therefore, that the instances of private plunder were few, and chiefly exercised towards individuals who were particularly obnoxious as partizans; the only instances I find particularly specified

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are those of a horse of Colin Robertson's, which Nolin in his deposition (No. 210) states to have been taken from him by Francois Deschamps the younger; the blanket of Michael Haydon, before mentioned; and a gun and sword, taken from P. L. St. Germain, a clerk of the colony, by Anthony Houle. Germain states in his deposition (No. 224,) that he complained to Grant on this occasion, but was told by him, that he had no right to have any arms.

John Farquharson, a servant of the colony, states that having had a fowling piece, his own property, taken from him, he applied to Grant for redress, who caused it to be returned, but told him, at the same time, to be very careful in his conduct with the half-breeds, as their orders from Mr. McDonnell were to kill every one of them, man, woman and child, and that their lives were in his hands. Louis Blondeau, in his deposition (No. 171,) speaks of the articles plundered, which he saw at Bas de la Riviere in the possession of two of the half-breeds party, and which they stated to have been taken from the colonists; by his previous deposition (No. 170.) there appears however, little doubt, that the articles in question were taken from the public stores which had been delivered up as before-mentioned.

On the 25th
June 1816.

Archibald Norman McLeod, one to the principal agents of the North-West company, a partner in the mercantile establishment at Montreal, and a magistrate for the Indian territories, arrived at Fort Douglas, accompanied by Alexander McKenzie, John Thomson, James Leith, John McDonald, Hugh McGillies, John McLaughlin, Simon Fraser, Robert Henry, Archibald McLellan, John Duncan Campbell, and John Haldane, partners; and Thomas McMurray, a partner or clerk of the company. He there found Alexander McDonnell, a partner of the company, with Allan McDonnell, then a clerk, now a partner, and John Siveright and Seraphim Lamar, clerks, together with Cuthbert Grant, and the other half-breeds, in possession of the place. It appears that after sending off the party of half-breeds on the 18th June, Alexander McDonnell continued at his encampment at the Portage des Prairies, and on the evening of the 20th, received intelligence of the death of Governor Semple and his people. It is stated by P. O. Pamburn, in his deposition No. 172 and 173, that on the receipt of this news, Alexander McDonnell and all the gentlemen with him (particularly Seraphim Lamar, Allan McDonnell, and John Siveright) shouted with joy; that Alexander McDonnell then went to announce the news to the rest of his people, crying

out, "Saere nom de Dieu, bonnes nouvelles, vingt-deux "Anglais tues;" that Peter Pangman then inquired, "whether any of the half-breeds had been killed," and on being told of one, he said, "the deceased was his cousin, "and that his death must be revenged; that the settlers "must all be killed, and not one allowed to leave the river, "for that as long as one of those dogs was alive, they "would be coming back."

Andre Trotter, the half-breed who carried the intelligence to McDonnell's camp, was subsequently brought before me on behalf of the Earl of Selkirk, and stated what passed (Deposition, No. 225.) as follows: that his brother, Joseph Trotter, having been wounded in the affair of the 19th June, sent him to inform his father and mother at river La Souris thereof; that on his arrival near the encampment he was met by Mr. Alexander McDonnell, who had with him Seraphim Lamar and Bostonois Pangman, and asked him "what news," to which he answered, "we fought yesterday;" and that being further questioned, he answered, "that there were twenty-two of the English killed, and on their side his brother wounded, and a half-breed of the name of Batoche, killed." Whereupon Mr. McDonnell shouted with joy, and went to the camp to inform his people of the news, whilst he himself (Trotter) looked out for a place to pass the night, and slept under shelter of a cart, neither supping nor having any further conversation of consequence with any one, owing to his anxiety respecting his brother.

This person was again brought before me, on behalf of the North-West company, when he stated (Deposition, No. 226) in addition to the circumstances already mentioned, that he had told Mr. McDonnell that the English had come and attacked them, and that it was immediately after his mentioning the small number of killed and wounded on their side, that McDonnell shouted for joy, and went towards the camp, accompanied by Lamar and Bostonois, who were alone present at the foregoing conversation, which took place at the distance of about ten arpens or more from the camp, and was the only one (he, Trotter) had with McDonnell. The account given by Seraphim Lamar, of this occurrence (Deposition, No. 161,) is, that on Trotter's mentioning that a battle had taken place, and twenty-two English had been killed, Mr. McDonnell said to him, "why did you not keep at a quarter "distance as I ordered you;" to which Trotter replied, "we kept out as far as we could, as will be seen by the "footsteps of our horses, who were up to their bellies in

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"the swamp;"—and, "how many," added McDonnell, "are killed on your side;" "one," replied Trotter, "and my brother has his leg broken;" "so much the better then," said McDonnell, "we have with the bad news always some good;" but his shouting with joy, Lamar declares he cannot recollect. On the whole, whichever account may be most correct, there can be little doubt that Alexander McDonnell showed on this occasion, his feelings of triumph in a very indecent manner, particularly considering the nature of the contest; several other instances of his violence have also been stated before me, which sufficiently confirms the character given him by John Pritchard, (Deposition, No. 123,) of being "a violent partizan, little scrupulous in the measures he adopted, and at the same time, much irritated against the Hudson's Bay company's servants, owing to the death of a brother, who had been killed in an affray respecting an Indian debt some years back." Joseph Pelletier (Deposition, No. 204,) states, that at the period the half-breeds erected a battery in 1815, near the colonial fort, Alexander McDonnell came and informed them, that it was Cameron's order that if Miles McDonnell did not surrender, they should heat the cannon balls (which by other depositions, appear to have been forged by one Henaault, the blacksmith of the North-West company,) red hot, and by that means set fire to the houses; that the half-breeds told him, it was a pity to kill so many people to make prisoner of one, and that they would rather wait till night and break open the doors; to which he replied, "my children, you will get yourselves killed;" but left them without coming to any decision, and that the next morning Miles McDonnell surrendered himself. The most decisive proofs of Alexander McDonnell's violence, are however to be found in two of his intercepted letters, proved before me (Depositions No. 335 and 337,) addressed to Archibald McLellar; in the former whereof, dated Fort William, 30 July 1816, he states, "you have learned ere now, that you are appointed to the post of honour; you have his Lordship to oppose in person; his numbers are formidable, but I think they will be thinner by the time they get to the Red River;" and the latter, dated Qui Appelle, 7 December 1816, "I hope Lac la Pluie will be the last place taken without the satisfaction of self-defence, and I hope you are confident, as long as I can *crawl*, my feeble aid and assistance shall be devoted to the rights of the North-West company. "In my general letter, I have urged our friends to send

“forward early reinforcements for our protection, and
 “we will concert together what steps to be taken; mark
 “what I tell you, that his Lordship shall—dear and dear
 “indeed for his conduct; I will say no more on paper.—
 “but there—some fine places on the river Ormpique.”
 These letters, particularly the latter, have been produced
 on behalf of the Earl of Selkirk, as showing the existence
 of plans against his life, which are further confirmed by
 the deposition of John Bourke, (No. 201,) who states
 that he overheard a conversation between Alexander Mc-
 Donnell, Hugh McGillis, and other partners of the North-
 West company, which took place near where he was laid
 down to sleep, and wherein the said Alexander McDon-
 nell said, “The sending down the half-breeds was cer-
 “tainly carrying things to an extremity;” and afterwards,
 as by way of accounting for what had happened; “but
 “it can be said that these people (meaning Governor Sem-
 “ple and the persons with him) went out to attack them
 “(meaning the half-breeds) and met their fate;” and af-
 terwards, speaking of Lord Selkirk’s intention to visit
 Red River, by the way of *Fond du Lac*, the said Alexander
 McDonnell said, “the half-breeds will take him whilst he
 “is asleep, early in the morning;” and he afterwards said,
 “they” (meaning, as he understood, the North-West com-
 pany) “can get Bostonois,” (meaning an Indian of the
 half-breeds, well known for his crimes) to shoot him;”
 and that in the course of the same conversation, he heard
 the word “stab” used, but cannot say with reference to
 whom; that the next morning he told what he had heard
 to Patrick Corcoran, and afterwards mentioned it to
 Michael Haydan; the statement of this letter on the sub-
 ject, has already been noticed, but in Corcoran’s deposi-
 tion, it is not alluded to. The whole evidence appears
 certainly to raise some suspicion against McDonnell, at
 the same time, allowing for the very possible misunder-
 standing of a conversation overheard in the way men-
 tioned by Bourke. I do not perceive in his statement
 (which at the same time it must be recollected, is that of
 a person who from the inconsistency of his testimony, as
 to the general plunder of private property by the half-
 breeds, with the other evidence on this point, appears lia-
 ble to the imputation of not being a very accurate wit-
 ness,) nor in the letters of McDonnell, any thing that
 might not apply to a plan of open attack, nearly as well
 as to a supposition of intended assassination. Whilst
 however it might be incorrect, on such testimony, to at-
 tach the suspicion of so foul a crime to any one, the con-

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sideration of this charge has certainly increased my regret, that the warrant I issued against McDonnell, could not be executed, owing to his previous and unexpected escape into the interior from Bas de la Riviere, where I met him, as I supposed, on his way to Fort William, in July last; this flight certainly adds to the suspicions against McDonnell, and combined with all other circumstances, calls for the most vigorous measures to bring him to his trial. A similar observation appears to me also to apply to the case of Archibald Norman McLeod, against whom I likewise conceived it my duty to issue a warrant, which I sent to Mr. Fletcher at Fort William, but this also failed to be executed, owing to the very short stay he (McLeod) made at that place, or at Montreal, from whence he proceeded to England.

It appears by the depositions of Mr. William McGillivray (No. 373), as also by that of Frederick Damien Hueter (No. 235), formerly a serjeant of the regiment De Meuron, who had engaged as a clerk in the service of the North-West company, but afterwards quitted the same, and has become a partizan of the Earl of Selkirk; that McLeod proceeded from Montreal early in May 1816, accompanied by Mr. Alexander McKenzie, a former agent of the North-West company, and several other wintering partners and clerks, in charge of three light canoes; Mr. McGillivray, in a detailed account annexed to his deposition, states that expedition was prepared in consequence of an express having arrived at Montreal in March preceding, with intelligence of the seizure of the persons of Duncan Cameron and Seraphim Lamar, in October 1815, by Colin Robertson; of his having taken possession of the North-West post, and carried away all the arms and ammunition found therein; violences which were likely to produce the most injurious effects to the trade of the North-West company, by raising a prejudice against their partners and servants in all the interior country; and that the objects of the expedition were to afford security for the company's property in the interior, particularly at the great pass, the mouth of the river Winnipic; to preserve the depot of provisions on Red River, and if possible to get them conveyed to Bas de la Riviere, in the usual manner for supplying the men and canoes from the northern departments: That having been unable to prevent government's giving a military guard to Lord Selkirk, they applied for leave of absence for two subaltern officers of the De Meuron regiment, which being obtained, these two gentlemen, accompanied Mr. McLeod; that on

arriving at Fort William on the 29th May, Mr. McLeod learned that the North-West posts at the forks of the Red River and at Pembina, had been again seized by the Hudson's Bay company's party, as had also the annual express of the North-West company; that upon receiving this intelligence, Mr. McLeod sent orders to Fond du Lac, to seize the express one Legimmonieree was conveying for the Earl of Selkirk to Red River; and which he had twice previously passed on the road; and in consequence of the proceedings of the opposite party on the Red River, he desired Mr. Grant and Mr. Morrison (elsewhere mentioned as clerks of the North-West company in that quarter) to endeavour to get a party of the Fond du Lac Indians to proceed to the Red River, in order to give a countenance to the North-West party; that after dispatching these orders, Mr. McLeod proceeded for the interior, and at Lac la Pluie, stating to the Indians that his object was to preserve the property of the North-West company from plunder, twenty of them accompanied him; that he was here also joined by Mr. Leith, with one additional canoe, and at Bas de la Riviere with two others from Fort des Prairies, and learnt at this latter place, that Duncan Cameron had been sent to Hudson's Bay with all the canoes and fins belonging to the North-West company; that from hence he proceeded to Red River, with about sixty to seventy armed men; that a little above the Riviere aux Morts, about forty miles below the Forks, he met a brigade of boats, which were at first supposed to contain the North-West company's servants as prisoners, and the canoes in consequence put on shore, and the men landed with their arms; but on a nearer approach, they were discovered to be the colonists, proceeding with a written protection from Cuthbert Grant; that Mr. McLeod returned to the encampment at the Riviere aux Morts, and immediately set on foot an investigation respecting the capture of the forts at Pembina and the Forks, with the property there, and on the information obtained, caused Mr. Sheriff McDonnell to be arrested on an affidavit by Mr. John Pritchard: John Bourke was likewise arrested, and Michael Haydon, Corcoran and McKay were down, as also Pritchard, under subpoena; that on McDonnell's representation that he was the *only officer* with the colonists, and that his presence was absolutely necessary to enable them to proceed, he was admitted to bail, and conducted the colonists to Jack River, whilst Mr. McLeod went up to the Forks, after supplying them with some provisions; that at the Forks Mr.

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McLeod met the half-breeds and Indians, and there found that the whole buildings and pickets of the North-West post had either been removed or burnt, by the orders of Governor Semple; that he pitched his tent on the place, and made a speech to the Indians, assuring them and the brules, that so long as the North-West company was supported and countenanced by them, no other person should ever dispossess the concern of the trade; that Mr. McLeod directed the North-West post to be rebuilt on the old site; to which the brules objected, saying, that as Fort Douglas was built of timber plundered from the North-West company, the latter had a right to it; besides it had been given to them by the settlers, and belonged to them; that McLeod having no means of acting contrary to their consent and convenience, left some of the North-West company's servants to finish Fort Douglas, which was still incomplete; that an armed schooner, called the *Cwthullin*, intended to scour Lake Winnipic of all the North-West company's canoes, to the command of which Lieut. Holt had been appointed, was, it is believed, destroyed after Mr. McLeod reached the Forks; that the party under Mr. McLeod then proceeded towards the north of Lake Winnipic, to protect the canoes from Athabascers, which it was believed were to be attacked in the way out; this was not however attempted, and they were met about two thirds distance over the lake, after which Mr. McLeod and the other partners of the North-West company returned to Fort William.

Together with this statement, to which he of course depones only from information and belief, Mr. William McGillivray has also annexed to his deposition a paper, containing some details respecting the general mode of trading with the Indians, and of the dangers attending the same: the principal facts stated therein are, that it is not an unusual thing to force the amount of their debts from such Indians as will not pay: that within his own remembrance, upwards of fifty men of all ranks, including one partner and many clerks of the North-West company, have lost their lives by the hands of the Indians: that these crimes have generally gone unpunished; but that in five instances within his knowledge, they have been retaliated upon the men committing the acts as the only means of self-preservation: that in all cases where Indians have been killed by Canadians, of which he recollects only four instances the criminals have been sent out of the country: that in 1799, he sent to Montreal a man of the name of Fornir, accused of killing two Indians, after

an affray occasioned by a party of Indians attempting to steal the horses of the fort, and his case was reported to the then Attorney-General, (the present Chief Justice of the province,) but that after upwards of twelve months confinement, he believes he was discharged: that in 1803, two Canadians, Comptois and Rondeau, having killed a man and woman on Lake Superior, although the woman had destroyed two of the servants of the North-West company, the preceding year, yet he sent them to the commanding officer of St. Joseph's in irons, who sent them forward to Amherstburgh, when they were discharged by the magistrates; from the whole of these instances, he infers the personal danger constantly incurred by individuals living in the Indian country; That the lives of the natives have never been wantonly destroyed: that there is an absolute necessity in many cases, and thence is naturally formed the general principle on which the traders act, of holding themselves always prepared to defend by their own exertions their persons and property from the attack of every nature. This principle of self-defence was also maintained by Mr. William McGillivray, on his examination, (No. 239,) when arrested by the Earl of Selkirk, (his answers on which occasion have been filed by himself,) and is further extended to that of retaliation; he does not, however, contend, that this latter principle is justifiable by law; but says, that he knows not in what other way a man is to act in a country that is in the state of the North-West or interior country, to protect his property; the same principle is still more unreservedly acknowledged in an intercepted letter from Mr. McGillivray, of the 23d July 1816, to Archibald McLellan, wherein he says, "Wherever you go, take care of your-
"self, firmness and decision is essential in your situation,
"but let not your warm temper hurry you into unneces-
"sary scrapes; we profess to act on the defensive, and
"really do, but remember the injuries last winter sus-
"tained have been amply repaid, and that we should not
"attempt any thing more without some fresh aggression,
"when no doubt retaliation should form part of your sys-
"tem, otherways we cannot be respected or do justice to
"our rights." It might perhaps be a matter of some difficulty to determine, in what degree the peculiar situation of parties in the Indian country, (when distant from the control and protection of the law, the traders are frequently compelled in their intercourse with the Indians, and sometimes with each other, to adopt in miniature principles which govern independent states,) may or may

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not render the adoption of measures of retaliation sometimes necessary, and as such, more or less excusable, if not justifiable; there can, however, be no doubt beyond all bounds of moderation, of this various proofs will be found in their intercepted letters, depositions, No. 168, 218, and 240, exclusive of those which have already been extracted in the present statement. The following additional details respecting McLeod's expedition, are given in the depositions filed on behalf of the Earl of Selkirk. Frederick De Huerter, in his deposition (No. 235,) states that he and Charles Reinhard, serjeants in the late regiment DeMeuron, were engaged as clerks by the North-West company; and that before leaving Montreal, A. N. McLeod told him he must by all means take his regimentals with him to the Indian country, saying, "We shall have occasion to shew a little military practice in the interior:" that at Fort William he and Charles Reinhard were directed to go into a store, and choose arms for themselves, which they did accordingly: that at Lac-la-Pluie he and Reinhard were told by Lieutenant Missani, that it was Mr. McLeod's wish that they should put on their regimentals, which they accordingly did; and Mr. McLeod observed, that, Lac-la-Pluie was a great place of resort of Indians, "and it is necessary "you should all appear in regimentals, to show that you "belong to the King:" that at Bas-de la Riviere Winipic, he was again told by Lieutenant Missani, that it was Mr. McLeod's desire he should wear his uniform, which he accordingly did: that at this place the men were all armed, (although they showed great reluctance thereto) and provided with ball and cartridge; and two brass field-pieces (the property of the Earl of Selkirk) were embarked in a bateau, and the whole party proceeded to Red River: that at the River aux Morts he and Reinhard were ordered by McLeod and Alexander McKenzie aforesaid, to take charge of the two field pieces, and prepare cartridges for them; and that the said Alexander McKenzie told him, that was the place where the arrangements were to be made for the attack upon the colony; and on his remarking that their force was too weak to make an attack; the said McKenzie replied, that they were not weak, that they then expected all the brigades from the north; that Mr. John McDonnell was to come from Swan river with about forty men to form the rear-guard, and that there was another McDonnell to come down from Qui Appelle Riviere, with at least eighty half-breeds, who were to make the first attack on the colony: that after waiting a

day or two, as he believes, for the arrival of the canoes expected from the north, they set out on the 23d June without them for the colony: that shortly after meeting with the colonists, a strict search was ordered to be made for papers among their baggage, by Mr. McLeod, which was executed by himself; C. Reinhard and other clerks opening all trunks, boxes and packages, under the direction of the said McLeod and Alexander McKenzie, who took possession of all letters, papers or account-books found therein; that this, as he believes, was done without any search-warrant, that no keys being found for the trunks of the late Governor Semple, Mr. McLeod ordered them to be broken open, which was accordingly done by Thomas McMurray, a clerk of the North-West company. That Lieutenants Missani and Brumby went up to Fort Douglas, and returned the next day, together with Alexander McKenzie. That having ordered some men to bale the water out of the boat where the two field-pieces were, Lieutenant Missani said to him in the German language, "Don't uncover the artillery, we don't wish these people" (meaning the settlers) to see the guns that we have with "us;" and on another occasion, as he was setting a flint to his gun, Lieutenant Missani told him he ought not to allow himself to be seen by the settlers with a gun in his hand, whilst he was dressed in his uniform. That during this and the ensuing day they were joined by several other partners of the North-West company. That on the 24th Lieutenant Missani and Brumby set out with Mr. Hughes, a partner of the North-West company, for Fort William, and the settlers were also allowed to depart. That on the 25th he proceeded to Fort Douglas with A. N. McLeod, Alexander McKenzie, James Leith, John Haldine, Hugh McGillis, Archibald McLellan, John McLaughlin, John McDonald, John Duncan Campbell, Robert Henry, John Thompson and Simon Fraser, partners of the North-West company. That at Fort Douglas they were received with discharges of artillery and small arms, the place being in possession of Alexander McDonnell, partner of the said company, having under his command Cuthbert Grant, Alexander Fraser, Roderick McKenzie, Thomas McKay, Bostonois Pangman Lacerte, Antoine Houle, Michael Bourrassa and Montour, half-breeds, clerks or interpreters in the employment of the company, and a great number of other half-breeds and servants of the said North-West company. That he saw McLeod and his partners take the same management and direction of the fort, and make the same use of the property it contained, as he had ob-

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served them to do to any of the posts belonging to the North-West company. That the half-breeds were entirely under their order and control, and as subservient to their commands as he had observed any other clerks or servants of the company to be, and on this occasion were received and treated by Mr. McLeod and his partners as faithful servants, who had rendered a most important service to the North-West company, by which they were employed. That he saw A. N. McLeod, in presence of Alexander McKenzie, John McLaughlin and most of their partners, call such of the half-breeds and others as were not usually at table with the partners, into a room adjoining the public apartment, when he shook them one by one heartily by the hand, gave them each a dram, expressed the happiness he felt at seeing them, and thanked them for what they had achieved, and for their attachment to the North-West company. That the next day the half-breeds and servants of the company were assembled behind the principal house of Fort Douglas, when the said Archibald Norman McLeod, in presence of Alexander McKenzie, John McLaughlin and most of his partners above-named, made a speech, in which he told the half-breeds who had been engaged in the affair of the 19th June, that he was very happy to see them assembled there, that they had defended themselves and their lands well, that the English had no right whatever to build upon their lands without their permission; that he had brought with him clothing for forty of them; that he did not expect to meet so many of them there, but that the rest should receive the like articles on the arrival of the canoes in the fall. That he then exhorted them to continue to defend their lands, and to prevent the English from coming into the river any more. That after this speech this said McLeod went, accompanied by Alexander McKenzie and all his partners, the half-breeds and others, on horseback, to the forts, where he made a speech through an interpreter, named Joseph Promaux, to two Saulteur chiefs, named Peguise and L'Homme Noir, or the black man, and their bands, in which he reproached them for having refused to take up arms against the colony when called upon so to do, and for having allowed the English to take Duncan Cameron, and send him away prisoner; that he called them a band of dogs, and threatened to punish them very severely if they ever dared to befriend the English again.

Pamburn, in his depositions, (No. 172. and 173,) states, that at this period he saw the same partners, as mentioned by Hunter, at Fort Douglas, with the exception of Robert

Henry and John Thompson; and he adds the names of Thomas McMurray, a partner or clerk, and Alex. McDonnell, then a clerk now a partner, as also in his first deposition, (apparently by mistake) that of James Hughes. He further states that he saw the whole of the partners go to the council held with the half-breeds, to whom McLeod made a speech, and gave presents; but that he was stopped as he was going to the assembly; that when the partners were assembled at table, he has at different times heard several of the half-breeds mention their having killed and assisted in killing the colonists; and that the partners always expressed themselves pleased with what had been done; and that he has also at different times, heard every one of the partners mentioned by him, express his approbation of the conduct of the half-breeds towards the colonists; and their own satisfaction at being in possession of the fort; and he further deposes, positively, that Alexander McDonnell, being absent at the time of the attack upon the colony of Red River, wherein Governor Semple and many of the colonists were killed; and whereby the said colonists were driven away from Red River, did yet procure, counsel and abet the same before the fact; and that the said Alexander McDonnell, and the other partners of the North-West company named by him, together with John Siveright and Seraphim Lamar, knowing of the said attack upon the colony, the death of the said Semple and the colonists, and the expulsion of the colony, did shortly after the said facts, and knowing the same to have been committed, approve of, encourage, relieve, comfort and assist the said half-breeds and Canadian servants, who had declared themselves to have committed the aforesaid crimes. He further states, that having been taken down against his will to Fort William, instead of being allowed to go to Jack River after the colonists, he saw there several of the half-breeds and Canadian servants of the North-West company, who had acknowledged in his presence that they were concerned in the attack upon the colony, and in killing the said Governor Semple and the colonists; and that some of those who had been engaged in the said attack against the colony, and who had not received presents at Red River, received at Fort William aforesaid, presents of clothing of the same description as those given at Red River; and informed him that the same was an extraordinary allowance given for their good conduct at Red River, and bestowed only upon those present on that occasion. Aug Lavyngge, Monstouche Beankero, and Joseph

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Peltier, in their depositions (No. 229, 230 and 231) speak of the presents made to the half-breeds by McLeod, and of his having made them a speech, the substance whereof, as far as stated by them, agrees pretty nearly with what is stated by Huerter. Joseph Peltier dit Assiniboine, adds also, that he is very certain McLeod thanked them in the name of the government for what they had done, and stated that two officers of government had come up to see what had taken place; and that these officers allowed they were right to defend their lands; and that he further told them they were to remain, in order to prevent the colonists from returning; and that they would on that account be exempt from their usual voyage to Fort William; an arrangement, which it appears by the intercepted letters of Cuthbert Grant and Alexander McDonnell, extracted by Colin Robertson, in his deposition (No. 167.) was by them contemplated as early as March preceding. Peltier further deposes to the reproaches made by McLeod to the Saulteur Indians, and to his taking from them a barrel of gunpowder, and bag of shot, which they had received as presents from Governor Semple. These depositions, though with some modifications, are for the most part confirmed by those filed on the opposite side. Seraphim Lamar, in his deposition (No. 161.) speaks of the dresses distributed by McLeod amongst the half-breeds; but says that it was not an extraordinary recompence for the battle, but given to those who wanted clothes, the equipment of clothes not having been furnished regularly the year before, from the disturbed state of the country. He mentions also the general meeting of the half-breeds with McLeod, but says it was for the purpose of his reading to them the answers of the gentlemen of the North-West company, at Montreal, to the letter which the half-breeds had written to them in 1815, in order that they should present a request in their name to the governor in chief, that they might not be molested in the enjoyment of their lands. Cuthbert Grant, in his deposition (No. 216.) states also, that after the first expulsion of the colony in 1815, an address had been prepared to the governor of Lower Canada, on behalf of the half-breeds, to inquire of government whether Captain Miles McDonnell, who had called himself governor, had any authority over them or the Indians, of whom four signed the said address, or any right to possess himself of the lands, and deprive them of their accustomed rights, in order that if it was so, the half-breeds might withdraw themselves to the Missouri,

and trade with the Americans there; that a letter was also written about the same time, to the agent of the North-West company at Fort William, to inquire their opinion as to the pretended rights of the said colony, over the lands at Red River: that to this letter an answer was given verbally, by Mr. Archibald N. McLeod, at the forks of Red River, on the present occasion, to the effect that the colonists had no right over the lands, and still less to deprive the half-breeds of their accustomed rights therein; and that with respect to the address to government, he has inquired but could never obtain any satisfactory information.' Alexander McDonnell, the colony sheriff, John Pritchard, Donald McKay, Patrick Coreoran, Michael Haydon, and John Bourke, in their depositions (Nos. 195, 187, 193, 237, 189, 190, and 201,) detail various circumstances of hardship and violence to which themselves and the other settlers were exposed, on meeting Mr. McLeod. In addition to the circumstances stated by Huerter, Alexander McDonnell deposes, that he was required to make an oath, that he himself would never return to Red River, nor those under his charge; but that positively refusing, he was ultimately allowed to go free with the remainder of the people; also, that McLeod having taken, amongst other papers, the colonial account book, he requested him to restore it, as the same could be of no service to him; whereupon he answered, "it is "of no service to me, but I will keep it to distress you." Pritchard, McKay, Coreoran, Haydon, and Bourke, concur in stating, that they were all made prisoners. It does not however appear that at Fort William they were treated as such, with the exception of Bourke and Haydon; the former of whom states, that on leaving Bas de la Riviere, he was put in irons, and that all his clothes were taken from him, together with his watch and a pocket case of mathematical instruments; and that in this situation he was placed on the top of the baggage in the canoe, without any attention being paid to his wound, and was conveyed to Fort William, where he was confined during twenty days, in a close prison. Haydon states, that during the first ten days after his arrival at Fort William, he was allowed to walk freely about, but was afterwards confined in consequence, he believes, of a communication made by him to one Chatelain, hereinbefore mentioned; having subsequently to this visit, been committed to prison after a very slight inquiry, in which he acknowledged being present at the capture of Mr. Cameron's post; and on his remonstrating with Mr. McGilliv-

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ray for confining him, whilst Corcoran and McKay who had been in the same business, were left at liberty, he was answered by that gentleman, that he had shown himself of late a bitter enemy to the North-West company. Pritchard states, that on meeting McLeod's party, Mr. Hughes asked them, "where is that fellow Semple," to which Sheriff McDonnell replied, "he is dead;" the same circumstance is confirmed by Corcoran and Haydon, who likewise mention Robertson's being asked for; and, as Haydon states, in the opprobrious term, whether "the 'rascal and scoundrel Robertson was in the boats.'" Pritchard further states, that the tent into which he was put, was guarded by Serjeant Reinhard, and another serjeant, both late of De Meuron's regiment; that one of them told him they no longer belonged to the said regiment, but were clerks in the service of the North-West company; but that he must keep that a secret, by which he understood that the object of their employers was to induce the Indians and people of the country, to believe that these serjeants were still in the King's service, and that the North-West company had the sanction of government for their proceedings, a belief into which he himself was for a time almost misled, from seeing the said serjeants, some privates, and two officers, in the English uniform amongst the North-West company's people. That at Riviere aux Morts he was examined by Mr. McLeod, in presence of Messrs. Leith, McLellan, and McMurray, his partners, where Mr. Leith put into his hand a note, stating, that if he gave information he should not be prosecuted, as principals could not be admitted as evidence; whereupon he told the said McLeod that he did not wish to hide any thing. That William Shaw, with his party of half-breeds, was with McLeod at Riviere aux Morts, and that after McLeod's return, Primeau, one of the most violent of the half-breeds concerned in the massacre, was placed as guard over a bateau, which conveyed three prisoners to Bas de la Riviere, whilst himself and Corcoran were conveyed in a canoe guarded by Reinhard: that at Bas de la Riviere, a party of half-breeds put irons upon the hands of Bourke, saying, they did it of their own accord, as a punishment for his treatment of Mr. D. Cameron, of the North-West company; but that it could scarcely have been done without the sanction of the partners of the North-West company; and its cruelty was much aggravated by Bourke's being thereby disabled from dressing a wound, which he had received at Red River, and which was still in a bad state. That from Bas de la

Riviere, he himself was conveyed part of the way under the guard of Fraser, the half-breed chief, who had been one of the commanders at the massacre; that whilst at Bas de la Riviere, intelligence being brought that Miles McDonnell was coming in from Canada, some cannon of which the colony had been deprived by the North-West company, was planted there under the superintendence of Serjeant Reinhard, by order of Archibald McLellan, a partner of the North-West company, so as to command the navigation of the river. Corcoran, Haydon, and Bourke, all concur in accounts of the marked attention with which the half-breeds were treated by Mr. McLeod and his partners; and of their being employed to guard themselves as prisoners. Corcoran also states, that he was informed by one Edward Kane, that the half-breeds had scalped Governor Semple, and had given his scalp to Archibald Norman McLeod, who had it then in his possession. Haydon further states, that Mr. McLeod questioned him as to the particulars of what had happened at Red River; and after hearing them, said they were all lies, and that he would have him taken to Fort William and put in irons, to make him tell the truth; and that at the period the settlers were detained by McLeod during two days, they had not provisions sufficient for a greater part of their journey to Hudson's Bay.

On the last fact, it may however be proper to observe on my own knowledge, that from the abundance of fish at that season, there could not be any material danger of famine, as also with regard to the statement made by Kane respecting Governor Semple's having been scalped; that it is supported by no other evidence whatsoever, although it is very improbable if such had been the fact, that it should not have been remarked by those who buried the body. In Bourke's deposition, speaking of the conversation overheard by him, as hereinbefore mentioned, he further states that Alexander McDonnell asked McGillis, who had come up with Mr. McLeod, what his plan for the destruction of the settlement of the Red River had been; that McGillis answered, that his plan was to attack the fort (meaning Fort Douglas) immediately; to which the said Alexander McDonnell replied "if you had, they would have killed one half of you;" that the said McGillis then asked McDonnell what had been his plan; to which the latter answered, it was to starve the fort (meaning Fort Douglas) as they (meaning the persons in the fort,) had only four bags of pemican. This conversation has been much dwelt upon on

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behalf of the Earl of Selkirk, as proving the hostile intentions of the party with McLeod; these are however still more clearly acknowledged in the intercepted letter of Robert Henry, one of the partners who accompanied McLeod from Montreal, filed before me (Deposition, No. 218,) in the following terms, "I thank Providence that the "battle was over before we got there, as it was our intention to storm the fort; our party consisted of about 100 "men, 70 fire arms, and two field pieces; they were fortified with several pieces of artillery, and no want of "grape and cannister shot, with cannon ball and 200 "muskets, with about 60 men; what our success might "have been I will not pretend to say, but many of us "must have fallen in the contest, as I imagine they "would not have come out to attack so strong a party "as they did the half breeds." The declarations made to the Indians at Lac la Pluie, previous to the party having received intelligence of the final destruction of the post, or the sending off to Hudson's Bay of Duncan Cameron, are stated by John Charles Sayer, the North-West interpreter, who spake for McLeod on the occasion, (in his Deposition, No. 238,) to have been "that they were going "to Red River to try to recover their fort, and rescue Mr. "Cameron, and would be glad if the Indians would follow them, adding that they did not go as fighting characters, but they were told that guns were placed to prevent them from passing, and that if they were attacked "they must defend themselves; also that they had expressed a wish to have some of the King's officers to "accompany them, who were accordingly present." Upon this a chief who had been previously spoken to, answered in the name of the rest of the Indians, expressing their attachment to the traders of the North-West company, and that they were ready to go wherever they desired them. He observes also, that the expressions he was instructed to use in his speech, were such as the Indians would certainly understand, as implying an instruction to go to war against the opponents of the North-West company. Baptiste Lagimmoniere, Sacinter Leger dit Parisin and Bellanie Marie in their depositions (No. 233 and 234,) detail the particulars of the robbery of the express of the Red River, in the charge of the former, and state various circumstances of violence as well as of the plunder of their personal effects with which it was accompanied. John Allan annexed to his deposition (No. 280) an extract of the order (marked P.) sent by A. N. McLeod, for the seizure of the express in Lagimmoniere's care,

which concludes with this remark, "it was a matter of "astonishment to many how he could have made his way "last fall through Fond du Lac department; this no doubt "you will be able satisfactorily to explain." Mr. Allan annexes also a copy of a letter, marked Q, sent at the same time by A. M. McLeod, Robert Henry and John McLaughlin, to Messieurs Grant, Morrison and Roussin, to induce as many of the Fond du Lac Indians as they could, to meet the party under McLeod at Red River. He also annexes the copy of a list (marked S.) containing the names of a number of half-breeds who had received habiliments at Red River, in the month of June, a few days after the death of Governor Semple and his party, which names are ticked off; the same list contains also the names of fourteen others, which have not been ticked off. He also states, that twenty bales, intended for the Red River department, were discovered at Fort William, which contained suits of clothing or habiliments, destined for the half-breeds who had assisted in the destruction of the colony, and who were designated in one of the North-West company's books, by the name of the "cossacks," and on other occasions by that of the "bois brulés rang-ers;" and that the number of habiliments was thirteen, and that one of them is expressly mentioned to be for Lacerte, one of the brulé's whose name is not ticked off in the list. He further adds, that he has understood from the servants of the North-West company, that the term "habillemens," is distinguished from the term "equipemens," the latter importing clothing received as part of the regular wages and payments of most of the servants; and the former a reward or donation over and above such regular wages, given to the best servants, or in token of particular gratitude and approbation of services rendered. Cuthbert Grant, in his deposition (No. 216,) states also the distribution of a quantity of habillemens amongst the half-breeds in June 1816, but mentions Alexander McDonnell as the person who distributed them (probably however acting under the orders of McLeod.) He states also that the term habillemens and equipemens are well known in the Indian country, the former meaning a suit of clothes, and the latter the annual supply of clothing given to a servant, which varies according to his station; the superior clerks having two or three habillemens, and the common voyageurs only blankets and some other articles of trifling value. Alexander McDonnell, in his intercepted letter to Archibald McLellan, of 30 July 1816, filed before me (Deposition, No. 335) states,

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that he sends for Mr. Hughs, for Lacerte and Bond, two gallons shrub, ten cock feathers, and ten tinsel tassels; and adds, "the difficulty seems to be in getting men, goods "we would get to satisfy all hands." Louis Blandeau in his depositions already mentioned, (Nos. 170 and 171,) states his having seen at Bas de la Riviere, two of the party sent by John D. Campbell, from Fort Cumberland to Red River, the spring preceding, who showed him the articles received by them, as a recompence for their services which the said Alexander Norman McLeod had given them from the colony stores, consisting of a habillimen and some smaller articles of dress, exclusive of two sheep which one of them said he was to have for his share.

Frances Eno dit Delorme, in his deposition (No. 113) speaks of considerable promises of rewards, which the half-breeds told him had been made to them. J. B. Marsellois, already mentioned as one of the half-breeds present at the affray of the 19th June 1816, on his deposition (No. 206) states, that he understood from McLeod's speech that the North-West company would recompence them for what they had done. Lones Rolin, in his deposition (No. 210) states, that in conversation with some of the half-breeds immediately after their taking possession of Fort Douglas, who having drank a good deal, were very talkative, he remarked that they had done an action which might have very serious consequences for themselves; to which they answered, that they should be supported by the North-West company as long as it stood: they spoke also of the rewards they expected from them, saying that if they did not fulfil what had been promised, they would do as much to them; that they had no positive promises of what they were to have, but expected much. From the whole testimony, it appears nearly certain that the rewards given consisted of an habillemen or suit of clothes to each, with probably some beads and other trifles, and that these were given to all who had assembled at Red River, whether present in the affray of 19th June 1816, or not; for in the list found at Fort William of those who had received habillemens at Red River, the names of Bostonois and Montour, two of the principal half-breeds, are both included, although they are known to have been at the Portage des Prairies at the time of the action: it appears also probable, that such of the half-breeds as were not under regular engagements to the company who assembled at Qui Appelle, and stayed for the purpose of assisting to guard the North-West posts during the summer, had the same wages allowed as

if they had performed the customary voyage to Fort William and back again. Nolin, in his deposition further states, that in all his conversations with the half-breeds, they appeared determined to allow him and the other clerks of the Hudson's Bay company to remain, saying that they desired traders on both sides, but would have no colonists on their lands; that the first or second day after the departure of the colonists, Mr. Alexander McKenzie arrived at the fort with two officers, who walked out on the plains whilst Mr. McKenzie spoke with the half-breeds, who recounted to him what had passed at the affair of the 19th, at which he appeared to laugh, and that he heard him ask which of them had fired, and that he seemed to approve of those who had done so, and to blame the others; afterwards he told them that Lord Selkirk was coming up with twelve soldiers and an officer, which he had obtained with great difficulty, and that the soldiers had orders not to interfere in the disputes of the country, but merely to be a body guard to his Lordship; that on their side they had also two officers, who were come up to see what took place; that the half-breeds replied, if there were only twelve soldiers, they would soon be driven away; that on the same day the said McKenzie arrived himself, and the other clerks of the Hudson's Bay company were ordered to leave the Red River, and that it was with difficulty he obtained a passage in the North-West canoes, in place of going to the Bay; that when at Bas de la Riviere Winipie, he had seen them practice the use of cannon, and that a platform was prepared by Reinhard, for the purpose of sinking any of his Lordship's canoes that might endeavour to pass. Huerter, in his deposition (No. 235,) further details the particulars of a visit made by him on the 26th June, in company with A. N. McLeod, McKenzie, McDonnell, McLaughlin, Leith, Campbell and McGellan, with the half-breeds, and other servants of the company, to the field where the affray of the 19th June had taken place; that he there "saw the spectacle of a number of human bodies "scattered about the plains, and nearly reduced to skeletons, there being very little flesh adhering to their bones, "and that he was informed on the spot, that many of the "bodies had been partly devoured by dogs and wolves; "that this spectacle, at which he was greatly shocked, "was viewed with every mark of satisfaction, and even "of exultation by the persons by whom he was accompanied on this occasion; that all were laughing heartily "at the jests which each strived to pass; that the half-

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“breeds were eagerly contending to point out to the ap-
“probation of their masters, the partners of the North-
“West company aforesaid, the particular feats on the
“19th June, which were listened to with pleasure, and
“answered with praise; that Alexander McDonell espe-
“cially praised, to McLeod and his other partners afore-
“mentioned, an old Canadian named Francois Deschamps,
“as a person who had distinguished himself by his zeal
“in their service; that the said Deschamps is generally
“reputed and believed to have perpetrated acts of cruelty,
“in murdering the wounded when calling for quarter;
“and that in recounting the deeds of this man to his part-
“ners, the said McDonnell remarked what a fine vigorous
“old man he was.” Huerter further states, that on the
19th or 20th day of July, as he was returning from Frog
plain to Fort Douglas, by land, with Daniel McKenzie,
Cuthbert Grant and Alexander Fraser, the two latter
pointed out to Mr. McKenzie “the places where the col-
“onists had been killed on the 19th June, and the remains
“of the slain which were still unburied, no order having
“been given for that purpose by any of the sixteen or
“eighteen partners of the North-West company above
“named, who had been at the place; and he states, from
“his own knowledge, that the bones remained disinterred
“the whole summer and winter, when after the snow
“was melted, they were committed to the ground by some
“of the settlers who had returned from Jack River.” It
seems proper, however, to observe, after stating this ac-
count at length, that a part of the details appear incon-
sistent with the statements in other depositions. It has
been already mentioned that Nolin in his deposition (No.
210) states, that Cuthbert Grant told him the morning
after the battle, that the colonists ought to bury the bod-
ies, and that they need not fear any injury whilst so em-
ployed. Alexander McDonnell, the colony sheriff, in
his deposition (No. 195) states, that he caused nine of
the bodies, including those of the officers, to be brought
in for interment the day after the battle, and the ensu-
ing day sent out a party of settlers and servants to bury
the remainder. Alexander McBeath and Alexander
Sutherland, two of the persons so employed, state in their
depositions (No. 197 and 200,) that the bodies were actu-
ally buried except that of one man, which the latter states
from report to have been afterwards buried either by
the Indians or the half-breeds; he adds, however, that
owing to the confusion, the bodies were not buried more
than two feet deep, and as he has understood were after-

wards torn up by the dogs, and many of their bones found scattered on the plains this spring, when they were reburied. John Siveright in his deposition (No. 159) states, that he was at Fort Douglas from about the 24th to the 30th June, and that shortly before his departure he went to visit the ground where the unfortunate rencontre took place on the 19th June, in company with Cuthbert Grant, when they perceived that a part of one of the bodies of those slain was in some degree exposed, owing to the dogs or wolves having torn up the ground; that this was observed towards evening, and that he was informed and believes, that the ensuing morning Antoine Pelletier was sent out to cover the said body; and he further states, that he did not on any other occasion hear of any other bodies having been exposed from any cause, or in any manner whatsoever, and that he believes the same could scarcely have occurred without his having heard thereof. Seraphim Lamar in his deposition (No. 161) states, that to the best of his recollection he visited the field of battle the day after McLeod's departure, (which by other evidence appears to have been the 28th June) and observed that the bodies were all buried, but saw no corpse exposed; that passing the place some days afterwards, he remarked some bodies unburied, and in consequence sent Antoine Pelletier and Maron Ducharme to bury them. Antoine Pelletier, in his deposition (No. 232) states, that in the month of June 1816, he passed the place where the persons who were killed in the action of the 19th June, were buried; that they were very badly buried, so much so, that the clothes of some of them were still visible through the turf, which was sparingly thrown over them; that one of the bodies was nearly uncovered, and appeared to have been eaten by wolves or dogs, in consequence of which he went to acquaint Mr. Cuthbert Grant with the circumstance; that he understood the bodies had been buried by the colonists, and that he had previously seen the body of one of the said colonists, who had been drowned a short time before the said action, eaten in like manner by wolves or dogs, in consequence of being badly buried on the beach where he was found; that on hearing the said bodies were exposed as aforesaid, the said Cuthbert Grant sent one Maron Ducharme, together with himself, with directions to bury them properly, which was accordingly done. From the whole of this concurrent testimony, it is scarcely possible not to suspect that Huerter, in stating what passed on his visit to the field of battle, has been led into considerable

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exaggeration, a circumstance which tends in some degree to weaken the confidence to be placed in his general testimony, where not supported by other evidence; more particularly so, when joined to the consideration of his not only having left the service of one party, but become an open and active partizan of the other; and having a direct interest to depreciate the character of his late employers, inasmuch as the proof of the illegality of the commands given him by them, must be the justification he will necessarily attempt, in case of any civil suit against him for the breach of his contract, and also to that of his having, according to his own avowal (Deposition No. 235) received at Bas de la Riviere a trunk and writing desk sent to himself by Charles Reinhard to take care of, and this without making any difficulty except from the circumstance of the trunk being open, although he observed the name of Keveney on the desk, and suspected that something had happened to him.

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The following persons either actually or heretofore partners of the North-West company, viz. William McGillivray, Kenneth McKenzie, Alexander McKenzie, John McLaughlin, John McDonald, Hugh McGillis, Simon Frazer, Allan McDonnell and Daniel McKenzie, were arrested at Fort William in virtue of warrants from the Earl of Selkirk; no copies of these warrants have been filed before me, but it is well known that they were issued on the charges of conspiracy, treason, and being accessory to murder. By a letter addressed to the attorney-general of Upper Canada, on the 21st August 1816, whereof a copy has been filed before me by John Allan, (Deposition, No. 280, marked H,) it appears that the Earl of Selkirk adopted these proceedings chiefly on the depositions of P. C. Pambrun, Augustine Lavigne, and Louis Blandeau, sworn before his Lordship; of these copies have been filed before me, (No. 172, 170, and 221,) and have already been herein before referred to; these depositions his Lordship states were conceived by him quite sufficient to justify his refusal to admit any of the gentlemen to bail; his Lordship, however, further transmitted with his letter to the attorney-general, the additional depositions of Louis Nolin, Joseph Brisbois, and C. G. Bruce; a copy of the first has been filed before me, (Deposition No. 209,) and those of the two last (which are not very material) may be found by reference to the Appendix to the "Statement," pages 65 to 69.

From the concurrent evidence of these depositions, his Lordship states it to appear that the half-breeds who

perpetrated the murders of the 19th June, were in a very great part at least, probably almost all, servants in the regular pay of the North-West company; that early the preceding winter, preparations had been made at the different trading posts of the North-West company, even at those which were very remote from the Red River, to collect the body of men by whom these murders were committed; that in a very few days after the massacre, Mr. McLeod, one of the principal agents of the North-West company, made presents to the murderers assembled in full council, and in presence of many of his partners, addressed them as friends who had rendered an important service to the company; and that most of the gentlemen sent down as prisoners, were then on the spot. His Lordship further states, that on their examinations, all the gentlemen pleaded ignorance of these transactions, but that it was impossible to listen to such an excuse in the mouths of those who were at Red River with McLeod, when he made presents to the murderers in the name of the company, and equally so in the case of Messrs. William McGillivray and Kenneth McKenzie, the principal agents of the company under whose direction every thing is conducted at Fort William; as the papers secured at that place contained, his Lordship states, evidence, that the promises made by Mr. McLeod to the *brulés* immediately after the massacre, had been since fulfilled, or at least provided for at the expense of the company; and that among the goods found packed up, inventoried, and ready to be sent to Red River, there were equipments of clothing and supplies of various kinds for almost every one of the murderers, besides a number of habillemens, evidently intended for those individuals who had not been supplied at McLeod's distribution; that it was impossible to believe this had been done without the consent and approbation of the agents, and their being informed of the promises made by their colleague Mr. McLeod, for the fulfilment whereof goods were taken out of warehouses situated immediately under their eye, and completely under their control; that another excuse which had been framed, was, that the half-breeds were not the aggressors in the battle, as it was called, of the 19th June, but that Governor Semple wantonly, and without provocation, went out into the plains to attack them. His Lordship states that it is, however, not only in itself improbable that he should do so with less than half their force, but that it appears by the direct testimony of Lavigne, corroborated by Nolin, that before Governor Semple made

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his appearance on the plains, the brules had taken several of the settlers, and were proceeding to make them all prisoners; that from Pamburn's deposition it is also evident, that the brules under Grant were sent by Alexander McDonnell, from the Portage des Prairies, for the express purpose of attacking the settlement; and indeed that the whole circumstances of the expedition, as stated by Pambrun, from the period of the brules being assembled at Qui Appelle down to the perpetration of the massacre, and even to the departure of the settlers, form a series of the most undisguised violence and aggression; and for which no justification can possibly be found, unless we are to admit the broad principle of retaliation, as avowed by Mr. William McGillivray in his examination; but that it cannot certainly be necessary to prove that murders and robbery are not to be defended on any such principle, in courts of justice that act upon the law of England. His Lordship further dwells upon the fact, that Alexander McDonnell, the prime mover and avowed commander of the men who committed all the atrocities against the settlers, and McLeod, who had rewarded these atrocities as services done to the concern at large, had both been shortly before in Fort William, in intimate daily intercourse with the gentlemen arrested, admitted in the secret consultations of the partners, and that McDonnell had returned with their general consent to command again in the same department, which had been the scene of so many violences committed by his orders, circumstances which his Lordship conceives would alone form sufficient ground for putting on his trial as accessory any partner who had attended the secret consultations of the company that season, and had not availed himself of that opportunity of expressing his disapprobation of McDonnell's and McLeod's conduct. Such is the Earl of Selkirk's own statement of the grounds on which his warrants were issued, and on which he refused to admit the parties arrested to bail. On behalf of the North-West company it is contended, that the assemblage of the half-breeds was for the purpose of defence, and that the affray of the 19th June 1816 arose from the inconsiderate aggression of Mr. Semple and those who perished with him, and was on the part of the half-breeds and Canadians an act of self-defence, and could not be called murder. In further proof of the defensive views with which the half-breeds were assembled, much reliance is placed in their "printed narrative" on the deposition made by Blondeau before the Earl of Selkirk, wherein he twice repeats the

expression of having been asked to go to Red River to defend the interests of the North-West company. The different details hereinbefore contained, especially the extracts from the intercepted letters of different partners of the North-West company, have however sufficiently shown that their views were by no means confined to mere defence, but included projects of revenge and retaliation; and were further proof wanting of this fact it would be found in the intercepted letters of John Duncan Campbell (the partner who made the before mentioned application to Blondeau) dated Cumberland House, 6 April 1816, which has been filed before me (Deposition No. 240, marked B,) and contains the following expressions: "The Red River, where no good can be expected from, has this year turned out worse for the honour and interest of the North-West company than ever; that *infamous scoundrel Robertson* has behaved in such a manner to our Mr. Cameron and people at the Forks, when *entirely off their guard, that revenge is loudly called for*, and it is to be hoped all well wishers of our concern will not delay in coming forward to that effect;" and again, "the Hudson's Bay new Governor, whose name is Semple, with a party, made an attempt to storm the Fort of Riviere Qui Appelle, sometime after the atrocities committed at the Forks, on purpose to take the two swivels formerly belonging to the colony now in our possession; but these sons of gunpowder did not think the task advisable, and candidly speaking they were in the right, for had they made the attempt, Governor Semple's expedition to Qui Appelle would have proved a lesson to Hudson's Bay Ruffians. *Laberte has been at Moose Lake on a mission, to prevail on all his countrymen to join in extirpating these miscreants out of the country; young McKay, with five men, are to start a couple of days hence for Red River, and I expect by the time they get there, they will be joined by the brutes of Fort des Prairies and English River.*" On the whole it appears to me, there can be no doubt that the conduct of the parties arrested had been of a nature to call for such a proceeding on the part of any magistrate before whom the same proofs should have been laid as were before the Earl of Selkirk; how far however the circumstances were sufficient to justify the refusal of bail, in the cases of Mr. William McGillivray and Kenneth McKenzie, or of any others where there was not evidence of their having been parties (previous to the fact) to the assembling of the half-breeds, with a view of illegal violence.

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may admit of doubt; the prudence, and even strict legality of the Earl of Selkirk having proceeded at all to Fort William for the purpose of acting as a magistrate in a case where he was so deeply interested, may also be questioned; from the rank and fortune of the parties, these points will however in all probability be ultimately brought before a court of justice, and it is therefore less necessary to enter into minute details relative thereto; in a moral point of view, making some allowance for the want of a full knowledge of the English law, which may naturally be supposed on the part of a Scottish peer, and advertng to the refusal of two magistrates to whom he applied to accompany him (as stated by John Allen in his Deposition, No. 280,) the course adopted by his Lordship, under the deep and apparently sincere, however exaggerated impression on his mind of the guilt of the partners of the North-West company, can neither create surprise nor call for severe censure; that he had, as had been charged by the North-West company, any intention of proceeding to Fort William, previous to learning the destruction of the colony, there appears no reason to believe; the only fact which gives any colour to the charge, is the nature of the boats, in which the Earl of Selkirk's party was proceeding, and the size of the packages, and the bulky nature of many of the articles conveyed thereby; but all this appears sufficiently accounted for in his Lordship's letter of 25th April to Colin Robertson, a copy whereof was filed before me by Miles McDonnell (Deposition, No. 112, marked D,) containing the details of his Lordship's plan of proceeding to Red River by way of Fond-du-Lac, and in which he states it to be his intention, in the first instance, to leave a party at the head of the boat navigation from Lake Superior, to form a post where the surplus goods can be left, and whence the canoes may come almost light; and a part of the men being perhaps marched by land to Red Lake, where his Lordship directs that boats may be sent to meet them with a supply of provisions.

Two circumstances connected with the arrests in question, it may be proper to notice as appearing a little extraordinary; the one is, that of the different affidavits on which they are stated to have been grounded, only that of Blondeau, appears to have been taken till several days after the arrests; and the other, that the conspiracy alleged to have been formed in 1814, for the destruction of the colony is not once noticed in the Earl's letter to the Attorney General of Upper Canada, although in the

printed "narrative" of the North-West company and the deposition of William McGillivray (No. 251,) it is stated to have been made the principal charge against the partners, and certainly appears by the answers of Mr. William McGillivray on his examination (No. 239.) relative to Mr. Duncan Cameron's proceedings, to have been much dwelt upon at the time, as it certainly is also in the statement made to me by the legal agents of the Earl in February last; the former circumstance may however have arisen probably from his Lordship's having in the first instance acted on depositions taken from the same parties, but in a less formal manner, as the omission of the latter may have been caused by his Lordship's not having at the same time the necessary documents in support thereof to lay before the Attorney General.

In the execution of the warrants for these arrests, it is allowed on both sides, that possession was taken of the North-West post of Fort William, by an armed party, consisting of men discharged from the late regiment De Meuron, who had been engaged in the service of the Earl of Selkirk, and a notarial copy of one of the engagements has been filed before me (No. 410.) On the part of the North-West company it is contended, that this proceeding was altogether an illegal and forcible entry, no resistance whatever had been attempted to the execution of the warrants to render the same necessary; and that the allegations of the opposite party, were a mere pretence for the seizure of the post.

John McDonnell, one of the partners of the North-West company, who is chiefly accused of the attempt to resist, gave the following statement of what occurred in the joint deposition (No. 267,) made before the commissioners by himself, Allan McDonnell and Daniel McKenzie, in support of the complaint for forcible entry; "That "about three o'clock in the afternoon of the 13th August, "he had a knowledge of the departure of Mr. William "McGillivray for the camp of the Earl of Selkirk, accompanied by Mr. John McLaughlin, and Mr. Kenneth McKenzie, but had at that time no knowledge of the arrest "of Mr. McGillivray, understanding and believing the "party to be gone upon a visit to the Earl; and that John "McNab (who appears by the deposition of others, accompanied them, together with Donald McPherson) had "been the bearer of an invitation to that effect; that about "six or seven o'clock the same evening, he perceived two "large boats filled with armed men in military uniform, "to the number of fifty or upwards, coming down the river

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“from the camp of the said Earl of Selkirk, and approaching to and landing at the wharf belonging to the said Fort William, which may be twenty or thirty paces distant from the gate of the said fort; whereupon suspecting some treachery, and that Mr. McGillivray, John McLaughlin and Kenneth McKenzie were detained by the Earl of Selkirk, and that the armed force in the boats was coming to attack the fort, he immediately went forward to shut the gates of the area or court-yard, and had already closed one of the folding-gates, and was proceeding to shut the other, when he was prevented by the influx of a considerable crowd of persons, and was immediately arrested by the said McNab; whereupon he asked him by what authority it was he so arrested him? In reply to which the said McNab showed him a paper, the contents whereof he does not know, and that although he surrendered himself immediately, and expressed every possible disposition to obey such arrest, yet there was immediately a cry among the officers and soldiers by whom he was surrounded, of ‘Seize him, seize him,’ and other expressions to that effect; and they did accordingly violently seize him and handle him very roughly, as many of them laying hold of him at once as could get near enough, and one Becher in particular, who was amongst them, reaching his arm over the heads of the others, and presenting a pistol at his head with the most violent threats and menaces; and that from the number and strength of the soldiers who thus surrounded him, they actually lifted him off the ground and dragged him in this state, and with the pistol still presented at his head by the said Becher, down to the boats, on board of which he was put, and afterwards crossed the river in canoes with Hugh McGillis, Simon Fraser, Allan McDonnell, Alexander McKenzie and Daniel McKenzie.” To these details, Allan McDonnell adds in the same deposition (No. 267,) a long statement respecting the seizure of the two small cannon, which usually stood near the principal building at Fort William, by a number of the soldiers (being the first part of the affair which he witnessed;) that he observed one of the soldiers had a barrel with the head open, apparently filled with cartridges for the said guns, and that the guns were taken down to the gate of the area of the said fort, and pointed outwards; that the said guns were he believes two-pounders; that he never saw any kind of shot or cartridges adapted to the calibre of these guns, nor does he believe there were any such in the said fort; the guns when fired as signals during a fog,

or on rejoicing days, having always been charged with loose powder; that captain Matthey, captain D'Orsonnens, lieutenant Graffenried, and other officers and soldiers belonging to the late regiment De Meuron, had on the day preceding the attack on the said fort been on a visit there, and had amongst other things minutely inspected and examined the said guns; and that from the circumstance of their afterwards bringing in cartridges apparently adapted for the said guns, and the Earl of Selkirk's not having to his knowledge or belief any cannon of so small a caliber in his possession, he verily believed, that the said officers had so inspected and examined the said guns with a view to the making up, and had accordingly made up cartridges for the same; and John McDonald, and Allen McDonnell and Daniel McKenzie, farther severally add, that after being conveyed to the camp of the Earl of Selkirk, and taken before him, the said Earl suggested, that it was then too late to proceed to business, and directed them to be again conveyed back to Fort William, where they found lieutenant Graffenried on duty as commander of a guard of twenty or thirty soldiers of the Earl, who remained on duty that night, and as they believed in charge of the said fort and the prisoners therein; and that they themselves, and as they believe, the other gentlemen who were then in custody of the Earl and his partizans, were accordingly confined in their respective rooms.

The principal circumstances contained in the foregoing statement, are further confirmed by the respective depositions of John Theodore Missani, Charles Bramby, Robert McRobb, James Chisholm McTavish, Ignace Nickanawaha, William McGillivray, Robert Grant and Robert Courie (Nos. 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 250, 251, 253 and 254); and Mr. McGillivray states the additional facts, that before leaving the Earl of Selkirk's camp with a guard for the night, he gave his word, that no escape should be attempted, nor any molestation given to the guard during the night, and that the prisoners should return the next morning to the encampment; that on his arrival at the fort, he found it full of armed men (the De Meuron soldiers) apparently commanded by the captains Matthey and D'Orsonnens; that on his request to the former, the men were all withdrawn, except twenty men, with lieut. Graffenried, who remained to guard the prisoners; which officers, after placing several sentinels, retired to rest; that the watch of the fort was also kept up for the night, as usual; that he also found that all the

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papers and trunks found in the gentlemen's rooms had been sealed by Dr. Allen, as well as the desks and accounts of the North-West company in the counting-house.

Of the foregoing depositions, those of Messrs. Missani and Bramby will naturally be considered as more particularly important, from their being disinterested parties; they state "that they were actually within sight, and between the gate of the fort and the landing place (the said places distant from each other about twenty yards) at the moment that the two boats with the followers of the Earl of Selkirk came to the said landing place; that they observed that John McNab, one McPherson, captain D'Orsonnens and Mr. Allan, with some others, landed out of the said boats, and walked up to the gates of the said fort, where John McDonald, and Alexander McKenzie, partner of the North-West company, were standing, together with some other clerks and partners, amongst whom they believe was Hugh McGillis, a partner of the company; that on the said McNab and others coming up to the gate, some conversation ensued, which they could not hear, but believe it was began by the said McNab; that in a few minutes however they distinctly heard the said John McDonald or Alexander McKenzie, and as they verily believe, the latter, say aloud, 'Yes, but we cannot admit so many persons into the fort at once;' and at the same time they saw that one half of the large gates of the fort was partly shut to; whereupon captain D'Orsonnens called out to the remainder of the party who had been left in the boat with Fouché, to advance, which they immediately did, and rushed into the fort with their arms in their hands, halloing and shouting; that the said captain D'Orsonnens was himself armed with a pistol and sword; that immediately afterwards they saw the said John McDonald dragged out of the fort in a violent manner by two of the men of the late regiment De Meuron, who were known to them by the military dress and appointments worn by the whole of the armed force, although not in regular uniform; that a few minutes afterwards they went into the fort, where they saw the men of the late regiment De Meuron running about in different directions, but perceived no attempt on the part of the partners of the North-West company to make any resistance; that in the area of the said fort, there were two small cannon, which they had frequently observed before, but had at no time seen them loaded, and do not believe they were so at the period of the fort being entered;

“that these cannon were taken possession of by the men
“of the late regiment De Meuron, and were actually mov-
“ing into the middle of the square at the moment of their
“entering; that on passing them shortly afterwards, they
“had occasion to observe some irregularly made cart-
“ridges laying on the carriages, or near to the said
“cannon.”

“Mr. Bramby further states, “that at the time the said
“John McNab advanced from the boat to the gates, he
“had in his hand a paper;” and Mr. Missani also further
“states, “that at the moment the men of the late regiment
“De Meuron were called forward, he was faced towards
“and looking at the gates of the fort, and that he
“observed that the leaf of the gate which had been partly
“shut to, was still in an oblique position, and not yet in
“the position it would occupy when shut, and that the
“other leaf did not appear to him to be at all moved from
“its place when open, and certainly was not so to any
“material degree.”

The deposition of Robert Livingston, filed before me
(No. 241,) has been much relied upon, as proving the pre-
vious intentions of the parties:—He states, “that he was
“engaged as an agent to the Earl of Selkirk in the early
“part of 1816, and that, in July he proceeded from Nat-
“tawasque Harbour, in Lake Huron, in charge of a divis-
“ion of canoes; that being arrived at Point des Chiens, at
“the entrance of Lake Superior, they met captain Miles
“McDonnell, who informed them of the battle at Red
“River, and the destruction of the colony there. On the
“ensuing day the Earl of Selkirk informed him, that their
“route must necessarily be changed, and inquired if he
“had any objection to proceed by the way of Fort Will-
“iam, instead of that of Fond du Lac, by which he was
“originally engaged to proceed with his brigade of canoes,
“manned entirely by Canadians; to this proposition he
“gave no immediate answer; but afterwards learning
“from the officers of the late regiment De Meuron, who
“accompanied his Lordship, that in their opinion it would
“be proper for him, on his arrival at Fort William, to call
“upon such of the North-West partners as were magis-
“trates, to assist in arresting and bringing to justice the
“persons accused of the murders on Red River; and in
“the event of their not cordially joining therein, to take
“other measures to obtain justice; and hearing captain
“d’Orsonnens in particular declare as his opinion, that it
“would be proper for his Lordship to seize Fort William,
“and hold it as an indemnity for the injuries done him

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“at Red River, he determined to quit the party; remark-
“ing to the said officers, that those who had least to do in
“such matters would be best off; and that he should not
“like to be witness to matters which might perhaps re-
“quire him to proceed to England, and keep him years
“from his business, or words to the above effect; accord-
“ingly, the next day, from these causes, and fore-seeing
“that it would be impossible to complete the journey to
“Red River, and return the same season, according to his
“original agreement, he asked his discharge from Lord
“Selkirk, which was granted with some reluctance.”

On behalf of the Earl of Selkirk, on the other hand it is stated, that the taking possession of Fort William was a measure of precaution, necessarily arising from the conduct of the opposite party; the facts, in support of this statement, have been chiefly brought before me by John Allan, the medical attendant, and evidently one of the confidential advisers of the Earl; who in his deposition (No. 280) states, that in consequence of affidavits before his Lordship as a magistrate, respecting “the conduct of the partners of the North-West company, and “the part they had taken in procuring and abetting the “murder of Governor Semple, and others; and in the destruction of the settlement at Red River, and other “crimes; the Earl of Selkirk, after having taken a number of depositions, which occupied great part of the 12th “and 13th days of August, issued a warrant for the apprehension of William McGillivray, directed to John “McNab and Donald McPherson; with which, about three “or four o’clock in the afternoon of the said 13th August, “they proceeded to Fort William; that they soon returned “with Mr. William McGillivray, accompanied by Mr. Kenneth McKenzie and Mr. John McLaughlin, two of his “partners, whose names were included in another warrant which his Lordship had issued against divers partners of the North-West Company; and which he immediately put into the hands of the said McNab and McPherson to be executed. That the said McKenzie and “McLaughlin were consequently detained for examination. That immediately afterwards the Earl of Selkirk “issued another warrant, addressed to P. Dodet D’Orson- “nens and himself, which, after reciting that there were “good grounds of suspicion, that a traitorous conspiracy “against the laws and government of our Lord the King, “had been carried on by the company of merchants known “under the name of the North-West company, or at least “by several persons, partners of the same; required the

“said D’Orsennens and himself, or either of them, to repair to the Fort or trading post of the company, called Fort William, and there (in presence of one of the chief clerks of the said company) to seal up all papers which might be found therein, belonging to the said company, or to William McGillivray, and several others whose names were particularly and respectively mentioned in the said warrant, and to secure the same; and also to secure all arms and warlike stores which might be found in the said Fort.” Of this warrant Mr. Allan annexes a copy marked F. to his deposition, and states, that he should have declined the duty imposed on him by the same, to the due fulfilment whereof he felt incompetent, “if he had been in a situation where the magistrate might have had a choice of persons to perform it; and if he had not believed it his bounden and moral duty, as a loyal subject, and as a Christian, to give his aid, when lawfully required, for bringing to justice persons who had instigated and procured the murder of their fellow subjects. That in virtue of the said warrant he did repair to Fort William aforesaid, accompanied by the said P. Dodet D’Orsennens, Alexander Bridport Becher, Esq. of the royal navy, and a Mr. Fouché, late a lieutenant in the regiment De Meuron. That at the same time another boat proceeded to Fort William, conveying the said McNab and McPherson to execute the warrant above-mentioned, for the arrest of the other partners of the North-West Company then there; that on landing opposite the gate of the Fort, he, with the five others above-mentioned, proceeded by themselves, and most of them without arms, from the boats to the gate; that at the same time there were arms in the boat under cover, and with directions not to be exhibited; and that the assistants should not stir from the boats without orders, which were to be given only in case the execution of the warrants should be opposed. That at the gate of the Fort the said McNab, with the warrant in his hand, proceeded to arrest, in the King’s name, John McDonald and another person; and was, in like manner about to arrest the others named in the warrant, when it was demanded, and he was accordingly beginning to read it, but was interrupted immediately by the said John McDonald, who said, we don’t know such things here, and we will not allow so many people to come into the Fort, or words to that effect. That he also heard the said John McDonald, or some one near him, say, we’ll submit to no more warrants till Mr. Wm. McGillivray, and

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“the two gentlemen with him, were brought back; that
“at the same time Mr. Alexander McKenzie (commonly
“called the Emperor) and John McDonald, assisted by
“a crowd of persons, of whom several wore side arms,
“attempted forcibly to shut the gate, and in so doing
“pushed the said McNab and McPherson back from
“within the threshold; that thereupon the said McNab re-
“quiring support, the said D’Orsonnens called “Witschy,
“Witschy,” to the person of that name, and desired him
“to come with the men out of the boats to the assistance
“of the persons charged with the warrant. That the gate
“was all but completely closed, in spite of the exertions
“of the said D’Orsonnens and others, who by pushing
“were endeavouring to prevent those within from com-
“pletely fastening it, when the men, who till called upon
“had remained in the boats, coming with their arms, in-
“stantly pushed up the gate. That at that moment he
“observed a crowd of people running from behind the
“gate into different parts of the fort, and two of the men
“took the said McDonald by the collar from within the
“said gate, and conducted him to one of the said boats;
“that at the same time one of the men unexpectedly blew
“a bugle at the gate, and in a few minutes afterwards
“Frederick Matthey, Esq. formerly a captain in De
“Meuron’s regiment, supposing that further assistance
“might be required to support the execution of the war-
“rants, came from the encampment of the Earl of Sel-
“kirk, with about thirty men. That before the arrival
“of the said Matthey, himself and others, with warrants,
“had entered into the square of the fort, and proceeded
“to put the warrants in execution, the said D’Orsonnens
“having secured, in the middle of the square, two small
“cannon belonging to the fort, which previously stood
“near a building fronting the gate. That the said Mat-
“they, on his arrival at the gate, finding that no further
“resistance was expected, sent the men back to the other
“side of the river, as he understood, without causing them
“to go into the fort, while he himself came in to see what
“was passing. That the warrant for the arrest of the
“prisoners having been submitted to, he showed them
“that with which he and captain D’Orsonnens were
“charged as before-mentioned, and requested them to
“nominate one of their chief clerks to be present at its
“execution. That after a little deliberation they men-
“tioned a Mr. Robert McRobb, as a person whom they
“wished to attend for this purpose, and himself and the
“said D’Orsonnens, accompanied by Mr. Beeher aforesaid,

“immediately proceeded with the said McRobb to an
“apartment, called the Office, where they were joined by
“Mr. Jasper Vandersluys and Mr. John McTavish, two
“other clerks of the North-West company. That the
“said D’Orsonnens inquired of the said clerks, where were
“the arms belonging to the company; whereupon the said
“McRobb, taking up a large pole, with a broken bayonet
“at the end of it, which stood in the corner of the office,
“said, ‘We have no arms in the fort; this is all the arms
“we have.’ That himself and the said D’Orsonnens then
“proceeded, still accompanied and conducted by one or
“more of the said clerks, to the rooms of the individual
“prisoners, and had only finished putting seals on a cas-
“sette, containing papers, in the room of the said William
“McGillivray, and on a drawer in the room of the said
“Alexander McKenzie, when the partners who had been
“arrested returned from the encampment of the Earl of
“Selkirk, having been permitted so to do (as he was in-
“formed by the aforesaid Matthey, who, as he understood,
“had been there, and had accompanied them back,) upon
“their promise that they would occupy their own apart-
“ments, and attempt no resistance to the execution of the
“warrants; that he thereupon expressed to the said Mat-
“they his regret at their having been allowed to return
“before the sealing of their papers was concluded, be-
“cause they could now destroy them before that could be
“done. That the said D’Orsonnens and himself still con-
“tinued to go to the different apartments, generally in
“presence of the occupiers themselves, to seal up the or-
“dinary repositories of papers, and, when arrived at the
“door of the aforesaid John McDonald, found the same
“locked, and, upon asking him for the key, were told by
“him that his little girl had run off with it, upon which
“he went to execute the same duty in another apartment;
“and on returning again to McDonald’s, he opened the
“door, when the desk therein was found standing open,
“and entirely empty, which at once excited suspicion
“(as the said McDonald had not before stated that he had
“no papers) that the same had just been removed, and
“he understood next morning that his suspicions were
“just, from the information of one Paget, who stated be-
“fore the Earl of Selkirk, on oath, that he had burnt a
“quantity of papers at that hour in the kitchen-fire, by
“order of the said John McDonald, who had delivered
“them to him for that purpose. That he was also told
“by the said Alexander McKenzie, while still continuing
“to put seals as before, that he (McKenzie) would break

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“the seals which confined his papers; upon which he told him he had better not, and shortly afterwards represented to the said Matthey the inutility of affixing seals, unless some stronger measure than a piece of wax were adopted to prevent their being broken. To which the said Matthey replied, that the Earl of Selkirk, as a magistrate, had allowed them to return to their own apartments on their word of honour, and that to keep a person to watch in them, under such circumstances, would be too harsh a proceeding. That before he had finished affixing the seals it was near eleven o'clock at night, and as the Earl of Selkirk had placed his reliance on the promise of the gentlemen under arrest, that no violence should be attempted, himself and said D'Orsonnens agreed to defer the search for arms, and the removal of the papers from the fixed desks in which most of them were kept, until the next morning, and accordingly went back to the Earl of Selkirk's tent to desire his advice; but before his arrival the said Earl had retired to rest; that he tried to speak to him, but finding it difficult to wake him, determined to wait for further instructions till the next morning.”

Several of the principal facts contained in the foregoing statement, particularly that of the attempt at resistance to the execution of the warrants, are confirmed by the depositions of Peter Montgomery, Jacob Witschy and Proteus Dodet D'Orsonnens (Nos. 281, 283, and 286,) particularly by that of the last, who states, “that Mr. McNab, with the warrant in his hand, arrested in the King's name, John McDonald and Alexander McKenzie, when they demanded his authority, and as he was beginning to read the warrant, they shut the gate forcibly in his face, and pushed him outside the threshold with considerable violence, themselves withdrawing within the gate, and saying, they knew no such things as warrants in this country, and would not submit to any till Mr. McGillivray and the other gentlemen returned; that one-half of the gate was quite shut, and the other nearly so, when he interposed to prevent it, and Mr. McNab asked him to assist him, upon which he called to the men for support, who till that moment remained as they had been desired, in the boats; that they seizing their arms, instantly rushed to the gate and forced it open; that after the gate was open, he addressed John McDonald, telling him, he ought to submit peaceably to the warrant, and received for answer, that he would only submit at the last extremity, and there would be

"bloodshed first, calling out aloud at the same time, "make haste, make haste," whereupon conceiving that "the people whom he saw running inside the fort, were "preparing to make resistance, he immediately caused "John McDonald to be seized, and conducted by force to "one of the boats, to prevent the bloodshed which he "threatened." Jacob Witschy, in his deposition, details what took place respecting the two cannon, which he positively says, were found unloaded, and were not at the time loaded by them from want of ammunition, and because he had received no order to do so.

On evidence so opposite as that of the two parties, and delivered on both sides by persons of apparently fair character, and which it seems impossible to reconcile by any reasonable allowance for the general confusion of the scene, the only proper course appears to be to suspend all opinion till the matter can be decided in open court, with all the advantages of *viva voce* evidence, and the confronting of the opposite parties.

Mr. McGillivray states in his deposition (No. 251,) that "Captain Matthey came into the fort in his uniform, "at the head of a body of men armed with muskets and "fixed bayonets; sentinels were placed at the hall door "(soldiers of the 37th regiment,) and in different parts "of the fort; Mr. McGillivray entered a solemn protest "against the armed force coming into the fort, and delivered the same in writing, signed by all the partners "of the North-West company, then prisoners, into the "hands of the Earl of Selkirk; protesting against him, "against all the officers by name, and against all concerned; his Lordship said he would take the responsibility; Mr. McGillivray then asked, whether it was his "intention to impede or put a stop to the business; he said "not to the lawful or legal business of the North-West "company; Mr. McGillivray replied, there was no illegal "business carried on by the North-West company; his "Lordship said, upon that there might be a difference of "opinion; Mr. McGillivray asked the meaning of thus taking "military possession of the fort; he was answered, they "must take measures for their own defence, as they had "been informed that arms and ammunition had been conveyed out of the fort in the night, and that several canoes "had been sent off; (this was positively false;) true, seventy or eighty Indian fusils had been placed in the out-house, and eight kegs of powder had been carried out "during the night, on a supposition, that what was in the "fort of these essential articles, might be seized, which

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“appeared probable from the proceedings of his Lordship; “the fusils were found and taken away by order “of Lord Selkirk during the day. Mr McGillivray then informed the Earl, that he and Mr. “Kenneth McKenzie, the other agent of the North- “West company, had appointed the clerks in their “different stations, to go on with the business; he “asked their names, and expressed great satisfaction that “there had been so many to take charge of the business; “he then requested Mr. McGillivray to show him into some “empty room, where he might examine witnesses, and “intimated, that all the prisoners should confine themselves to their rooms, to be out of the way of the evidence, and that servants should convey them their meals. After the partners retired to their rooms, an “armed sentinel, with fixed bayonet, was placed at each “door; and a few hours after they were ordered by Mr McNab, on the part of his Lordship, *to one house*, until their “examination should take place. His Lordship then ordered all the canoes (fifteen of which were ready to start “for the interior, with goods for the natives) to be sent “into the fort, which was done by the men; he then ordered “all the North-West company’s men to leave their camp “at each end of the fort (the usual places,) and immediately to cross the river, which they did; he demanded the “keys of the stores, which were refused, upon which he “observed, that he would find keys and that very soon. “At night, a general search, under a warrant from Lord “Selkirk, was made in all the rooms in the fort for small “arms, and all the trunks of the prisoners searched for “papers, pistols, daggers, etc., which were taken away; “Dr. Allen, Mr. McNab and captain D’Orsonnens were the “persons making this search; some men with implements “to break doors, etc., accompanied them, and one door “was actually burst open.” Several of the principal circumstances mentioned in the above statement, are confirmed by various other depositions (No. 242, 243, 245, 246, 253, 254 and 270,) filed on the part of the North-West company; and the accounts thereof contained in the depositions (Nos. 280, 281, 282, 283, 284 and 286) filed on behalf of the Earl of Selkirk, are nearly similar in substance, but state the following circumstances, which are dwelt upon as showing the necessity of the subsequent measures adopted.

That the seals in the rooms of Alexander McKenzie and John McLaughlin had been broken; that a quantity of papers had been burnt at the kitchen fire; and that

part of the guns, which had been found concealed in a hay-loft, were loaded with ball, and had apparently been fresh primed the night preceding. After these discoveries, it is stated in the depositions of P. Dodet D'Orsonnens (No. 286,) that "their tents were removed from the opposite bank of the river, and pitched in front of the fort; and the servants of the North-West company, who had previously been encamped all around the fort, were sent to the opposite bank of the river, except the Iroquois, who were considered least under the control of the North-West company, having positively refused, as two of them told himself, in presence of captain Lorimier of the Indian department, to make use of loaded arms, which they had been pressed by Hugh McGillis, a partner, and some clerks, to employ against the persons charged with the warrants."

This last mentioned attempt at resistance (the only specific charge of this nature, except that alleged against Alexander McKenzie and John McDonald, at the moment of entering the fort as already mentioned) is also stated in the deposition of Joseph Sans-facon (No. 283,) a voyageur, engaged to the North-West company, but who left their service, and entered into that of the Earl of Selkirk after the capture of Fort William; he deposes, that at the moment that the persons charged with the warrants against the North-West partners, arrived for the purpose of executing them, one of the partners of the said company, Hugh McGillis, came out of the fort, calling out to their servants, "Aux armes, aux armes;" and finding they would not take up arms, he called them a parcel of old women; that about the same time one Jean Marie Boucher, also endeavoured to make them take up arms, but could not induce the men to resist the arrest; that the next day, or next day but one, he saw a quantity of arms brought into the fort, which had been hid in a hay-loft for the purpose, as was reported by several of the servants of the North-West company, of furnishing arms to the Iroquois to attack the Earl of Selkirk's people. Louis Blondeau, another voyageur, who also left the service of the North-West company, and engaged in that of the Earl of Selkirk, states in his deposition (No. 284,) that having learnt, during the night, the concealment of the arms, immediately next morning he wrote a note to Lord Selkirk, containing information that arms were concealed in the hay-loft; that Lord Selkirk on receiving the note, immediately came to see him, and took him by the hand, squeezing it, and saying he had rendered him a service,

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and saved him from a great danger; that thereupon the Earl of Selkirk gave a search warrant for the arms, which were found, and that afterwards the Earl took possession of Fort William; he further adds, that he firmly believes, from the violent and sanguinary character of several of the partners of the North-West company, and others of their people, then at Fort William, and from circumstances which have come to his knowledge, that neither the life of Lord Selkirk, nor those of his people, would have been in safety, if he had remained in the meadow where they had at first encamped, but that the said Earl, and those with him, would have run great risk of being massacred like the people at Red River, if he had not immediately taken possession of Fort William; and that he has since heard several of the North-West company's servants say, that the arms had been hid, in order to afford them the means of destroying those people who had charge of the prisoners in the fort; and that afterwards Lord Selkirk, being encamped with his people in a meadow, it would be easy for the people in the fort, being more numerous, to attack and destroy those of his Lordship. John Allan annexes a copy of the second search warrant, issued by the Earl of Selkirk, to his deposition (No. 280, letter G.) but by the terms thereof, it appears evidently that it was not issued till after the arms had been found; Mr. Allan further states, that he was occupied almost the "whole day, in making up into parcels, and "sealing the papers which remained unburnt; that this "was done in the presence of the said Vandersluys, who "took memorandums, as he had also done the day before, "of all that was done, and while he affixed the seal of the "magistrate on the said parcels, the said Vandersluys "affixed another seal thereon on behalf of the North-West "company; that after this, the said parcels of papers. "together with the arms belonging individually to the part- "ners under arrest, on which were tied labels with the "names of those in whose possession they were found, "were placed in a room by themselves; that subsequently "a selection of papers was made from the great number "in the desks of the public office, or writing room, which "being made into parcels were in like manner sealed up, "and were sent with the rest to Montreal under charge "of Archibald McDonald, where he has understood they "were received and opened by the proper authorities, but "that the Earl of Selkirk did not examine them." With regard to the mode in which the arms found in the hay- "left were ultimately disposed of, the evidence is contra-

dictory, and not very clear on either side; at the same time, as it was on this occurrence and the circumstances therewith, that the warrant for felony against the Earl of Selkirk was obtained from the magistrates of the Western district of Upper Canada, the subject has naturally formed an object of my inquiry.

On the part of the North-West company, Robert McRobb, one of their clerks, in his deposition (No. 245) states, "that when Fort William was taken forcible possession of as aforesaid, eight of the North-West company's canoes, destined for the interior country, were then ready to receive their loading for the purposes of trading; that foreseeing Lord Selkirk would not permit the said canoes to depart with the usual arms and ammunition on board, he assisted in conveying out of the fort, forty Indian fusils, in four cases, and as many more to be put into four other cases; and eight kegs of gunpowder were also conveyed out of the fort, in the course of the evening of the thirteenth day of August, eighteen hundred and sixteen, for the sole and only purpose of being put into the said canoes, as part and usual proportion of said loading;" and he further adds, "that prior to the capture of Fort William, no preparation had been made to defend it; and that during his stay in the said fort, up to the third day of September one thousand eight hundred and sixteen, no preparations whatever had been made to recapture it."

James Chisholme McTavish, another clerk of the company, in his deposition (No. 246) states, that at the period Fort William was forcibly taken possession of, "there were eight or more canoes destined for the departments of Red River, Bas de la Riviere, and Lac la Pluie, ready to receive their loading, as customary for the purposes of trade, and that it being apprehended from the previous conduct of the Earl of Selkirk, that he would not allow the usual supply of arms and ammunition to go forward, although little or no apprehension was then entertained of his stopping the trade, although he himself assisted in conveying out of the said fort, four cases of arms, such as usually contain ten trading guns, and depositing the same in an out-building, for the purpose, if necessary, of shipping them by the said canoes, without the privity of the said Earl; that he has also been informed, that a quantity of gunpowder had been removed for the same purpose; that the said arms and ammunition were about the usual supply sent with the canoes aforesaid, and were by no means intended to

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“make any resistance to the proceedings of the said Earl of Selkirk, as a magistrate; that a part of the guns were loaded, a circumstance not uncommon with those guns which are shipped loose in the canoes; that on the fourteenth day of August (being the day following,) the said arms were discovered and seized, and he saw the same conveyed into the said fort, by part of the armed men of the late regiment De Meuron; that the four cases he saw some days after at the guard-house established by the said armed force, under one of the provision stores.” He adds, that the whole of the said guns “were kept forcible possession of by the armed men aforesaid, and were not ever placed with the arms which had previously been seized under the warrant for searching for arms and papers, of which a regular account had been taken in the presence of Mr. Jasper Vandersluys, or other clerks of the North-West company; nor were the said guns ever subsequently delivered over or accounted for, to the said Jasper Vandersluys and himself, who had been jointly authorized, with the acquiescence of the Earl of Selkirk, to take charge of the property of the North-West company, on the arrest of the partners, amongst which property was a considerable quantity of other arms; and that he afterwards saw some of the armed men of the late regiment De Meuron, with similar guns in place of the musquets and bayonets which he had previously seen in their possession.” And he further adds, “that at no time previous or subsequent to the capture of the said Fort William, up to the 4th day of September inclusive, when he left the same, was any attempt at resistance or movement for the recapture of the said fort, made by the North-West company, or any of their partizans.”

Pierre Le Blanc, J. B. Masta, and Vincent Dauphin, in their respective depositions (No. 247, 248 and 249,) depose to the seizing, taking and carrying away of the guns in question by an armed force; and the two former add, that they saw several persons in the service of the Earl of Selkirk, with fusils, which they certainly believe to have been part of those so seized, taken and carried away; that the said persons told them that the fusils which they had, were those which had belonged to the North-West company; and Mr. McGillivray, in his deposition (No. 251) states, that on the 16th August the fusils in question were taken out of the fort into his Lordship's camp.

On the part of the Earl of Selkirk, John Allan in his deposition (No. 280) states, that the arms in question, as he "has been informed, were put into the custody of Ser-jeant Pugh, and afterwards removed into the fort, with "the other warlike stores." Peter Montgomery, in his deposition (No. 281) states, that he cannot say how the cases of guns or loose arms were ultimately disposed of; but that he saw the said cases lie for several weeks afterwards, apparently unopened, under one of the stores. And Jacob Witschy, in his deposition (No. 282) states, that the day after the arrest of the North-West partners, he saw forty trading fusils brought into the fort, which were loaded with ball, and had the appearance of being newly loaded; and that they were placed in the guard-house within the fort. That there were also four cases of fusils, which were not opened. That the next day or day after, the forty fusils before-mentioned were carried to the tent of the 37th regiment, and that he saw them for several days afterwards in charge of the men of that regiment; that the four cases of arms were placed at the entrance of the fort, under one of the stores raised on posts, which stand near the gate of the fort; and that he saw them there a long time without being opened, whilst he remained at the said fort.

John Allan in his deposition, states further, that on the 31st December 1817, he arrived with the Earl of Selkirk at Albany, and thence proceeded by way of York to Sandwich, where the Earl, captain D'Orsonnens and himself, were examined on the 16th January, before a special session of the magistrates, who entirely discharged the warrant of arrest, signed by Francois Baby, Esquire, for feloniously stealing the fusils above-mentioned; which warrant had been entrusted to William Smith. Of this discharge, he exhibited an original copy to me, and has annexed to his deposition, a copy of that paper (marked M.) He states also, that "on this occasion the magistrates, on comparing two affidavits, both signed by Me-Tavish and Vandersluys, and on one of which the warrant had been issued, declared themselves perfectly satisfied that no felony had been committed. That the "said William Smith endeavoured to induce the court to "issue an attachment for contempt, against the Earl of "Selkirk; but the magistrates declared themselves satisfied that the resistance to the writ of restitution, and also "to the warrants, had originated in motives different "from contempt of their authority. That he afterwards "gave securities in small sums, as did also the Earl of

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“Selkirk, and captain D’Orsonnens, for offences alleged “against them by Mr. Henry Bolton, for the Crown, and “by William Smith aforesaid;” of which latter fact he has also annexed to his deposition, the copy of a certificate (marked T.) from the chairman of the quarter sessions. He further states, that although accused of feloniously stealing the said arms, he had never so much as seen the place whence they were taken; and that “Jasper Vander-
“sluys and James McTavish, when they took the affidavit, “dated the 19th October 1816, accusing the Earl of Sel-
“kirk, himself and others, of feloniously stealing and car-
“rying away 83 Indian fusils, on which the warrant for
“their arrest was issued, had a knowledge that the fusils
“so sworn by them to have been feloniously stolen, had
“been secured after a warrant was issued to secure the
“arms and warlike stores belonging to the North-West
“company, to prevent their being employed in resistance
“to the law.”

As the occurrences of this day, and the events connected therewith, will probably be brought by the parties before the superior courts for decision, it is unnecessary to enter into any detailed observations thereon; at the same time it may not be amiss to remark how much the charges made on each side appear to be exaggerated; there seems but little reason to doubt, that the cause for which the arms were concealed, is truly stated by McRobb and McTavish; at the same time the circumstances were such as might naturally create suspicion, and lead to the measures of precaution adopted by the Earl of Selkirk and his followers; on their part, however, there does appear to have been considerable irregularity in the mode in which the seizure was made, and some reason from the evidence to suspect an ultimate illegal conversion, although there is not the smallest proof of this having taken place with the knowledge of the Earl of Selkirk; and was even the contrary the case, every impartial person would attribute the proceeding rather to a mistaken opinion of right, under the idea his Lordship appears evidently to have entertained, that the violences committed by his adversaries, were to be considered as acts of treason and rebellion, than to any possible design of felonious conversion for his private advantage. It is easy, however, at the same time to conceive, that the circumstances of the case being stated by McTavish and Vandersluys, to their legal advisers, with the exaggeration naturally incident to party spirit and exasperated feelings, might by these latter, imperfectly acquainted as they were with the state

of the country, be *bona-fide* considered as felonious; and also, that under their advice, McTavish and Vandersluys might take the affidavits above-mentioned, without being conscious of any criminality attaching thereto.

Mr. William McGillivray and all the other partners under arrest, with the exception of Daniel McKenzie, were sent off prisoners to York, after having been examined on the 15th by the Earl of Selkirk, in presence of captain Matthey, captain Lorimier of the Indian department, Mr. Beecher of the royal navy. Mr. John McNab and Mr. John Spencer, on the charges hereinbefore detailed.

Mr. William McGillivray, in his deposition (No. 251) states, "the canoes intended for himself and Mr. Kenneth McKenzie, although nearly finished, were refused, and crews of Iroquois were appointed in place of those usually employed for the canoes of the agents; that his own body servant was not allowed to accompany him, under pretence that he must undergo an examination; that the canoes were very much loaded and embarrassed with people; Mr. Kenneth McKenzie's had twenty-two grown persons on board, and being rather smaller than the others, filled and upset in a gale of wind near St. Mary's, on the 26th day of August, when Mr. Kenneth McKenzie and eight of the men were unfortunately drowned."

The circumstances above stated by Mr. McGillivray, are still more fully detailed in the joint deposition of John McDonald, Allan McDonnell and Daniel McKenzie (No. 167.)

John McGillivray, a partner of the North-West company, was sent down under a warrant of commitment to York in custody, as John Allan in his deposition (No. 280) states, he understood of Lieutenants Missami and Bramby. The particular facts which led to this commitment, have no where been stated before me, nor from what cause he obtained his liberty, and has not since been proceeded against in any shape. Mr. Allan states indeed, that he (John McGillivray) denied all participation in criminal designs or attempts against the colony; that he refused to say he had ever objected to the expenditure of the company's money, occasioned in producing the destruction of the colony; but stated, that any objection or protest of his as an individual, would have but little weight against the measures approved by the concern in general; that the papers found in his canoe were taken by a warrant, sealed up, as others had been, without examination, and set apart to be sent to Montreal.

On the 18th
August 1816.

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Sir J. C. Sher-
brooke's, of
20th July
1818; viz. Mr.
Coltman's Re-
port, &c.

On the 23d
August 1816.

On the 3d
September
1816.

All the clerks of the North-West company, with the exception of Messrs. McTavish, Taitt and Kennedy, left Fort William, as did Mr. McTavish, the day after; the latter having previously requested Mr. Allan, as stated by the latter in his deposition (No. 280), to accompany him to the North-West company's office, of which they jointly sealed up the keys in a small box, which was delivered to Mr. Taitt, whom McTavish left in charge of the North-West company's property. It is stated on the part of the North-West company, in the deposition of the said McTavish (No. 246), that from the 14th day of August to the 4th day of September, "the Earl of Selkirk
"remained in the forcible possession of Fort William, and
"all the buildings, goods, peltries, furs, provisions and
"moveable property of every kind therein, belonging to
"the said North-West company, and prevented the said
"North-West company, their agents, clerks and persons
"in their employ, to the number at least of two hundred
"and fifty, from transacting the business of the said
"North-West company, positively refusing to allow them
"to send their goods into the interior of the country, for
"the purpose of their trade and commerce, or to send
"their furs or peltries down to Montreal aforesaid, the
"whole of the said property of the said North-West com-
"pany, being from the time the said Earl of Selkirk en-
"tered the said establishment of Fort William, entirely
"at his disposal; that the goods in the said fort, belong-
"ing to the said North-West company, were of the value
"of twenty thousand pounds of sterling money of Great
"Britain, and upwards; that the said peltries and furs
"were of the value of seventy thousand pounds of sterl-
"ing money aforesaid, and upwards, and that the said
"provisions and moveable property were of the value of
"ten thousand pounds sterling money aforesaid and up-
"wards; that on the 15th day of August last past, at Fort
"William, the said captain Matthey told him in the pres-
"ence and hearing of the said Earl of Selkirk, that the
"soldiers, meaning the armed men in the uniforms of sol-
"diers, in the service of the said Earl of Selkirk, on hear-
"ing the first report of a gun or pistol on the outside of
"the fort from a Canadian or Indian, would most cer-
"tainly revenge themselves on the prisoners, and perhaps
"on himself (the said McTavish), and as they had been
"trained and accustomed to bloodshed on the Continent,
"they would stick at nothing; that on the 17th day of
"the said month of August, an officer with an armed sen-
"try took him before the said Earl of Selkirk, who order-

"ed him to prepare three canoes, with the usual provisions for twelve passengers; that in the night of the day last aforesaid, a man of the name of Landrieux, in the service of the said North-West company, was taken up and confined in the guard-house, by armed men in the service of the said Earl of Selkirk, for getting out of bed after ten o'clock at night; that on the 22d of the said month of August, some of the men in the service of the said Earl of Selkirk, entered one of the said buildings of the said North-West company, employed as a carpenter's work-shop, and there took the wood and timber belonging to the said North-West company, for the purpose of making carriages; that he called on the said Earl of Selkirk, in his capacity of a magistrate, and represented to him the conduct of the said men in taking the said wood and timber, and also the conduct of the men in the service of the said Earl of Selkirk in other respects, and asked redress on behalf of the said North-West company; that the said Earl of Selkirk told the deponent that he would not interfere, that he would not endanger his life to protect the property of the North-West company, and that he did not know whether the soldiers would obey him if he told them to desist; that on the day last aforesaid a canoe arrived at Fort William aforesaid, with dispatches for the said North-West company, among which dispatches were several copies of the proclamation of his Excellency the Governor of the said province, of the 16th day of July 1816; that the said dispatches and proclamations were taken by the said Captain Matthey, by the orders of the said Earl of Selkirk, and kept and detained by him; and notwithstanding his representing the necessity of forwarding the said proclamations to the interior of the Indian country, and offering to forward them, the said Earl would not permit them to be forwarded; that on the 23d day of August, the said captain Matthey, in his presence, told one Jasper Vandersluys, one of the clerks of the North-West company, who had some dispute with the soldiers respecting the key of the carpenter's shop, which the said Jasper Vandersluys refused giving up to them; that he (meaning the said Jasper Vandersluys,) had better leave his (meaning the said captain Matthey's) men alone, for that one of them told him, that he would take an axe and break his skull, and if the row once commenced he did not know where it would end, perhaps in bloodshed and burning the fort; that from the 29th day of August to the 4th day of September

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“ber, the day on which he was sent from Fort William
“aforesaid by the said Earl of Selkirk, the said Earl and
“several of his men were tampering with the men in the
“service of the said North-West company, enticing and
“seducing them to desert and abandon the service of the
“said North-West company, in which they were engaged
“by written contracts; sometimes commanding them in
“the King’s name to perform voyages to different places
“for the said Earl of Selkirk, and at other times, and par-
“ticularly on the 2d day of September, the said Earl
“of Selkirk addressed the men in the service of the North-
“West company, and told them, that he would cancel all
“engagements, and stand all consequences; and on the
“same day one Letemps, a man in the service of the North-
“West company, was confined in the guard-house by per-
“sons in the service of the said Earl of Selkirk, for re-
“fusing to enter the room where the said Earl of Selkirk
“was addressing the men; that he himself advised the
“men in the service of the North-West company not to
“break their engagements with the said North-West com-
“pany, or suffer themselves to be seduced from their
“duty; that in consequence of this the said Earl of Sel-
“kirk accused him of receiving stolen goods, and on the
“said 4th day of September sent him down to Montreal
“without a warrant; that the said Earl did not examine
“him respecting any charge whatsoever against him, and
“that he verily believes that the said Earl made use of
“his office and authority of Justice of the Peace, to send
“away himself and the other clerks in the service of the
“said North-West company from Fort William aforesaid,
“because they advised the men in the service of the said
“North-West company not to break their engagements,
“or suffer themselves to be seduced from their duty.”

The general tenor, and many on the circumstances con-
tained in this statement, are confirmed by the depositions
of Lieutenants Missani and Bramby before-mentioned (No.
242 and 243,) of William McGillivray, and of John Mc-
Donald, Allan McDonnell, and Daniel McKenzie, partners
of the North-West company (No. 251 and 267,) of Robert
McRobb, William Henry, Richard Grant, Robert Cowie
and James Taitt, clerks of the company (No. 245, 252, 253,
254 and 270) and by those of John Spatts, Joseph Gun-
nerman, Joseph Vandal, John Baptiste Wells, Jacques
Letemps, Antoine Colin, William Morrison and Michael
Chretien, engaged servants of the said company (No. 255,
256, 257, 258, 259, 260 and 278,) particularly as to the
inducements held out to many of them to break their

engagements, and the ill-treatment of such as would not do so. By the depositions of Missani and Bramby, it further appears, that previous to their departure, about the 23d August, the Earl of Selkirk had taken up his quarters at a house formerly occupied by the gentlemen of the North-West company, and that some of the Earl's people were also quartered in other apartments and buildings within the fort; this appears from the general tenor of Mr. William McGillivray's deposition, not to have been the case till after his departure; and Robert Cowie, in his deposition expressly states such to be the fact, and that it was on or about the 19th of August that the Earl of Selkirk took personal possession and commenced living in the fort; by the depositions of Mr. Wm. McGillivray and John McDonald, Allan McDonnell and Daniel McKenzie, complaints are made of the severity with which the prisoners were treated, in being removed from their own lodgings into one building, and there confined in separate rooms. Of the communication with their clerks and other servants (with the exception of two or three allowed to bring them their meals) being prevented, Messrs. Missani and Bramby being also told to discontinue their visits, (which however these gentlemen refused to do unless force was used, but confined themselves to two short visits a day;) they further also complain of the interruption caused to their trade by their servants being prevented working as usual, particularly the canoe-makers, and other men who had lodged in the fort for the purpose of carrying on the necessary work, being turned out and sent across the river; and of the detention of their canoes for the interior, for which the uniform reason said to be assigned was, that the exigencies of the business must give way to the course of justice, and that a few days would make no difference; and they finally allege, that of the men whose affidavits were taken by the Earl of Selkirk, several were imprisoned in the first instance, and when frightened examined upon oath; proceedings which, although perhaps in some respects irregular, yet appear by no means inconsistent with a *bona fide* intention on the part of the Earl of Selkirk, of promoting the ends of public justice as a magistrate.

Some of the subsequent alleged proceedings on the part of his Lordship, can however scarcely admit of this justification; such as the refusal on the 22d August, of taking steps as a magistrate to prevent the plunder and destruction of the North-West company's property, as hereinbefore mentioned to have been stated by Mr. Mc-

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Tavish; the taking possession on the 2d September of the keys of the provision stores of the North-West company, and directing that no provisions should be issued except by the order of captain Matthey, as stated in the depositions of McRobb and Cowie, the preventing any furs from being sent down to Montreal, or any goods into the interior, whereby the trade of the North-West company was entirely stopped, as stated in the various depositions, but more particularly in those of McTavish, Cowie and Grant; the sending away from Fort William the principal clerks of the company. James McTavish, on a charge of receiving stolen goods, but without (as stated by him in his deposition) any warrant, and Robert McRobb, Robert Cowie and Richard Grant, under subpoenas to appear as witnesses on an accusation against William McGillivray, for conspiracy, an original copy whereof is annexed to McRobb's deposition, but without (as stated by all three) any previous examination whether they had a knowledge of any facts relative to the charge; circumstances which certainly tend to give a colour of probability to the allegation, that the real motive of their being thus sent away was the better to enable the Earl and his partizans to induce the voyageur servants of the North-West company to break their engagements, and to conduct his Lordship's canoes into the interior; an object which appears to have been of material importance. McRobb in his deposition, states, that "he heard his Lordship tell Mr. McTavish, "that he must not dissuade the men; that if he did, it "would be at his peril;" and "that he was informed by "the men that they were commanded in the name of Government;" and the men themselves in their depositions already mentioned, recapitulate the various means used to induce them to violate their engagement, as sometimes threats, sometimes promises; on other occasions increased wages and cheaper supplies, together with the alleged commands of Government, and assurances that the North-West company would never return; that many of the partners would be hanged, and that the country belonged to them (the Hudson's Bay company's party;) and lastly, by the imprisonment, in some cases, of those who appeared most zealous in the service of the North-West company.

On the part of the Earl of Selkirk, John Allan, who alone enters into the details of this period, on his Lordship's behalf, gives a statement, which without directly contradicting the facts stated in the other depositions, shows in some degree the impressions under which the Earl may have been gradually led to the adoption of the

course of conduct pursued by him, without himself perhaps being sensible of any impropriety; he states, "That on the 20th August, in consequence, as he believes, of information laid before the Earl of Selkirk, on oath, a warrant was issued for searching Fort William; and a quantity of furs, between 30 and 40 packs, as he understood, were found, of which certain individuals in the service of the Hudson's Bay company had been robbed in the Qui Appelle river, by persons employed by the North-West company. That the said furs were stated to have been re-packed at Fort William." That in the course of searching Fort William for stolen goods, about twenty bales, intended for Red River department, were discovered; that these contained the habillements for the Brulés hereinbefore mentioned, and particularly referred to in the Earl of Selkirk's letter to the Attorney General of Upper Canada. "That these bales were set apart by Lord Selkirk's orders, and afterwards sent to the Sheriff at Montreal, to be produced as evidence when required by the Attorney General. That in consequence of these discoveries and others, showing the joint purpose of the North-West company against the settlers, Lord Selkirk determined to pass the winter at Fort William, stating to him (Allan,) that he conceived himself bound to deliver up the place to Government, since it had been used by the North-West company as a rendezvous of robbers and murderers, and the receptacle of their plunder; and that he also considered he had a right in law to hold in his possession the property of the North-West company contained in the fort, as a pledge to secure the reparation of the damages they had done to his property, and to that of his settlers and others under his protection at Red River. That on the 25th August, McTavish and Vandersluys having applied to Lord Selkirk for permission to send goods to Red River and Lac la Pluie departments, were informed by his Lordship, that he considered Mr. Alexander McDonnell, of Red River department, and the servants of the North-West company, who, under his orders, had dislodged the settlement, and murdered Governor Semple, to be in a state of rebellion against the Government, and that therefore he could not be justified if he allowed any supplies to be sent to them, or to any place within their reach. That on the 26th August Mr. Pritchard set out for the interior with the proclamations of Sir John Sherbrooke, dated 16th July, intended to prevent violence in the country, but was much afraid he would be stopped by

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“the servants and partners of the North-West company
“on the way, especially at Bas de la Riviere, which he
“himself had seen them fortifying with some of the artil-
“lery of which they had plundered the settlement. That
“the same day he (Allan) was present when Lord Selkirk
“proposed to McTavish and Vandersluys, as representing
“the North-West company, to draw up an agreement for
“submitting to arbitration such of the injuries which had
“been mutually sustained in the interior, as would admit
“of compensation in damages. That upon this they
“seemed much pleased, and Vandersluys smilingly said,
“that he hoped some arrangement would also be made
“by his Lordship for releasing the gentlemen who had
“been sent off prisoners. That to this Lord Selkirk re-
“plied, it was a matter wholly out of his power, resting
“solely with the Attorney General, and had nothing to do
“with the arrangement which he spoke of, which was to
“extend only to pecuniary damages. That Lord Selkirk
“afterwards sent to them a written proposal on this sub-
“ject, which they answered next day, declining to enter
“into the arrangement proposed. That on the 27th Au-
“gust, the weather beginning to be very cold, the men
“struck their tents, which were outside the fort, and en-
“tered for their quarters one of the buildings which was
“vacant. That on the 28th August the furs of the Hud-
“son’s Bay company, before mentioned, were sent off to
“the Sheriff of Montreal to be produced in evidence, and
“that on the 29th, the goods of Lord Selkirk and the Hud-
“son’s Bay company, which had till then remained in the
“boats, were lodged in one of the buildings.” Mr. Allan
annexes to his aforesaid deposition copies of various let-
ters and extracts of letters from the Earl of Selkirk
(marked D. I. K. L.) to Sir John Sherbrooke, in explana-
tion of his Lordship’s proceedings; and he closes his depo-
sition by stating, that he has been informed and believes,
that the engagement of the men of the late regiment De
Meuron was communicated to his Excellency Sir John
Coape Sherbrooke, by letter dated the 16th June 1816,
by the Earl of Selkirk, and had previously been stated
verbally to General Wilson, when administering the Gov-
ernment.

John Johnston, Esq. of the Sault St. Mary’s, at that
time a magistrate for the Indian territories, arrived at
Fort William, as attorney and agent for the North-West
company, in virtue of a regular power of attorney to that
effect. It appears by his deposition (No. 266,) the whole
of which, as the evidence of a disinterested man of char-

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acter, is most highly important. That after exhibiting his power of attorney, "he demanded the evacuation of "Fort William by the Earl and his followers, and the safe "delivery thereof to himself, as agent of the said North-
"West Company, together with the property therein contained. To which request the said Earl gave for answer, "that the said Fort was held, together with all the stores, "goods, and packs therein, as a pledge, until retribution "was made for the outrages and losses sustained by his "Lordship and the Hudson's Bay Company, all over the "interior; but the business of the place should go on as "usual under Mr. Taitt, a clerk of the North-West Company, still remaining at the post, and that all things "required by his Lordship should be duly receipted for. "That he then demanded liberty to send off the canoes "for Red River, which was refused by the said Earl, on the "ground of not furnishing supplies to the rebels who were "in possession of that neighbourhood; and then demanding that the outfit for Lake la Pluie, and Lake Winnipeg, might be sent off, he was in like manner refused, "on the ground that the Brulés might go to those posts "and get their supplies, as well as at Red River; that "perceiving that the Earl of Selkirk persisted to hold "possession of the fort, and was supported by a military "force which there was no means of resisting, he next "inquired what he should do with the vessel and cargo, "to which the Earl replied, the latter might be landed "in all safety, and that he would allow some of his people to assist in discharging the vessel; that in consequence, during the course of the same day, two boats, "with some Canadians, and other persons in the military "uniform of the late regiment De Meuron, came alongside "of the vessel in two batteaux, but could not take away "full loads, on account of the wind being too high; that "on this occasion the said men of the late regiment De "Meuron, proceeded to unlash two small brass guns on "board the vessel; and being asked by whose authority "they were doing so, replied, by that of the Earl of Selkirk, "or words to that effect; that he therefore went ashore, "and complained to the Earl of Selkirk of the transaction, who replied, that it was done as a measure of precaution." Mr. Johnston adds, "that on the 12th day "of September he embarked on his return to the Falls of "St. Mary, having previously renewed his demand in "writing for the restoration of the Fort and property "therein contained, and received a written refusal thereof "from the said Earl, with which he conceived it incumbent

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"upon him to proceed to Montreal, to deliver the same
 "to the agents of the North-West Company there." Of
 this document a copy has been proved before me by James
 C. McTavish, who annexes to his deposition (No. 404,) a
 copy taken from the original in the Earl of Selkirk's writ-
 ing; there is not, however, any thing remarkable in the
 purport thereof, excepting the total omission of any pre-
 tension of holding the Fort for the purpose of delivering
 it to Government, as hereinbefore mentioned in Mr.
 Allan's deposition, as the motive for its retention, and
 which was again repeated in the depositions of John Mc-
 Nab and John Spencer (Nos. 379 and 380,) as the final
 orders given to the former when left in possession thereof,
 on the Earl's proceeding to the interior of the Indian ter-
 ritories; and it is perfectly notorious, that the same has
 been publicly and generally repeated by the partizans
 of the Earl in the present paper; however, his Lordship
 expressly states his perfect readiness to comply with the
 requisition or the restoration of the said Fort, and the
 property therein, as soon as the North-West Company
 "shall have restored the property illegally seized by their
 "servants at Red River, in the month of June last, and
 "made adequate compensation for the damage occasioned
 "by that and other injuries on their part." Johnston
 further adds, that previous to his leaving Fort William
 on the 12th day of September, "the Earl of Selkirk pro-
 "posed to him to take down a cargo of furs, on condition
 "that they should be consigned to some third party to be
 "disposed of, and the proceeds to wait the decision of
 "an arbitration, which the said Earl proposed as a means
 "of settling the disputes of property between himself
 "and the North-West Company, leaving the punishment
 "of the offences committed to the laws of the country,
 "with which he did not feel authorized to comply; also,
 "that he did not, at any time, directly or indirectly con-
 "sent to the removal of the guns before-mentioned from
 "the vessel, although from dread of the military force at
 "Lord Selkirk's disposal, he did not remonstrate further
 "than hereinbefore stated." The taking of these cannon
 being one of those occurrences relative to which the North-
 West Company have charged the Earl of Selkirk with a
 felonious conversion of their property, a good deal of evi-
 dence has been produced on the subject.

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On the part of the North-West Company, Robert Mc-
 Cargo, Augustine Des Hayes, and William Morrison, in
 their depositions (No. 261, 262, and 264,) confirm the for-
 cible taking of the cannon from on board the vessel; and

Jacob Witschy, and Jacques Chatelain, in their depositions (No. 263 and 265) state the same, being on the 12th September sent after the party which had set out a day or two previously for the interior, under the command of Captain d'Orsonnens.

On the part of the Earl of Selkirk, Jacob Witschy before-mentioned, states in his deposition (No. 283,) that at the time he was sent on board of the aforesaid vessel to take possession of the two pieces of cannon, by order of captain Matthey, Mr. Johnston was present, and must necessarily have heard the order, and that when on board, the cannon were pointed out to him and delivered without the smallest difficulty; and captain D'Orsonnens in his deposition (No. 285.) states, that he heard Mr. Johnston direct Robert McCargo, the captain of the vessel, to deliver up two small cannon, and the balls belonging thereto, when demanded on the part of Lord Selkirk, as a measure of necessary precaution.

John Allan states, in his deposition, "that he heard "Mr. Johnston say, while at Fort William aforesaid, that "he had been authorized by Mr. McGillivray to require, "on the part of the North-West company, that Lord Selkirk should deliver up Fort William to him, and that in "compliance with his instructions, he would make the demand in writing, but that he thought Lord Selkirk ought "not to give the place back to them without some authority besides his own, seeing that it had been used by "them as a rendezvous for highwaymen and murderers, "and the receptacle of their plunder, or words of similar "import and meaning." Mr. Allan also states, in his deposition, "that whilst Mr. Johnston was at Fort William, "the parcel of letters of which Leigimoniere had been "robbed, was found in a locked press, in the corner of "the council room; that his attention had been frequently "called by Daniel McKenzie to this place, but that he "had conceived no papers would be left there, as the "partners of the North-West company, after their arrest, "had passed part of the evening of the 13th August in "that apartment, and that a great many papers had been "burnt by them that night; that he had in consequence "delayed from time to time opening the press, but after "having in vain inquired for the key, he caused the lock "to be forced open in presence of captains Matthey and "D'Orsonnens, and found in it, wrapped in a piece of bark, "most of the letters and papers in question, including two "warrants in the hand-writing of James Stewart, Esq. "Montreal, for the arrest of some of the individuals who

"had been active in burning the settlers houses in 1815;
 "exclusive whereof, he had frequently seen the fragments
 "of one of the papers contained in the said dispatch, viz.
 "of the warrant for the arrest of Alexander McDonnell,
 "which was torn up, but recognized by the Earl of Sel-
 "kirk; that upon discovering the parcel aforesaid, cap-
 "tain Matthey went for Mr. Johnston and the Earl of Sel-
 "kirk, who, after seeing the place in which the said par-
 "cel was found, recognized each of them, letters in their
 "own hand-writing, and the seals of all the letters were
 "broken open; facts which Mr. Johnson also confirms in
 "his deposition." Of the letter containing the warrants,
 addressed by the Earl of Selkirk to Colin Robertson, Mr.
 Allan has annexed to his deposition, a copy marked R,
 in consequence of a requisition from me to that effect,
 arising from a report which it was notorious had been
 circulated by the partizans of the North-West company,
 that blank warrants had been inclosed therein; this fact
 appears by the tenor of the letter, not to be correct, but
 at the same time, the order contained therein to enforce
 a warrant against Bostonois only in the event of his con-
 tinuing hostile, evidently shows the imperfect view taken
 by the Earl of Selkirk, of the duties of a magistrate un-
 der the English law, independent of the further illegality
 of the orders contained in this letter, for the forcible seiz-
 ure of the North-West company's post, herein-before
 referred to.

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Mr. Owen Keveney, a clerk in the service of the Hud-
 son's Bay company, or of the Earl of Selkirk, was mur-
 dered at the Dalles, on the river Winipic. A large body
 of evidence relative to the horrid affair, will be found
 collected in the depositions filed from No. 288 and 321.
 From the concurrent evidence of all those examined, who
 had a knowledge of the affair, it appears morally certain,
 that the murder was committed by Charles de Reinhard,
 a clerk in the service of the North-West company, for-
 merly a serjeant in the regiment De Meuron, assisted by
 Francois Mainville, a half-breed, also in the service of that
 company; and that the Indian called the "Fils de la Per-
 drix Blanche," was present at the affair, but took no part
 therein. It is true, that Reinhard himself states the mat-
 ter differently, saying, that it was Mainville who first
 shot Keveney, and that he only stabbed him in order to
 end his sufferings; this account, however, although in
 some degree supported by the ambiguous expression used
 on the subject by Faille and La Pointe, two of the prin-
 cipal witnesses, in their original depositions at Fort Will-

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iam, is finally contradicted by them on their further examination, as well as by every other witness who has deposed to the fact; whilst the opposite statements made at different times by Reinhard himself, diminishes any confidence that might otherwise be placed in his declaration. As respects McLellan, the North-West partner, and the other persons charged as accessaries to this crime, the evidence is so extremely contradictory, that nothing further could be done than to secure the attendance of as many witnesses as possible, in order that the fullest investigation might take place before a jury, who alone are competent to decide to which party credit should be given. If not acting under the direct orders of those accused of having instigated the murder, it may be inferred from the general tenor of the evidence, that Reinhard was led to the commission of the crime, partly by the prospect of obtaining a considerable booty in the clothes and other property of Keveney, and partly from an idea that in the inflamed and hostile state of mind openly expressed towards their opponents, by the partizans of the North-West company, he should be considered as having rendered an acceptable service to the company; whilst at the same time, the general violence of Keveney's conduct as a prisoner, might to a person of the lax principles and sanguinary habits naturally formed in the mind of a mercenary soldier, by the scenes of violence and bloodshed so frequently witnessed during the revolutionary wars, appear to afford some excuse for the crime. Such at least seems, by the declaration of different witnesses, to have been the apology made by him, when reproached for what he had done.

James Grant, a partner of the North-West company, was arrested at Fond du Lac, within the United States of America, by F. C. Pambrun, by virtue of a warrant from the Earl of Selkirk, as more particularly detailed in the deposition of the said Grant, No. 236, who states also the detention by the Earl of Selkirk at Fort William, of a quantity of liquor and other goods; as also of one Rousin, the clerk in charge thereof, destined for the department of Fond du Lac, to the great injury of the trade carried on there by John Jacob Astor, a citizen of the United States, conjointly with certain individuals connected with the North-West company.

This arrest appears evidently to have been grounded on the robbery of Legimmoniere's dispatch; and although the execution of the warrant within the territory of the United States, was irregular, yet it may be easily ac-

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counted for, under the ambiguous terms of the Act of the 43d George 3d; whilst the detention of the goods most probably arose from the same causes as were assigned by the Earl of Selkirk to Mr. Johnston, for refusing leave to send supplies to any post within the reach of Red River.

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Certain deeds were executed by the Earl of Selkirk on one part, and by Mr. Daniel McKenzie, for the North-West company, on the other, purporting to be a sale of the goods and chattels of the said company at Fort William; a submission to arbitration of all matters in difference between the Earl and the company, in regard to damages arising from alleged injuries, aggressions and trespasses on either side, and an agreement for a mutual pledge for the due fulfilment of the award; copies whereof marked G. H. and I. together with that of a letter from the *said* Daniel McKenzie to the Earl of Selkirk further to give effect thereto, marked K., are annexed to the joint deposition of John McDonald, Allan McDonnell, and Daniel McKenzie, (No. 267.) Daniel McKenzie states in the above-mentioned deposition, that at the period the other North-West partners were sent off as prisoners, "he "was extremely desirous of accompanying them, and accordingly made several applications to the Earl of Selkirk, for that purpose, who however refused such request, and ordered him to be detained, which was accordingly done; and he was confined for several days a "close prisoner in his own room in Fort William." That afterwards, "he was by order of the said Earl, confined "in a prison at Fort William, which was erected as a "common prison for the adjacent parts of the Indian territory, some time after the first establishment of the "magistracy for the territories, where he was kept in the "dark, except as to such light as pervaded the chinks in "the building, there being no window in the dungeon in "which he was so confined." That whilst thus confined, one McPherson, Miles McDonnell, and Dr. Allan, and some others, "came frequently to him, to persuade him to "submit himself in all respects to the said Earl, and to "yield obedience to whatever he might direct, telling "him that the evidence against him, with regard to the "destruction of the settlement of the Red River was very "strong; that it would be a very serious business for him; "that the other partners of the North-West company were "utterly ruined, and would certainly suffer; and that it "was folly for him to sacrifice himself and his family, "for persons who did not care for him; and incessantly

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“used other representations of the same kind, tending to induce him to yield implicit submission and obedience to whatever they or his Lordship might dictate; and that being at length wearied out with the hardships of his confinement and their importunities; and having expressed to Captain D’Orsonneus a disposition to conform himself to their advice, in case he was released from the said dungeon; he was removed therefrom into another building, where he was still kept confined a close prisoner under a guard. That from the time of his being so removed from the said dungeon, impressed as his mind was with the hardships which he had suffered, the danger in which he imagined his life was, and the constant suggestions and importunities of those around him, he did accordingly yield implicit submission and obedience to whatever they dictated, being frequently also in a state of intoxication, and accordingly for a period of six weeks or thereabouts next following, was in the habit of writing whatever letters or other papers were dictated to him. That the said Miles McDonnell was very frequently with him to induce him to write or sign different papers, sometimes dictating to him verbally, and making him write what he so dictated; and at other times bringing him drafts of letters or papers for him to copy in his own handwriting.” In further support of this statement, he annexes to his deposition the originals of various papers, marked A. B. C. D. E. and F. either in the hand-writing of the said Miles McDonnell, or of the Earl of Selkirk, or otherwise written by himself, and interlined and corrected by the said Miles McDonnell.

He further states, that whilst a prisoner at Fort William, by the direction of the said Earl of Selkirk, and and of the said Miles McDonnell and other persons in his employment, he signed and executed the several deeds or paper writings herein above-mentioned. And he adds, “that having in consequence of such his implicit obedience and submission to all the orders and commands of the said Earl of Selkirk, and the persons in his employ, been ultimately discharged from such his imprisonment at Fort William aforesaid; and feeling great regret and compunction at his having been so compelled to execute papers, which might possibly be so highly detrimental to the interests, not only of himself, but of the other partners of the North-West company, on his arrival at Drummond’s Island, which was the nearest place to Fort William aforesaid, at which any notary public

"resided; he went on or about the 11th day of November, "before Mr. James Grant, a notary public, and David Mitchell, Esq., a justice of the peace, both resident there, "and in their presence made and subscribed the protest "or paper;" an original copy whereof (marked I.) he annexes to his deposition, and he declares, "that the "representations therein contained, with regard to the influence under which he was induced to execute the several instruments or other paper writings therein mentioned, are in all respects true."

He further adds, that Miles McDonnell told him one day, that it was the request of the Earl of Selkirk "that "he should write a letter to his "name-sake at Nipigon "(meaning one Roderick McKenzie, who was then in "charge of the post there) advising him to keep back the "packs in his possession, as an indemnification for whatever the company might be indebted to him, as they were "quite ruined, and that perhaps he might find a passage "for them by the way of Hudson's Bay, but which letter "he believes he never did write; that on or about the "11th day of October now last past, the said Earl came "to him, having provided a canoe at Fort William for "that purpose, and ordered him to embark for Montreal, "asking him at the same time whether he had written a "circular letter to the different clerks and partners of the "North-West company in the interior, to the same purport "as the one which he had been desired to write to his "namesake, and upon his answering in the negative, "said that he should give the said Miles McDonnell "their names, and that he should write to them in his name;" a copy of such circular letter from the said Miles McDonnell, to certain of the North-West partners in the interior, dated Fort William the 14th October 1816, has accordingly been proved before me (Deposition No. 152, marked Z.) the contents whereof will be found of the highest importance towards forming a correct judgment of the transactions at Fort William.

The statements of Daniel McKenzie are further confirmed in several particulars, by the depositions of James Taitt, John Theodore Messani, and Charles Bramby, John Johnston, James Grant, Donald McIntosh, and Alexander Kennedy, No. 270, 244, 266, 268, 269, 271, and 272: James Taitt stating, "that Daniel McKenzie, after the other "prisoners were sent off, was for some time confined with "a sentry over him, in a building in the fort, called The "North-West House, and was from thence removed into "a dungeon, as he understood and believes, by the order of

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“the Earl of Selkirk; that after the said Daniel McKenzie
“had been some time confined in the said dungeon and
“other places, he was called upon to witness certain in-
“struments in writing, signed by the said Earl of Selkirk
“and the said Daniel McKenzie, and that on his objecting
“to sign such writings, without knowing their contents,
“he was answered by the said Earl of Selkirk, that it was
“unnecessary for a witness to know the contents of a pa-
“per, it was sufficient for him to see the parties sign and
“seal it; that he did not know at the time, but heard
“afterwards that the papers or instruments so signed by
“him as a witness, contained a transfer or sale of the
“North-West company’s property at Fort William; that
“some time previous to such sale, he showed to the
“Earl of Selkirk a letter written by John Dugald
“Cameron, one of the partners of the North-West com-
“pany in charge of the affairs of the said company.
“at the Sault of St. Mary, to Messrs. James C. McTa-
“vish and Jasper Vandersluys, and opened by Mr. John-
“ston, in presence of himself, after the departure of
“these gentlemen; which (letter annexed by him to his
“deposition) distinctly stated that no attention should
“be paid to the orders of the said Daniel McKenzie, he
“being a retired partner, and therefore not authorized
“to interfere in the arrangement of the affairs of the
“said company at Fort William; and that the said
“letter, and also one from the said Mr. Johnston to
“himself, relative to the duties to be performed by
“him, were given to the said Earl of Selkirk, and
“retained by him, an hour after which they were re-
“turned.” He further states the general authority
and control exercised by the Earl and his adherents
over the servants and property of the North-West com-
pany, by means of his armed force and military array;
and particularly that for a length of time previous to
the sale, “the Earl would not allow him to issue from
“the store of the company then nominally in his charge,
“such provisions or stores as were from time to time
“required, for the persons in the employ of the said com-
“pany, without the sanction of him, the said Earl of Sel-
“kirk, or some of his attendants;” and also that he was
frequently applied to before the said sale, “to issue many
“articles out of the North-West company’s stores, for
“the use of the men of the said Earl of Selkirk, for which
“he took receipts from Captain Matthey, the person who
“appeared to him to be appointed by the said Earl to
“make such requisitions, and to give receipts for such

"articles as were received on account of the said Earl of Selkirk;" and he further adds, that he "was induced to issue such articles as were required for the use of the servants and men of the said Earl of Selkirk, from the conviction that resistance was in vain, and that if he did not comply with their wishes, they would take any thing they stood in need of, without his permission." Missani and Bramby state, in their joint deposition, that the examination of Daniel McKenzie was deferred to the 20th August; "that they cannot recollect what took place at the said examination, but that it appeared generally that the Earl of Selkirk considered the said Daniel McKenzie as particularly culpable; that after his examination the prisoner was remanded into confinement, but in a manner which led them to conceive that no other confinement was intended than that had heretofore been practised towards himself, and the other partners, by placing them in a room, with a sentry over them: that it was consequently with the greatest surprise, they afterwards learnt that he had been sent to the common prison: that on the 22d day of the said month of August, the proclamation of the Governor General, of the month of July preceding, was received, and in the course of the same day they saw the said Daniel McKenzie apparently a prisoner, but confined only in a room in the fort; and that they observed Mr. Miles McDonnell talking familiarly with him, but had no knowledge of any second examination, or other circumstances which should have prevented the said Daniel McKenzie from being sent down as the other persons had been for trial."

Mr. Johnson states, that during the period of his being at Fort William, he frequently saw Daniel McKenzie, whom he understood to have been previously in confinement, but was then entirely at liberty, "although as well every other person was necessarily to a certain degree under restraint from the armed force at Lord Selkirk's disposal; and that in consequence Daniel McKenzie wishing to leave Fort William with himself, requested him to apply to the Earl of Selkirk for his permission so to do, which he accordingly did, but could not obtain the same;" and he further added, "That during his stay at Fort William, Daniel McKenzie was nowise in charge of the property of the North-West company there, nor did he understand he had been so at any time previous to his arrival there, nor did he leave him in any sort of charge, but on the

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“contrary left his written instructions with James Taitt, “whom he always understood to have had the charge “after the departure of the other clerks.”

James Grant and McIntosh, in their depositions, state principally declarations made to them by Daniel McKenzie, during his passage from Fort William, of similar purport to his subsequent deposition; and particularly that he pleaded in defence of his conduct in making the sale herein before mentioned, “the state of continued “intoxication in which he was kept at Fort William, as “well as the bodily fear he experienced on account of the “Meurons, who, to use his own expression, he apprehended “would run him through, or commit some act of violence “on his family.” James Grant adds, that Daniel McKenzie *requested* him to sanction the agreement which had been entered into between him and the Earl of Selkirk, to which request he refused to accede. Alexander Kennedy, in his deposition, states, chiefly the various articles belonging to the North-West company, taken possession of and converted to his own use by the Earl of Selkirk, including five canoes, and four packs of furs: these occurrences were a good deal dwelt upon on the part of the North-West company, who in respect to the furs in particular, which were brought down to St. Mary’s, appeared at one time to expect they should be able to prove a felonious conversion. On the whole there is, however, little reason to doubt that the canoes, etc., were delivered by Mr. Taitt, in the manner described by him on requisitions made and receipts given; and that the furs having been the produce of the local trade at Fort William, formed part of the property conveyed by Daniel McKenzie’s sale, and must of course rest on the same footing as the whole of that transaction.

On the part of the Earl of Selkirk, John Pritchard states in his deposition (No. 287,) that this was the case, and that the said furs were included in an inventory made of the property so sold. He also states, that on his return from Lake la Pluie, he found Daniel McKenzie, who had been previously arrested by the Earl of Selkirk, at large in Fort William; that on the first arrival of the Earl, McKenzie requested him to inform his Lordship, that he, McKenzie, was the last person arrived from Red River, and should be happy to give his Lordship any intelligence; “that he had afterwards seen him once or “twice whilst a prisoner in his own room, and, lastly, “when in the prison of the fort; and that he had appeared much depressed, and anxious to disclose the

“crimes in which he and his partners had participated,” —he adds, “that he had been asked by him whether he “could be received as King’s evidence, and that he had “acknowledged he had answered the Earl foolishly, which “was the cause of his having been removed to prison;” that he, Pritchard, stated, in reply, “that it would certainly be his interest either to say nothing or to come forward “and declare the whole truth fully and openly; that nothing however further had taken place previous to his proceeding to Lac la Pluie; but that, upon his return to Fort William, he was informed, and verily believes, that the said Daniel McKenzie had made a full disclosure in writing, in consequence whereof he was set at liberty; and “that he has himself frequently heard the said McKenzie “declare that his testimony alone was sufficient to hang “Mr. McGillivray, towards whom the said McKenzie at “all times expressed great hostility; that some days after “his arrival at Fort William, he had a knowledge of a sale “made by the said Daniel McKenzie, of the moveable property at Fort William, to the Earl of Selkirk, and that “deeds were duly executed for the same, as well as for “a submission to arbitration; and that he has a certain “knowledge that in agreeing to this sale and executing “the other papers before mentioned, the said Daniel “McKenzie acted without any restraint whatsoever, and “appeared to consider the arrangement as advantageous “to himself and the other wintering partners; that whilst “the inventory was taking, he frequently expressed his “anxiety that the amount thereof should prove large, appearing to consider it as so much property saved to the “North-west company’s wintering partners, which would “otherwise be expended by Mr. William McGillivray in “law; that soon after the inventory was completed, Daniel McKenzie stated to him his wish to go to Red River, “where he said he might be serviceable from his influence “with the half-breeds; but that he, Pritchard, having “communicated the same to the Earl of Selkirk, learnt “that the testimony of the said Daniel McKenzie was so “important, that he must be sent down to Montreal, and “he accordingly embarked some days afterwards, being “under no sort of restraint, but going down, as he understood, a voluntary witness, zealous for the discovery of “truth, without it having been deemed necessary to put him “under recognizance;” that at Sault St. Mary, they met with Mr. Pierre de Rochblave, a partner of the North-West company, who took away two of their canoes; that, in crossing Lake Huron, they met with John McLaughlin,

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another partner of the company, who had some conversation with Daniel McKenzie, and subsequently met with John McDonald, also a partner of the said company, together with Mr. Smith, the under sheriff of the western district of Upper Canada, "with whom the said Daniel McKenzie, whose spirits had appeared much depressed "from the period of leaving Sault St. Mary, embarked, "saying to him (Pritchard,) that he was obliged to do "so, as a prisoner, for selling Fort William, although "he himself saw no species of coercion used towards "him." John Allan, in his deposition (No. 280,) states, that it being late in the day on the 15th of August, when the examinations of the other prisoners were completed, that of Daniel McKenzie was postponed to another day; that, on the 20th of August, Daniel McKenzie was examined in presence of Lieutenants Bramby and Missani, and of himself, when he refused to answer most questions, and generally denied all knowledge of the crimes with which he was charged; that, after this examination, he was committed to an apartment in the fort universally used as a gaol; that during the short time Daniel McKenzie was confined in the gaol at Fort William, he (Allan) was informed by McNab, that McKenzie desired to see him on account of his health; that having seen him, "he gave him some advice, promised to send him some "medicine, and was about to retire, when McKenzie pressed him to say what he thought of his (McKenzie's,) "situation in respect to the charges against him; and "that seeing McKenzie extremely anxious, he said that "it was certainly a serious matter to be accused of having attempted to raise the Indians against a settlement "of the King's subjects; but that if it had been done in "obedience to instructions from others, their crime was "greater than his, or something of like import and meaning; that McKenzie also asked him if the evidence of "an Indian would be received against a white man; "to which he replied, that he knew no law to prevent it; that McKenzie then asked him what was the "meaning of a King's evidence, to which he said he was "not a lawyer, and could not tell correctly; but being "still importuned to tell his opinion of it, he at last said, "that he understood it to be a person who being concerned in a crime with others, is exempt from prosecution himself on giving evidence against his accomplices; "that after this visit he stated to Lord Selkirk, that he "thought Mr. McKenzie's health would be injured if he "were to continue a length of time in the gaol, and that his

"illness seemed the effect of intemperance; that Lord Sel-
 "kirk then proposed to prevent his having access to any
 "liquor at all, or to allow such a proportion only as could
 "not produce intoxication; but he represented, that the
 "total and sudden loss of his accustomed beverage might
 "prove prejudicial to Mr. McKenzie's health; that the re-
 "stricting a gentleman in his circumstances to a measured
 "allowance would, though an act of humanity, wear the
 "appearance of harsh and arbitrary treatment, and that
 "he trusted the advice he had given to McKenzie upon
 "that subject, would not be without its effect; and that
 "upon these representations he believes the proposal
 "of restricting his allowance was, upon that occasion,
 "abandoned; that, on the forenoon of the 22d of August,
 "Mr. Daniel McKenzie was, at his own desire, re-ex-
 "amined by the Earl of Selkirk, when, in presence of
 "himself, he asked if any thing he might say would be
 "turned against himself; to which Lord Selkirk replied,
 "that he could not without the sanction of the Attorney
 "General admit him as King's evidence, but that if he
 "chose to communicate information of material import-
 "ance, he would recommend to the Attorney General
 "to allow him to become evidence for the Crown; and
 "his Lordship added, that if there were sufficient grounds
 "for it, he had no reason to doubt that the Attorney
 "General would consent to the recommendation; that
 "the said Daniel McKenzie then stated under oath, that
 "he had been with Mr. William McGillivray on Lake
 "Superior, when he received a letter dated at Fort Wil-
 "liam, from Archibald Norman McLeod, stating that
 "he had written to Fond du Lac, to cause the Indians to
 "be collected under promise of being rewarded by
 "the North-West company, and led by Morrison and
 "Roussin, two clerks of that company, to meet McLeod's
 "party at Red River settlement about the middle of June;
 "that Mr. McGillivray had shown the letter to him (Dan-
 "iel McKenzie,) and inquired how many Indians might
 "be raised in Fond du Lac department, and being told
 "about one hundred, had further asked what quantity of
 "goods would be required to satisfy them for their serv-
 "ices, to which McKenzie replied about two canottes
 "or canoe loads, upon which Mr. McGillivray said, it is
 "a great deal of goods but we must not mind that; that
 "McKenzie then mentioned several other circumstances
 "to the Earl of Selkirk, but complaining of a bad memory,
 "and that he felt agitated, he proposed to be allowed
 "to go to his own room and to write down from time to

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“time such circumstances as might occur to his recollection, which was immediately assented to by the Earl of Selkirk; that after this day, Daniel McKenzie communicated daily circumstances relative to the conduct of his partners towards the Red River settlement, and was allowed the use of his own room, and to go without control where he thought proper; and that near a fortnight afterwards, Mr. Daniel McKenzie gave to the Earl of Selkirk a letter written by him the said Daniel McKenzie, and containing most of the material circumstances which he had previously communicated verbally, or on detached slips of paper.” Of this letter, Mr. Allan annexes to his deposition a copy marked (O,) and states, “That in consequence of these discoveries, the said Daniel McKenzie was finally allowed to proceed to Montreal, at large, under the expectation that he would be found a necessary evidence for the Crown”. He further adds, “That some time after Daniel McKenzie had delivered the letter hereinbefore mentioned to the Earl of Selkirk, he asked him (Allan) into his room, and told him, that he had purchased at Michilimakinac for the North-West company, a quantity of provisions and other articles to the amount of £1,200 and £1,500, on purpose to prevent Lord Selkirk from obtaining any supplies for his people; that he was afraid that the settlers would come on him individually for the payment, and that he was at a loss how to act, believing that the North-West company’s agents at Montreal, in consequence of the information he had given to Lord Selkirk, would refuse to pay it; that he (Allan) then said, that he could not give any opinion or advice, except that he believed the North-West company would readily pay it for their own credit, upon which McKenzie said, he thought the North-West company were ruined; that McKenzie then asked him, if he thought that the Earl of Selkirk could give him any assistance; and he replied, that he did not think that Lord Selkirk would interfere in the matter; that about the same time he was informed by Miles McDonnell, that Mr. McKenzie had also spoken to him with much anxiety on the same subject, and that McKenzie seemed to think, that the greater part of the provisions which he had purchased at Michilimakinac, being then at Fort William, might be sold by him to the Earl of Selkirk, who would soon want a supply; that this idea being spoken of in the presence of Lord Selkirk,

"he had observed, that McKenzie might dispose, not
 "only of what he had purchased himself, but also of
 "the rest of the property of the North-West company
 "at Fort William, and even of their claim to the fort
 "itself, since it was built on land to which they had
 "no claim from government; and that then he (Allan).
 "had remarked, that such a transaction would be liable
 "to be represented by Lord Selkirk's enemies to his dis-
 "advantage, and would be likely to multiply disputes
 "between his Lordship and the North-West company; that
 "soon afterwards he was asked by Mr. McKenzie, if he
 "had a right to dispose of the property of the company.
 "at Fort William, upon which, wishing that such a trans-
 "action should not take place, he replied, that he
 "could not tell how far the authority of a partner ex-
 "tended, but that if he had acted without a power in
 "the purchase at Michilimakinac, he did not see any
 "thing to prevent him now selling what he himself had
 "bought; that McKenzie then assured him, that he had
 "no power of attorney, upon which he (Allan) stated a
 "doubt whether McKenzie was not a retired partner, but
 "he positively declared that he had never signed any
 "resignation or retirement, that he had not with his
 "own knowledge or consent been placed on any list of
 "retired partners, and that a few days before Lord
 "Selkirk's arrival, he had been pressed by Mr. McGil-
 "livray to take charge of Red River department, in
 "order to contribute by his influence to the manage-
 "ment of the half-breeds; that he then told McKenzie
 "that he could not give an opinion on the accuracy of
 "which any reliance could be placed; that he (McKen-
 "zie) would of course do what he considered best for
 "his own interest and that of the partnership to which
 "he belonged." Mr. Allan further states, "that on
 "Thursday, the 19th day of September, the deeds herein-
 "before mentioned were signed by the Earl of Selkirk.
 "on the one part; and by Daniel McKenzie on the other;"
 "and proceeds to give some details thereof; That by the
 "first "it was agreed that arbiters should be appointed
 "in London by the Lords Chief Justices of the Courts
 "of King's Bench and Common Pleas, Westminster, with
 "authority to inquire into the damages mutually sus-
 "tained in the interior, and to give a final award
 "thereupon; that the same deed contained a clause to
 "prevent it from having any effect on the criminal pro-
 "secutions which either party might institute, and
 "also that the submission was to be made a rule of

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“His Majesty’s Court of King’s Bench Westminster,
“of the Court of Session at Edinburgh, of the Courts
“of King’s Bench in Upper Canada, and of the districts
“of Quebec and Montreal in Lower Canada; that at the
“same time another deed was signed by the same parties,
“by which it was agreed, that the furs packed for ex-
“portation at Fort William, should be consigned to
“the said arbiters, to be disposed of by them, and the
“proceeds to be applied, if necessary, to make good
“the damages they might award as due to the Earl of
“Selkirk; and Lord Selkirk, on the other hand, was to
“transfer to the said arbiters, the conveyance of an
“estate of £3,000 yearly rent, supposed to be equal
“in value to the furs to be disposed of by them if nec-
“essary, to make good the damages they might award as
“due to the North-West company; that at the same time
“a third agreement was signed by the same parties, by
“which the movable property of the North-West company
“at Fort William, except the furs aforesaid, packed
“for exportation, was sold to the Earl of Selkirk, at
“a price equal to the cost, added to the charges for
“transport, and that the price of the property trans-
“ferred, was to be paid by installments, and that £50
“was actually paid the same day by the said Earl in
“gold, to the said McKenzie, as the first part and earnest
“of the price thereof.”

He further adds, that the deeds “were signed in
“presence of a number of witnesses; among whom were
“all the clerks of the Hudson’s Bay company, as well
“as of the North-West company, then at the place.
“That if any means had been employed to compel Daniel
“McKenzie to agree to these deeds, he would have known
“it. But he believes none were used, and that the said
“McKenzie acted as much free from control in that sale,
“as he had done in the purchase which he had made for
“the North-West company at Michilimackinac; for the
“Earl of Selkirk proposed about the same time to pur-
“chase from Daniel McKenzie, for a sum of money, the
“claim of the North-West company to Fort William and
“its appurtenances; but the latter refused to agree to
“that transfer, stating that he thought the price of-
“fered much too low, and demanding a greater sum.” He
further adds, “That he does not believe he ever spoke
“to McKenzie of the sale in question, except in reply
“to questions put by him, and which he frequently de-
“clined answering; for, although he could discover no
“legal defect in the transaction, and considered the

"stipulated prices fair and reasonable; he never liked the same, as he feared that it would afford an opportunity for misrepresentation, before the truth should be known; and that having suggested this to the Earl of Selkirk, his Lordship remarked, That it would be absurd to abstain from doing any thing merely to avoid being misrepresented by the North-West company, who had already misrepresented his best actions, and would invariably misrepresent his conduct, however unimpeachable it might be, and that the liberal and equitable terms on which he proposed to negotiate, and the persons appointed to name the arbitrators, would sufficiently show that he did not desire any thing unfair." He states also, that he was afterwards informed both by McKenzie and James Grant, that as far as the latter was concerned as a partner, he entirely approved of what McKenzie had done."

As the present transaction is, from the rank and circumstances of parties interested, as well as from the amount of property involved, one of those occurrences which will necessarily be brought before a court of law (the total deficiency of property at Fort William, on the re-occupation thereof by the North-West company, having been stated in the deposition of William Smith and others (No. 279,) to exceed £7,000,) it is unnecessary to make any detailed remarks relative thereto. From the general tenor of the evidence, and the confused statements of McKenzie himself, there can be little doubt, however that, his statement is materially exaggerated; whilst at the same time, from the same evidence, and the various documents filed by him, there can be as little, that there has been much imprudence and impropriety in the conduct observed towards him; and that if the deeds in question were not obtained by the fear of immediate physical force, there must have been that degree of general apprehension operating on his mind, which would destroy his free agency, and invalidate the legality of any deed he might be induced to execute.

The Hudson's Bay post under charge of Mr. Peter Fidler, at Manitoba, was plundered by Seraphim Lamar, a clerk of the North-West company, and several of their servants. The details of this charge have not been stated before me, by any person present; but it appears by the deposition of F. D. Huertur (No. 235,) that it was publicly ordered by Alexander McDonald, a North-West partner, who had directed him, Huertur (an hour or two previous to the arrival of the messenger with

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the intelligence of the capture of Fort William by the Earl of Selkirk), to hold himself in readiness to go off the next morning to pillage Mr. Fidler. From the deposition of Seraphim Lamar (No. 161,) it would appear, however, on the contrary, although the terms made use of by him are not positive, that the proposition came from Huertur himself, whom he states to have first shown him at the council held after receiving the news of the capture of Fort William, a paper which he had prepared in the nature of an address to the freemen and half-breeds, under the title of "Self Preservation," and in which he encouraged them to make reprisals on the Hudson's Bay company, in seizing their goods at Lake Manitoba. On this charge a bill of indictment for robbery was found against Seraphim Lamar and others, at the Court of Oyer and Terminer, at Montreal, in February last.

Captain D'Orsonnens, at the head of an armed party of men of the late regiment De Meuron, with several clerks and canoe-men in the service of the Hudson's Bay company, or the Earl of Selkirk, took possession of the North-West post at Lac-la-Pluie, in consequence of an agreement with J. W. Dease, the clerk in charge thereof, whereof a copy is annexed to the deposition of Robert McRobb, No. 273. It is stated by Dease, in his deposition (No. 322,) that previous to his entering into the said agreement, he had received an order from Captain D'Orsonnens, a copy whereof is annexed to his deposition, to deliver up the arms and ammunition in his possession, with which he complied from dread of the armed force with D'Orsonnens; and that a day or two afterwards the said Captain D'Orsonnens came to him in his own room at the North-West post, and informed him, in the presence of Messrs. Chatelain, Nolin, McDonald, Sayer, and Rousin, that the soldiers with him were resolved to enter the fort by force, and that he would not be answerable for the consequences which might ensue, whereupon after some observation he gave up the fort, with all the property therein. D'Orsonnens in his deposition (No. 286) states, that having been informed of the preparations of the North-West company, and of the risk he would incur in attempting to advance by the River Winnipic, he determined to stop at Lac la-Pluie, and proposed to Mr. Dease to let to him some of the buildings in the fort, which for various reasons he would not do; but suggested his desire for a good excuse to quit the place, even if he should go as a prisoner, for that he greatly feared

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mischief would happen; that upon this, he told Dease that Mr. Miles McDonnell, governor of Assiniboine, was hourly expected, and that he was to give him legal warning to quit the place in six months, "and that, if he "would lease to his part of the buildings for that time, "he would promise to do him the same favor after it "should have expired; that there was little doubt, according to reports, that the band of armed ruffians, in number about 100, in the service of the North-West company, "who had blocked up the navigation of the River Winnipeg, would immediately, on hearing of his arrival "with so small a party, make an attempt to over-power "him, and to put the threats of McLellan, one of their "leaders, in execution: that if he could not be admitted "to reside in the fort, he would insist on its pickets "being cut down, that it might not serve as a place of "refuge for the murderers, whence they might sally out "to destroy him, and the men who had entrusted themselves to his charge: that he Mr. Dease, would himself "see the necessity in which he was placed, and the propriety of delivering into his custody all the arms and "ammunition at the place, to prevent it from falling into "the hands of those who were prepared to employ it for "the destruction of their fellow subjects:" that to this "Mr. Dease replied, that nothing could be more just, "and expressed his readiness to deliver these articles "to him, upon receiving from him a note to justify his "compliance to his employers." He adds, that on the 8th October, while still remaining at the portage with his men, Nolin and Chatelain, two clerks of the Hudson's Bay company, informed him that "Dease seemed inclined "to quit Lac-la-Pluie, if he would give him a receipt "for such of the North-West company's property as he "could not take with him, which he did next day, according to inventories made by Dease, assisted by Nolin "and Chatelain: that he asked Mr. Dease afterwards, "if the goods included in the inventories might be made "use of by the clerks of the Hudson's Bay company; "and that he replied, that certainly they might convert them to what purpose they pleased." John Allan states, that Dease on his arrival at Fort William, related to him what had passed at Lac-la-Pluie, nearly to the same purport as above stated by Captain D'Orsonnens:—Chatelain and Nolin in their depositions (No. 323 and 310) respectively state that no violence was offered, nor to their knowledge was any menace made use of towards Mr. Dease, who, Nolin states, expressed

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even his approbation of Captain D'Orsonnens' conduct; but he also further adds, that Dease having been informed, that he must deliver up the fort within six months, preferred doing so immediately, whilst he could go away by water; a circumstance which appears in a great measure to explain the apparent contradiction of the preceding evidence.

The Earl of Selkirk, Captain Matthey, John McNab, Frederic Graffenried, John Allan, and John Spencer, were arrested at Fort William by William Robinson, in virtue of a warrant from David Mitchell, Justice of the Peace for the Western District; copy of which warrant Robinson annexes to his deposition (No. 275,) and states, that immediately after arresting the said three first-named parties, on the 7th November, he left them respectively in charge of different persons on whom he called upon for assistance on the occasion; that the person whom he had left in charge with Captain Matthey came to him and said, that Captain Matthey would not suffer him to remain over him: upon which he (Robinson) went to Captain Matthey, and repeated the complaint; to which Captain Matthey replied, "that he did not want the man after him; that if he continued over him, his men, (meaning the armed men) in the fort, would rise;" or some such expressions, indicating opposition from the armed men in the fort; and he adds, that apprehensive of some violence being offered him, and not having a sufficient party to support him, he took no more charge of the said Captain Matthey, but returned to the coffee-room, where it appears that he and his party had taken up their quarters; that whilst there he was sent for by the Earl of Selkirk to his room: when the Earl observed, "that the warrant was issued by a drunken magistrate, who was over persuaded by a glass of grog," or words to that purport.

And he further adds, that towards the evening of the said 7th day of November, the said Captain Matthey came to him and his party, and told him, that Lord Selkirk said it was too cold to turn them out of the fort to pitch their tent, and appointed the Bell House for their reception; to which he replied that he understood the Bell House was their common gaol, and that he would not go into it; to this Captain Matthey answered, that if they would not obey his Lordship's orders willingly, they should do so by force; whereupon he (Mr. Robinson) declared, that if any man dared to lay a violent hand upon him, he would blow his brains out, that he

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was on his duty, and would not be molested; that shortly afterwards Captain Matthey went out and brought back a guard of a serjeant and six men, all armed, belonging, as he believes, to the late Regiment De Meuron; which guard remained the whole night in charge of him and his party, and appears to have continued at his quarters as long as he remained. He adds, that the next morning, being the 8th November, he went to Lord Selkirk, and asked him if he would comply with the warrant upon which he was arrested; to which Lord Selkirk replied, "no, he would not," whereupon he retired; and then proceeded to arrest the other persons named in the warrant, and did accordingly arrest Lieutenant Graffenreid, Mr. Spencer, and Doctor Allan, all named in the said warrant; and who did then and there declare to him, that they would not obey the said warrant unless Lord Selkirk did.

He further adds, that fearing some bodily injury from Lord Selkirk's people, if he attempted to bring away the said Lord Selkirk and the other persons arrested by virtue of the said warrant, he departed from Fort William the following morning, being the 9th November:—and he states, on his oath, that had it not been for the resistance aforesaid, and the fear of the armed men occupying the fort, he would have brought the bodies of the said Earl of Selkirk, and the other persons arrested with him, before some magistrate, according to the exigency of the warrant. The general purport of this statement is confirmed by the depositions (No. 270 and 273.) of James Taitt and Robert McRobb, clerks of the North-West company, who were present at Fort William.

On the part of the Earl of Selkirk, the only evidence is John Allan, who does not go fully into the subject; but states, in his deposition (No. 280,) "that on "the 8th November, the said Robinson, announced to "him, that he had come to arrest, in the King's name. "producing, as his authority, a warrant signed David "Mitchell, by which he observed, that the entering Fort "William to arrest the partners of the 13th August, "had been construed, on the oath of one Roussin, a "clerk of the North-West company, into a riot; and that "himself, as well as the Earl of Selkirk, and many other "individuals, were required to appear before David Mitchell, at Drummond's Island, to account for the same. "That the said Robinson came to arrest him after his "canoe was ready to set out on his return to St. Mary's,

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“and that he then informed him, that he expected from
 “him the same answer which he had received from some
 “other gentlemen, and that he had no intention to take
 “away any gentleman by force; that he learnt from
 “Robinson, that he had formerly been Serjeant-major
 “in the 41st regiment, and had been made a constable
 “on purpose to execute the warrant; which, as he stated,
 “had been brought, ready made, in a canoe of the North-
 “West company, with himself, from York to Drum-
 “mond’s Island, where it was signed by David Mitchell,
 “aforesaid. That in refusing to submit to the warrant of
 “David Mitchell, he was not actuated by any desire to
 “avoid answering the charge of having committed a riot
 “by assisting, on the 13th of August, to arrest persons
 “accused of treason and murder, but by a suspicion, which
 “he had good reason to entertain; that from serjeant-
 “major and constable Robinson, though to appearance a
 “decent man, while under the influence and in the pay of
 “the North-West company, he could not expect protec-
 “tion from their vengeance, and more than Mr. Kev-
 “eney had obtained from color serjeant and constable
 “Reinhard.”

A canoe with goods, sent by Vincent Roy, a clerk in charge of the North-West post at Leach Lake, under the orders of one Dalcour, for the alleged purpose of wintering at the Lake de Travers, was forcibly seized by Mr. Pambrun, a clerk of Lord Selkirk’s or the Hudson’s Bay company. The particulars are stated in the depositions of Gabriel Lalonde dit Latreille, and I. B. Chovin (No. 324 and 325,) and the taking of the goods is acknowledged by Pambrun in his examination annexed to the former deposition; but he denies having used force or menace, or having had any intention to steal the goods, but merely to prevent their being sent in aid of the rebels on the Red River. On this charge a bill of indictment for robbery was found against Pambrun, and others, at the Court of King’s Bench, at Montreal, in March last.

Fort Douglas was taken forcible possession of by Captain D’Orsonnens, at the head of an armed force, of five or six and twenty men, accompanied by Miles McDonnell, Alexander M’Donald, late of the Glengary regiment, and Mr. William Laidlaw; on which occasion they arrested Mr. Archibald McLellan, a partner of the North-West company, in charge of the post; and Francois Mainville, a half-breed, both accused of having participated in the murder of Owen Keveney. It appears by the depositions of J. B. Miné, (No. 183,) and Joseph Gauthier (No. 326,)

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that after taking possession of the fort, D'Orsonnens and his party converted to their own use the property found there; by those of Basill Belanger (No. 327,) Pierre Soussi (No. 328,) and J. B. Mine (No. 329.) The former of whom was arrested under a warrant of Miles McDonnell, for having concealed some goods belonging to Archibald McLellan, and having in his possession different articles formerly belonging to the colonists; that whilst detained a prisoner, his house and the whole of his provisions, and property of every kind, were seized for their own use by the said Miles McDonnell and his party; by those of Joseph Laframboise (No. 330,) Jean Baptiste Desroches (No. 331,) Francois Viger (No. 332,) and Jean Crebassa (No. 333); that a parcel of provisions belonging to the North-West company, brought by the two first from Bas de la Rivière to Fort Douglas, were seized for their own use by the said D'Orsonnens and McDonnell. That a party from Fort Douglas accompanied them on their return to the North-West post at Bas de la Rivière, and took possession of the same; and from time to time made use of the provisions, merchandize, and other articles at the post, belonging to the said North-West company, as if they had been their own. That, during the course of the winter, Desroches was induced by menaces, to discover to the said D'Orsonnens and McDonnell, two places where provisions belonging to the North-West company were hid; which Laidlaw and others immediately took possession of, and converted to their own use; and that, on the 20th of May, Captain D'Orsonnens himself came to Bas de la Rivière with two boats, which he loaded with provisions belonging to the North-West company, and returned with them to Red River; and John Crebassa and Francois Viger were arrested and taken away prisoners to Fort Douglas, where they depose to have heard whilst confined, various violent declarations made use of by the said Miles McDonnell, Captain D'Orsonnens, and others with them, relative to their intended hostile proceedings towards the North-West company's party, such as that if the fort was attacked, the prisoners who were there should all be killed by the Meuron soldiers; and that a notice signed by Captain D'Orsonnens, ordering the Meuron soldiers to kill any prisoner who should attempt to escape, was put up at Fort Douglas; that a large gun boat was to be sent from Pyke River, to capture all the furs of the North-West company coming from the North; a circumstance which was frequently repeated from different quarters; and further, that it was stated

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by Serjeant Witschy, that no boats belonging to the North-West company would be allowed to pass Fort Douglas, but would be sunk by the cannon which were under his orders. Witschy, in his deposition (No. 334,) admits that he heard Captain D'Orsonnens say, that he was to go at the first opening of navigation, to stop the canoes coming from Athabasca; and that for that purpose, he should take ten or twelve of the discharged soldiers, who had engaged with Lord Selkirk as settlers. That during the month of June 1817, the half-breeds having come down to the neighborhood of Fort Douglas, saying they would pass, he was ordered by Captain McDonnell, generally called Governor McDonnell, to fire the cannon upon any boat that should persist in passing (the half-breeds having been informed thereof by the governor.) That towards the end of the month, the Earl of Selkirk arrived, and caused the proclamations of The Prince Regent to be read. on the next day but one after his arrival; and that himself having read it he added of his own accord, "all the world then is free and may pass as they choose." That during the winter, when the fort was blockaded by the half-breeds, some discharged soldiers said, that in case of attack it would be necessary to kill the prisoners. When to discourage such speeches, he himself said, that in case of need he would rather defend the prisoners than allow them to be killed in such a manner, and that he does not think that they were serious in what they said. On the part of those charged with the various acts of illegal violence, no justification has been attempted. Jacob Witschy states, however, in his last-mentioned deposition, that an inventory of the property found at Fort Douglas, was made by Mr. Laidlaw and Mr. Codot. And Captain D'Orsonnens, in his deposition (No. 286,) states, that a quantity of artillery, ammunition, arms, and other articles belonging to the Earl of Selkirk, were found at Fort Douglas. And that four pieces of artillery, of which the settlement had been plundered by the North-West company, were also found at the post at Bas de la Rivière, together with a boat and other property, formerly belonging to Mr. Keveney; and that having found in the possession of Archibald McLellan, a letter signed Alexander McDonnell (copy whereof is filed, deposition No. 337, and has been hereinbefore referred to,) which spoke of the assassination of the Earl of Selkirk in the river Winnipic, and not doubting that such a crime would be attempted by the North-West company, he judged it necessary to put the fort at Bas de la Rivière, in a state of defence, to

prevent the North-West company from occupying it, and stopping the passage to the Earl of Selkirk and the King's commissioners. The best excuse for, or palliation of the proceedings of, the Earl of Selkirk's party at this period, appears however to be the sincere opinion apparently entertained by them, that their opponents were to be considered as rebels and enemies to government, as well as to themselves; and that the necessity of the case authorized proceedings, which would otherwise have been unjustifiable. The violences committed by the North-West party at Red River during this period, beginning from their receiving intelligence of the capture of Fort William, will be found detailed in the deposition of Frederic D. Huertur, (No. 235,) who states, that immediately after receiving the news of that event, a council was held at Fort Douglas, by the partners and servants of the North-West company, and a certain number of free Canadians and half-breeds, when McDonnell stated to the "freemen" "that they must promise to take up arms to defend the country and to prevent the English or the Earl of Selkirk from entering the river, and told those who were unwilling to make this promise, to pack up their baggage and quit the country immediately;" that most of the freemen, rather than quit the country and leave their families, promised to hold themselves at the disposal of the North-West company; that McDonnell accordingly sent a party of the freemen, under the command of Seraphim Lamar, to plunder Mr. Fidler, as hereinbefore mentioned, and proceeded himself with 20 to 25 half-breeds, clerks and servants, and from 20 to 25 Indians, of whom Magicubacori was chief, to Bas de la Rivière, where another council was held by Mr. Alexander McDonnell and Archibald McLellan, at which himself, Cuthbert Grant, Cadot, Reinhard, Alexander Fraser, William Shaw, Bostonois, Pangman, and several other half-breeds, about 20 in all, were present, and in which McDonnell proposed to the half-breeds to proceed to Fort William for the purpose of taking it, and in case they should meet the Earl of Selkirk, or any of his people, on the way, that they should place themselves in ambush near the river, and fire upon and sink them, while engaged in passing the rapids, and that the Chute de Bonnet was particularly mentioned as a place where they might all be easily destroyed; that the half-breeds would concur in this plan, and consequently one canoe only was sent off for the purpose, as he understood, of obtaining intelligence, under command of Archibald McLellan, accompanied by Charles

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Reinhard, Cuthbert Grant, and Joseph Cadot, (by the former of which three, Owen Keveney was murdered, during this voyage, as herein-before mentioned;) that after the canoe was gone, Alexander McDonnell told him, that it was a great pity the half-breeds had refused to go, as he (McDonnell) had intended to send him to the vicinity of Fort William, to speak secretly to the men of the De Meuron regiment, in the service of Lord Selkirk, and to seduce them to desert, and join the North-West company, and that it was his plan to have offered them a reward of £500 collectively, and double wages individually, if they would consent to abandon the Earl of Selkirk, and that he would then have retaken Fort William, and brought the said De Meurons to winter at Red River, if they chose; that the said Alexander McDonnell and Archibald McLellan, assembled about 20 or 30 Indians, among whom was the old Saulteur chief, called the Premier or Grandes Oreilles, where McDonnell made a speech, which Cadot interpreted, wherein he exhorted the Indians to take courage, to place their confidence in the North West company, who would always befriend them, and supply their wants; and told them, that if they allowed the English (the term by which the Hudson's Bay company's party is known amongst the Indians,) to return to the Red River, they would bring soldiers who would destroy them with their women and children; but not to be afraid that the North-West company would protect them, and would never allow the English to return. Huer-tur subsequently details the different means of intimidation and force made use of by the North-West party, and especially by Cuthbert Grant, subsequent to the capture of Fort Douglas, to assemble a sufficient number to go down to the fort and demand the liberation of Archibald McLellan, Seraphim Lamar and Mainville, who were detained as prisoners, and if possible to recapture the fort; on which occasion he says, that Antoine Houle, one of the half-breed leaders, made use of the expression "Il faut en tuer quelques uns pour montrer un exemple a ceux qui ne veulent pas nous joindre pour faire marcher les autres;" and he adds, that with the force thus raised, Grant came down to the neighborhood of Fort Douglas on the 2d March, and that after the party had encamped, Grant sent a freeman of the name of Soucisse, to the fort with a letter, and after receiving the answer, informed the half-breeds that the Governor refused to deliver up the prisoners, and that he, Grant, had sent a challenge to the people in the fort to come out and fight them at

8 o'clock next morning; that on the 4th March, their provisions beginning to fail, although they had taken and killed two cows and one heifer, belonging to the colony, it became necessary for the party to return; that Cadot then proposed to go to Pembina and kill a party of Lord Selkirk's people, who were there, saying that they must not return home without striking a blow to maintain their warlike reputation; but that this was finally overruled by Grant, who replied, "*Nous ne sommes pas des barbares, et nous retournerons a la Riviere Qui Appelle,*" which appears accordingly to have been done.

This statement, as far as relates to the system of intimidation and violence pursued by the North-West party towards the free Canadians, to compel them to take up arms and join in the expedition above-mentioned, is confirmed by the depositions of Jacques Amelin and Baptiste Marsalois, Michel Dauphinee, and Charles Tranchemontagne, Antoine Payer, Jean Baptiste Davis, and Charles Beaulino, (Nos. 176, 339, 340, 341, and 342) whilst Edward Boisvert in his deposition, (No. 343) states his being made prisoner in the king's name, by a party of the half-breeds, who took him to their fort at Qui Appelle, where Alexander McDonnell endeavoured to induce him to engage himself to the North-West company, and that refusing so to do, he could obtain no clothing, and was obliged to work for his food, and was compelled also to make a declaration of the seizure by Miles McDonnell at the Portage Ecarte, of two bags of ball, a barrel of gunpowder, a barrel of rum and a case of fusils, concealed there by the North-West company, as well as of the threats of captain D'Orsonnens to fire with ball, according to his orders, on the first North Wester he should meet with; which declaration, although true, he would not have made but from Alexander McDonnell's assurance that he was bound in law so to do; of the circumstances which occurred on the half-breeds coming down the second time to Fort Douglas (as mentioned by Witsehy) no details have been laid before me, with the exception of the account given by the "Sonnant" Indian, in his speech on the 17th July 1817, at the council held by me with the Indians at the forks of Red River (Paper, No. 409,) of those proceedings in which he took part, and of the unsuccessful attempt to arrest Grant and Cadot, witnessed by him.

Fort Wedderburn, the principal post of the Hudson's Bay company, in the Athabasca country, was forcibly taken possession of by the servants of the North-West company, under the orders of Archibald Norman McLeod.

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It appears to have been taken by surprise, whilst Mr. Clarke, the person in charge thereof, Mr. McKenzie and Mr. McFarlane, two of the Hudson's Bay clerks, were dining by invitation with McLeod at Fort Chippewaw, the principal North-West post of Athabasca. Hector McNeil, at that period a clerk in the service of the North-West company, states, in his deposition (No. 360,) that he was present with McLeod at the time, who, on seeing a flag hoisted as a signal of success, came up to Mr. Clarke, and pointing to the Hudson's Bay post, said to him, "Your fort is taken;" and turning to McFarlane, tapped him on the shoulder, and said, "You are my prisoners, and here you shall remain till you satisfy me." That McLeod then called Mr. Clarke, Mr. McKenzie and Mr. McFarlane, together with himself, into his own bedroom, when he produced to them a letter, containing an account of the capture of Fort William, and stated that to be the cause of his proceedings, which under such circumstances they could not blame; that afterwards he obliged Mr. Clarke, by the threats of continued imprisonment, to sign an agreement, binding himself to deliver up the arms of his post, and to sign an order for a similar delivery of the arms at the posts of Great Slave Lake, and Pierre aux Calumey; and on the same being complied with, Mr. Clarke was set at liberty, and allowed to return to his post, but a party of the North-West company's servants were maintained there as a guard. As the acts of illegal violence, which the North-West company are charged with having committed in the Athabasca and adjoining country, to the north-west of Lake Winnipic, for the purpose of expelling the Hudson's Bay company's servants therefrom, are numerous, and at the same time appear strongly illustrative of that general system of illegal monopoly, of which the former company is accused, it appears necessary shortly to trace their proceedings (as far as they have come before me) from the period of Mr. Clarke's going into that country in the autumn of the year 1815, with the party which had been engaged for that purpose by Mr. Colin Robertson, as hereinbefore mentioned.

It is stated by Francis Bonnin, a freeman, who after having served the North-West company 15 years, had been allowed to settle under their protection at Lac la Pluie, in his deposition (No. 301), that having made a present to Mr. Robertson and to Mr. Decorgne (a clerk of the Hudson's Bay company), who were in absolute want of provisions for their journey to Atha-

basca, of some potatoes, he was much abused for having so done, and threatened by Mr. Leith, a partner of the North-West company, with being turned out of his farm, and sent down to Montreal as a punishment. By Antoine Paye, on his deposition (No. 340), that in September 1815, he was placed at the forks of Peace River, by order of Edward Smith, a partner of the North-West company, for the purpose of preventing any Indians from going to the fort then building by Mr. Clarke in the neighbourhood of the chief North-West post at Athabasca; to detain any game, provisions or furs which the savages might be taking to the English; and in case of opposition by the Indians, to take what they had by force, and send them to the North-West post, where a light canoe was also at all times kept in the water, ready to pursue any Indian canoes that might attempt to have any communication with Mr. Clarke, and that in case any of Mr. Clarke's canoes went out, they were immediately pursued by a canoe from the North-West company; that during this time, Mr. Archibald McLellan and Mr. Fraser, partners of the North-West company, were at the fort with Mr. Smith; that he (Paye) wintered at Great Slave Lake, and after the arrival of Mr. McAuley, of the Hudson's Bay company's service, he was sent by McLellan to fix himself in a lodge, together with one Pierre Blaye, within forty or fifty feet of the said McAuley, with orders to allow no savage to go to the English encampment, and to beat them if they persisted in doing so; that some days afterwards he took away with him a band of savages, with whom he passed the winter, in order to be certain that they took no provisions or furs to the English; two other Canadian servants, of the names of Elotte and Mickles, being sent in charge of other bands; Paye's further states, that the persons who perished by hunger the winter 1815-16, went from the post of Mr. Clarke at Athabasca, which he had been employed to blockade, and that he sincerely believes, that these proceedings of the North-West company prevented Mr. Clarke, during the fifteen days he remained at that post, from obtaining a sufficiency of provisions, or procuring hunters when he set out for the upper posts of Peace River, and that this was the cause of his losing eighteen or nineteen of his people. Several details respecting the occurrences on Peace River, will be found stated in the intercepted letters of William McIntosh to John McGillivray, dated from Fort Vermillion (one of the North-

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West posts on Peace River), the 24th November 1815, and from the said John McGillivray to the agents of the North-West company, dated Dunvegan (another post of the North-West company on the Peace River), 17th January 1816, of both which letters attested copies were filed before me (Deposition, No. 168, marked B and C); the latter contains the following summary of what had occurred up to that date in the Athabasca country:—"Our opponents dispersed their forces in the following manner; viz. two canoes, two clerks, were sent by them to Slave Lake; four canoes, three clerks, with twenty-seven men, remained in the environs of Fort Chipewaw; and Mr. Clarke, with eight canoes, six clerks, and fifty men, prosecuted his voyage for the invasion of this (Peace) River. I passed the armada at ————River (where they had put ashore, to send a Maskigon Indian they had brought with them from Cumberland House, a hunting), and made the best of my way, accompanied by our seven canoes, to Fort Vermillion, where matters were arranged as expeditiously as possible, and I continued the voyage to this place (Dunvegan), where I arrived the 20th October. Just as I was starting from Fort Vermillion, Mr. Clarke's own canoe arrived, and as he was destined for this place, which he meant to make his head-quarters, I naturally concluded he would make his appearance very soon after me, and consequently lost no time in taking every precaution my judgment could suggest, in getting the natives off to their hunting grounds, and out of harm's way, as quick as possible; on the 1st November they all started." He then goes on to express his surprise at receiving no intelligence, as he had left order with Mr. McIntosh to send him an express, as soon as any part of the opposition settled at his place (Fort Vermillion), but which he was prevented doing by the tardy movements of the latter; which he details as follows:—"Mr. Clarke remained ten days in his encampment at Fort Vermillion, living upon button de rose, waiting the arrival of his canoes; getting at length anxious respecting their non-appearance, he sent down McDougall (one of his clerks) with his canoe and six men, to know what retarded them; McDougall found them a little above Loon River, starving like church rats, and many of them so much reduced that they were not able to stand. Young Nolin, accompanied by twelve men, embarked on board two light canoes, and made the best of their

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"way in a wretched predicament down to Fort Chipe-
 "waw; twenty-four of the most vigorous and active men
 "were then selected in three canoes, with an assortment
 "of goods, accompanied by McDougall, Godin and La
 "Ronde (clerks), and proceeded upwards to join Mr.
 "Clarke, leaving twelve men and two clerks in their en-
 "campment, with the residue of their goods: some of the
 "latter mentioned men were in a most deplorable state
 "when they saw them last, by starvation. At Point de
 "Roche the progress of the above-mentioned three canoes
 "was completely stopped by starvation. Godin and La
 "Ronde made shift to walk along the beach till they met
 "Mr. Clarke, who left his encampment at Fort Vermillion,
 "with his two men, being of opinion all his people had
 "returned back to Fort Chipewaw. Mr. Clarke then made
 "another effort, and visited a small band of the Fort
 "Vermillion Indians, who had it not in their power to
 "alleviate his distress, as some of Mr. McIntosh's men
 "were with them, and they were starving themselves;
 "during this time Mr. Archibald McGillivray went down
 "to Point de Roche, to learn something respecting the
 "movements of our opponents, and he found McDougall
 "with the men he had with him, reduced to the very last
 "extremity by starvation; McDougall with eighteen of
 "their men delivered themselves and goods over to the
 "North-West company in order to save their lives, as
 "they must have inevitably perished otherwise. One
 "of these men *died* of starvation on his way to McIntosh's,
 "and the others were a true picture of the resurrection."
 Such, with probably some further details, which have
 not been filed before me, were the accounts which ap-
 pear to have been conveyed by the North-West winter
 express of 1816, taken by Colin Robertson, and it is
 respecting these, that Alexander McDonell, the North-
 West partner, observes, in his letter of 13th March 1816
 (whereof an extract was proved before me by Colin
 Robertson, Deposition, No. 167,) "Glorious news from
 Athabasca;" and that Cuthbert Grant (in a letter of the
 same date to Alexander Fraser, which has been filed be-
 fore me, Deposition, No. 168, marked J.) says, "You
 "must know that Robertson's famous Clarke is gone to
 "pot, his men have all left him, two of them dead of
 "hunger, and the rest are always in danger of being
 "cut off by the natives there, which will give Robert-
 "son a terrible fever when he hears of it."

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The intercepted letters of Colin Campbell, a clerk
 to McRobb and Cowrie, two other clerks of the North-

West company, dated Dunvegan, 10th May 1816; and of John Duncan Campbell, a partner to Edward Harrison, a clerk, dated Cumberland House, 6th April 1816, filed before me (Deposition, No. 240, marked A and B) contain further details of Clarke's party; the former in particular states, "that the arrangement entered into by "McDougall was to deliver up all his goods and men to "the North-West company, if they would but save their "lives in giving them provisions, and that they would "engage not to serve against that company for the term "of one year; that one poor man died of hunger before "he could get to the house; that Clarke, after being "repulsed in all his attempts, and losing three more "men by starvation, was glad to come to terms, and deliver up all his goods, say about 60 pieces, till next "December, for the sake of 700 lbs. dried meat and pemican, enough to take him and his remaining crew down "to Fort Chipewaw, for which place he set off in January; that in the fall, twelve men of his in two canoes, "conducted by Francois Nolin, attempted to return from "Loom River to Fort Chipewaw, but in the weak state "they were, they all perished except three men; Clarke, on "his arrival at Fort Chipewaw, finding that his people "were starving, and wishing to leave him there also, made "another agreement with Messrs. Fraser and Smith to "feed him and people, for which he is to remain quiet "until the 20th instant, and not have any thing to do "with the Indians, at the same time all expenses must "be paid by him out of their goods at the North-West "rates and prices. At Great Slave Lake, Mr. McLellan "was also successful in making McAuley capitulate early "in the fall;" whilst Robert Henry, a partner of the North-West company, in his letter to his uncle, Alexander Henry, of Montreal, dated Fort William, the 22d May 1816, recapitulating the whole loss of men by the Hudson's Bay company the preceding winter, states it to have been "north of Michipicoton and the Pee, 4 of their men starved to death, 6 deserted, and 6 died at "the Bay of the scurvy; 2 starved to death in Lake "Winnipic; 2 drowned, 22 killed on Red River; 16 men, "1 woman, and 1 child starved to death, some of them "eaten by their surviving companions at Athabasca."

Previous to these occurrences in the interior being known, it had been resolved by the partners of the North-West company at Montreal, that Mr. A. N. McLeod, one of the agents, should winter the ensuing year in Athabasca, for the purpose of endeavouring to drive the

Hudson's Bay company's people from the country; their views in this respect are openly stated in a letter from John McTavish, one of the Montreal partners of the North-West company, to Archibald McLellan, dated Montreal, 29th May 1816, filed before me (Deposition, No. 240, marked D.) wherein he states, that "Mrs. and "Miss McLeod are preparing to cross the Atlantic, in "consequence of his intention to winter, which I hope "will be productive of the general good expected from "it, in the arrangement of Athabasca; and I trust the "Hudson's Bay people could not be able to establish "themselves last winter on such a footing in that "department, as to render their expulsion from it a "service of difficulty and danger." McLeod appears accordingly, after a short stay at Fort William, on his return from the expedition to Red River, as hereinbefore detailed, to have set out for Athabasca. Joseph Sansfacon states in Deposition (283,) that meeting him going into the interior, McLeod said, that he was to "bring the English in Athabasca into order," and various details of his proceedings will be found stated in the depositions of George Peter Andries, formerly a clerk of the North-West company (No. 358,) of Hector McNeill, also a clerk of that company (No. 360,) and of Francois Deschamps, George Innes, Alexander McDougall, and Etienne St. Pierre, in the service of the Hudson's Bay company (No. 354, 356, 357, and 359,) together with some few further particulars in those of eleven guides and canoe-men in the service of the North-West company (No. 361 and 371,) who were examined by me at a period when considerable apprehension was entertained for the personal safety of the Hudson's Bay Company's servants detained in Athabasca. The aforesaid Andries, in his deposition, states; "in consequence of finding he could not continue in the service of the North-West company without being urged to the commission of crimes, or incurring the risk of cruel treatment and persecution, in case of refusal to commit them, he formed the resolution of leaving their service, which he did in the month of May 1817, at which time he left Fort Chipewaw, and came across the country to Hudson's Bay, in order to avoid encountering any of the partners of the North-West company." He further states, that Archibald Norman McLeod arrived at Fort Chipewaw about the middle of September 1816, where he publicly and frequently announced his determination to expel the servants of the Hudson's Bay com-

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pany from the Indian territories, and of destroying and annihilating their establishments in that country, as prejudicial to the interest of the North-West company; that the said McLeod often repeated publicly in his hearing, "that Mr. John McGillivray and Simon Fraser (partners of the North-West company,) had been entirely too lenient towards the servants of the Hudson's Bay company the preceding year; that it was ridiculous to be scrupulous in driving them from the Indian territories, and in destroying their posts;" and he adds, that McLeod said publicly in his hearing, *that he would stand at no trifle, and that it would be ridiculous to do so*, in order to effect the destruction of the posts of the Hudson's Bay company, and in expelling their servants from the Indian territories;" and he further adds, "that some time after the arrival of the said McLeod at Fort Chipewaw, and subsequent to the declarations of the said McLeod as above stated, John Stewart, a partner in the North-West company, arrived at the same post about the beginning of October, bringing intelligence of the arrest of divers partners in the North-West company." It further appears, by the various depositions above-mentioned, that as Mr. Clarke was going into Athabasca in charge for the Hudson's Bay company in September 1816, he was passed at Portage La Loche, about four days paddle from the principal Hudson's Bay post in Athabasca, by Archibald N. McLeod and Thomas McMurray, of the North-West company; that on arriving at the Hudson's Bay post, Mr. Clarke and his party learnt, that McLeod had the same day made prisoners and taken away Duncan Campbell, the person in charge of the post during Mr. Clarke's absence, and Auley McAuley the principal clerk, who appears however at the end of three days to have been liberated; this is stated by Andries to have been done under the pretext of a quarrel, which he believes to have been provoked at the instigation of the said McLeod by some of his servants; on or about the 3rd October, another quarrel appears to have taken place; Hector McNeil states that having gone on the day in question to visit Roderick McLeod, a clerk of the North-West company, who was in charge of a guard-house erected by that company immediately adjoining the Hudson's Bay post (a practice, which Andries states to have been universally adopted at every post belonging to the Hudson's Bay company in Athabasca, for the purpose of preventing the Indians from trading or communicating with

the servants of that company;) he (McNeill) afterwards went on towards the Hudson's Bay post, at the distance of about one hundred or one hundred and fifty yards, for the purpose of visiting it from mere curiosity, but without any intention of offending or injuring any one, although he has since been informed and believes, there did exist some previous plan on the part of Mr. McLeod or his agents to lead to a quarrel, by thus sending him into the vicinity of the Hudson's Bay fort, as the said Mr. Clarke was known to be of a violent temper, and that he would not allow any of the North-West company's servants to enter his post; that whilst he was thus walking peaceably round the post, the said Clarke came and made an assault on him on the breast, when after some altercation a battle took place between him and John McVicar, (a clerk of the said Hudson's Bay company, acting under the orders of the said Clarke,) which was fought with swords, and ended in his disarming the said Viccar; that the next day warrants, were issued for the apprehension of Mr. Clarke, McVicar, and as he believes of one McFarlane; that the said parties refused to yield obedience to the said warrant, as McLeod was not an impartial person in the affair, from whom they could expect justice; that in consequence of this refusal, measures were taken by McLeod and his agents to compel the said Clarke and others to surrender, by making prisoners of his fishing parties and seizing their nets; this appears to have been accordingly carried into execution by George Keith and Thomas McMurray, partners, and Roderick McLeod, a clerk of the North-West company, who took three parties of the Hudson's Bay company's servants, and brought them prisoners to the North-West company's post; on which occasion, it appears by the depositions of Innes McDougall and St. Pierre, that McLeod compelled the men so captured to take an oath not to use arms for two years against any of His Majesty's subjects; McNeill states, that Clarke being by these measures reduced to necessity from the want of subsistence, agreed to surrender himself to the warrant, as did also Mr. McVicar and Mr. McFarlane, of whom the latter was, as he believes, discharged from a want of proof against him; that Clarke was offered to be released on giving security, himself in £500, and two securities in £250 each; but which security he could not procure, as McLeod objected to take the bail of the servants of the Hudson's Bay company, but ultimately agreed to take that of a Mr. McKenzie, a clerk of that company, jointly

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with that of Mr. Robert Henry, providing 30 packs of trading goods should be deposited in the North-West store as a counter-security for the said Henry, to which arrangement the said Clarke agreed, although very reluctantly, after a confinement as he (McNeill) thinks of two days, and being threatened to be sent for the winter up the Peace River, and thence to Montreal in the spring; that McVicar was detained in prison some days longer, as McLeod refused for some days admitting him to bail, in consequence of a letter of his which had been intercepted, wherein the said McVicar (as he McNeill was told by McLeod) had expressed his hopes of being enabled to revenge what had occurred on Red River, at Athabasca; but that finally he was released, on giving security for £100. McNeill also states, that on or about the 26th day of October, he received a verbal order from the said Archibald N. McLeod, which he understood to be given him as a magistrate, to take one Deschamps, whom McLeod stated to be greatly in debt to the North-West company, although at that time in the service of the Hudson's Bay company; that Deschamps was accordingly made prisoner, and detained he believes four days and nights, when Mr. Clarke agreeing to pay Deschamps' debts, he was liberated; McNeill further details the circumstances of his being employed about the 1st November by McLeod, to take a packet of letters which Mr. Clarke was sending express to Mr. Bird, the chief governor of that part of the Hudson's Bay territories, the intended departure whereof had been communicated by one Duplisses, who as he had been informed and believes, had been engaged by a promised bribe of 500 livres, to act as a spy at the Hudson's Bay post. That in consequence, he proceeded to the North-West post, at Pierre aux Calumeto, which was in charge of John Stewart and Thomas McMurray, and there waited till the arrival of Larande, the person in charge of the packet, and then, with the concurrence of the said Stewart and McMurray, followed with three other men, and said Larande, who had with him only one man; that on coming up with Larande during the night, one of their party went over and told him what their orders were, whereupon he burnt the packet. That Larande and his companion then returned with him to the post at Pierre aux Calumeto, and thence were conveyed by him as prisoners to Fort Chipewaw. He adds, that on arriving there on or about the 9th December, he found Mr. Clarke again detained a prisoner on the score of some debt, and was informed that he was

obliged to give 13 pieces of trading goods to obtain his release. That afterwards, on or about the 24th day of December, another warrant was issued by the said Archibald Norman McLeod, against the said Clarke, which he McNeill was named as constable to serve, but declined doing so, not being satisfied of the legality of the causes for which it was granted; that the day after he was ordered to assist one Soucisse, in taking charge of two lodges that had been erected opposite to the Hudson's Bay House, to prevent their fishermen bringing their accustomed supplies; but whilst these orders were giving, Mr. Clarke finally engaged to settle the claim made by the North-West company, which he believes to have related to some supplies of food given by the North-West company the year before to the servants of the Hudson's Bay company in Peace River, for which Mr. Clarke thought the price demanded exorbitant and unjust. McNeill then goes on to state the capture of the Hudson's Bay post, on the 23d January, as hereinbefore mentioned, which is also confirmed by the depositions of McDougall and Innes, the former of whom deposes to having recognized amongst the servants of the North-West company who assisted Roderick McLeod in taking possession of the post Cottenau, Thomas Cardin, Laroque, Lajeunesse, Soucisse and Fleurie, the three last of whom were also recognized by James. The Hudson's Bay company's post being thus taken possession of, and their servants there and those at the posts of Great Slave Lake and Pierre aux Calumets disarmed, nothing material appears to have occurred for some time; the latter of those posts was indeed abandoned by Mr. Charles Thomas, the person in charge thereof, who stated he was unable to obtain subsistence after his arms were delivered up, as the Indians were not allowed to hunt for him, or to have any intercourse with his post; and the place did not afford a sufficient supply of fish. On the 14th of April, it appears by the deposition of Andries, that Mr. Clarke was again taken prisoner under pretext that he intended to retake Fort Chipewaw, although he and his people had no other offensive weapons in their fort than a single musket or Indian fowling piece; and Andries adds, that after Clarke's arrest, and during his confinement, he heard Archibald Norman McLeod say, "that he would send him (Clarke) beyond the rocky mountains to the Columbia River;" and that since his own departure from Fort Chipewaw, he has been credibly informed, "that the said Clarke had been sent a prisoner in that direction, in custody of several

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“persons, and among them a *bois brulé*, of the name of Beaulieu, a violent enemy to the said Clarke, against whom he has heard Beaulieu express the strongest antipathy.”

By the depositions of McDougall and Innes, it appears that after the arrest and imprisonment of Mr. Clarke, Archibald N. McLeod caused all the prisoners as well as the remainder of the Hudson's Bay company's goods, and all their canoes, to be taken over to the North-West post; by which means the Hudson's Bay company's servants being left without means of subsistence, or conveyance from the country, were at length, after suffering much from famine (McDougall stating that they passed three days and himself three days and a half, without anything to eat) compelled to agree to the terms proposed by McLeod; in consequence whereof they signed an agreement, and took an oath, to the number of nearly fifty, not to make use of arms against the North-West company for two years, nor to return to, nor remain in that part of the Indian territories in the service of the Hudson's Bay company, or of the Earl of Selkirk, for the same period of two years; in consideration whereof, Robert Henry and Simon McGillivray agreed, on behalf of the North-West company, to maintain them, and procure them a passage as far as Cumberland House; of this agreement, as sworn to and signed before McLeod, as a magistrate, on the 20th May 1817, a copy is annexed by Innes to his deposition, and the same appears to have been carried into execution, with this exception, that the said St. Pierre, McDougall and Innes, all concur in stating that they were very ill supplied with provisions, often passing the whole day, and sometimes two, without having anything to eat, and obliged, as the two latter state, to eat their dogs; that they were also detained till the beginning of July, before canoes were furnished them to come out. Andries, in his deposition, gives some details of the measures adopted to prevent any intercourse between the Indians and the Hudson's Bay company's servants. At the period that Campbell and the other clerks were made prisoners, in September 1816, as before-mentioned, he states that several Indians, in the habit of trading with the Hudson's Bay post, were also made prisoners by McLeod, and brought to Fort Chipewaw, where they were detained some time under a guard; that he was sent with two of them to hunt, and that he was directed by Robert Henry to let fly at (meaning thereby to shoot) any of the servants of the Hudson's Bay company, who might endeavour to com-

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municate or talk with the said Indians; the said Henry offered him pistols for that purpose, which he refused. That himself and several other persons were directed to watch these Indians, to prevent their having any intercourse or conversation with the servants of the Hudson's Bay company; that towards the spring two other Indians were taken prisoners, pursuant to orders from the said McLeod, by a party of the North-West company's servants (who were sent in quest of them for having traded the preceding autumn with the Hudson's Bay company, and sheltered two of their servants during the winter,) and that the Indians were put in irons, and confined. That a pretext of the Indians being in debt was sometimes advanced; but this was in many instances denied by the Indians, and, as he believes with truth, as was in one case acknowledged by some of the clerks or partners of the North-West company. That at other times these latter openly declared that they would not allow the Indians to trade with any other than themselves, who had first come into the country, and hitherto supplied them; and that the same was the reason assigned to the Indians for the constraint put upon them. Andries adds also, that previous to his leaving Fort Chipewaw early in May, he had a knowledge that all the stores at the Hudson's Bay post at Great Slave Lake and Pierre aux Calumets were taken possession of by A. N. McLeod and Robert Henry; that orders were given by McLeod to plunder and take the posts belonging to the Hudson's Bay company at Isle a la Crosse, Little Slave and Great Deer's Lake; and after heard from the said A. N. McLeod, and from other partners in the said North-West company, that the posts of Little Slave Lake and Deer's Lake had been plundered and burnt, and the people in charge of the same made prisoners, and confined till they took an oath to leave the country. That on his route to Hudson's Bay he passed the post above-mentioned at Deer's Lake, which he found had been reduced to ashes and totally abandoned.

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The forcible seizure of the post at Little Slave Lake, with the subsequent burning of the buildings, will be found detailed in the depositions of John Lewis, Antoine Desparats, Amable Lafona, and Ferdinand Chilli (Depositions No. 344, 345, 346, and 347); that of the post at Isle a la Crosse, in those of John McDougall, John McLeod, Francois Deschamps, and Patrick Quin (No. 351, 353, 354 and 355;) and that of Green Lake, in those of McDonald and Fouissaint Paquin (No. 350 and 352.)

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By these depositions it appears, that the post of Green Lake was taken with circumstances of great violence and outrage on the 2d December 1816, by Alexander Stewart, a partner of the North-West company, assisted by Michael Kline and Robert Henry, clerks, and nearly twenty of their servants; and that Mr. Decoigne, the person in charge of the post, together with John Lewis, a clerk in the Hudson's Bay service, and an interpreter of the name of the Little Pidgeon, were made prisoners. That upon Mr. Decoigne asking Stewart the cause of his proceedings, he first said, "because I have heard from some "Indians and freemen, that you intended to seize my house "and property;" but he soon afterwards said it was by way of revenge for what had happened last spring at Red River. And Lewis adds, that he is certain, that the arrest and seizure of themselves and goods was resolved on before Stewart's arrival at Lesser Slave Lake in October: for, contrary to the usual custom of the North-West company, Stewart took no steps whatever to obtain furs from the Indians, or to prevent them from bringing furs to the Hudson's Bay company's post. That the next day after their taking them prisoners, Alexander Stewart went again to the Hudson's Bay post, and brought away all the property found therein, consisting of 11½ packs of valuable furs, 1,500 lbs. of meat, and three bags of pemican, and a quantity of trading goods and stores; partly, also dismantling the buildings, and appropriating to the use of the North-West company the doors, windows, flooring, hinges, furniture, and whatever they could convert to use, and wantonly destroying the remainder. Francois Chilli further states, that about a month afterwards he was told, that three persons of the names of Labette, Francois Gardépé and d'Appassashish, went from the North-West fort to the said Hudson's Bay post, and as he heard set fire to it; and that he afterwards himself saw, that the buildings of the post consisting of two houses and a hangard, had been burnt, and that he asked Mr. Stewart why he had caused them to be burnt; to which he answered, that he knew nothing about it, laughing at the same time; and he (Chilli) adds, that he verily believes that the houses were burnt by order of Mr. Stewart; and that he had seen the said Labatte, Gardépé, and d'Appassashish, received and well treated by the said Stewart, after having burnt the same.

On this charge a bill of indictment for burglary was found at the court of oyer and terminer at Montreal, in

February last, against Alexander Stewart, Robert Henry, and Jean Baptiste Deschamps.

The Hudson's Bay post at Isle a la Grosse, was in like manner forcibly taken possession of with circumstances of great violence, on the 16th March 1817, by Samuel Black, a partner of the North-West company, acting under the orders of John Thompson, another partner, and a magistrate for the Indian territories; as was also the neighboring one of Green Lake on the 20th of the same month of March, by the said Black and a Peter Skeene Ogden, a clerk of the North-West company, in charge of the post belonging to that company at Green Lake.

At Isle a la Grosse, it appears by the deposition of John McLeod, the clerk in charge of the Hudson's Bay company's post, and John McDougall, a servant of that company, that a long course of violence had been pursued on the part of the North-West company's party towards that of the Hudson's Bay, by firing upon them at different times so as to alarm and insult them; and in particular that on the 2d January 1817, Samuel Black, a partner of the North-West company, came with Peter Skeene Ogden and Benjamin Frobisher, clerks of the company, and about thirty men, part of them armed, and endeavoured by words and gestures to provoke the Hudson's Bay company's servants to come out and fight them; but this John McLeod prevented, having, as he states, been privately informed that Samuel Black and John Thompson, had formed a premeditated design to provoke him, with a view of its affording them a plausible pretext to seize the persons of himself and his men and the property of the Hudson's Bay company; it further appears, that on or about the 12th February three servants of the Hudson's Bay company, bringing a dispatch from Green Lake, were made prisoners, and taken to the North-West post, of which Thompson gave McLeod information, stating "that "he wanted to know what intelligence there was in the "packet, for the safety of himself and his people, in the "actual state of the country, and that if Mr. McLeod "would come over, he might see the packet;" to this McLeod did not however deem it prudent to agree, as it had been reported to him that it was Mr. Thomson's intention to arrest him; that on the 14th February, McDougall was sent off with three other men express, to inform Mr. Bird, governor of the northern department of the Hudson's Bay territories, of these occurrences, but had not proceeded above eight or nine miles, when he was met by another dispatch coming in, with which he turned back, and that

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on his return he was met and surrounded at the distance of about one mile from the post, by Samuel Black, Peter Skeene Ogden, and twenty armed men, servants of the North-West company, and was shortly afterwards joined by Mr. McLeod, and an armed party of six other men who had come out for his protection. when, after a good deal of altercation, and violence, it was agreed that McLeod should go and see Thomson, as proposed by him, and that all his men should be allowed to return home, and that the arms which had been taken from a part of them, should be restored. This accordingly took place, and John McLeod states that on entering the North-West post, Thomson presented him with the packet of letters taken on the 12th, "desiring him to open and read them; that he took the letters and put them in his pocket, saying he would open them at home, and turned about to leave the house, when Samuel Black shut the door, and John Thomson told him he was arrested, and that some arrangement must take place before he could be liberated, and desired him to send for John McDougall, or some other person to witness the agreement that might be made; that John McDougall came over to the house of Thomson, and was there detained with himself two days, in the course of which time he was repeatedly pressed by John Thomson to deliver into his hands property of the Hudson's Bay company, to the value of five hundred pounds, on which terms alone he was told that he would obtain his liberty; that he told John Thomson on that, he would not give a shilling's worth of the Hudson's Bay company's property, that if he had infringed the laws of his country, he might detain his person, or accept such other security as he could provide; that the said Samuel Black replied, that they (meaning himself and John Thomson) did not care a damn for his person and that if he did not give up the goods, they would take them and his house together." After a detention of two days, it appears, however, that McLeod and McDougall were finally liberated, on the former signing an agreement in the nature of bail, and undertaking not to send off any packet to Athabasca at any event, nor elsewhere, without previous notice being given to the said Thomson or Black, for the performance whereof McDougall and another Hudson's Bay clerk were securities. On the 15th day of March, it further appears, that John McLeod set out himself to visit Governor Bird at Carlton House, having previously stated his intention to Black, but that he was seized on the way and made a prisoner

by the said Black, and eight servants of the North-West company, and by them conducted to Thomson's post, where he was put into close confinement in the back part of the house; that on the ensuing morning, the Hudson's Bay post was seized upon by an armed party of men, under the command of Samuel Black, who broke into the same about daylight, forcing open three doors; that all the arms in the post were taken away, which was said to be by the orders of John Thomson, a justice of peace, to prevent bloodshed, and that a guard was left at the post, whilst Black went with the arms to the North-West post. McDougald adds, that about ten or eleven o'clock, "John Thomson and Samuel Black came to the Hudson's Bay House, and endeavoured to prevail upon him by threats of the authority of the former as a magistrate, to allow them access to the store, but that being refused by him, the said Thomson said to Black, we cannot stand losing our time, but must get in one way or another, or words to that effect; whereupon the said Black broke open the door, and called in several of the half-breeds and other servants of the North-West company," (amongst whom McDougald mentions Jean Marie Boucher, Joseph Chartier, and one Desroches.) whom Black directed to take away the goods, which was accordingly done; he (McDougald) being scarcely allowed to take a hasty account thereof; he adds, that the goods were taken over to the North-West post, but that he cannot say how they were afterwards disposed of, though he has considerable reason to suspect that a part was used for the trade of the said company.

On this charge a bill of indictment for burglary was found at the court of oyer and terminer, held at Montreal in February last, against John Thomson, Samuel Black, Chartier, Joseph Paul, and Jean M. Boucher.

The capture of the Hudson's Bay company's post at Green Lake, on the 20th March, as hereinbefore mentioned, seems in like manner to have been carried into execution in the first instance, by securing the arms and making prisoners of the persons in charge thereof. John McDonald, who gives the fullest details relative thereto, states, that the next day about twelve o'clock, Samuel Black and Peter Skeene Ogden, came over to the said Hudson's Bay post, where a guard had been left, and ordered Mr. Ducharme, the person in charge, to deliver up the keys; which Ducharme did, telling Black that he forced him to do so, which the latter acknowledged; and that he then caused the doors of the shop and stores

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to be opened, and carried over to the North-West post all the property therein, with the exception of a little provisions and tobacco left to the prisoners; and that the said property consisted of a considerable quantity of goods and furs, principally beaver and martin skins, and ten canoes; that after having remained prisoners at Green Lake for two days, nine men, including Ducharme and himself, out of the total number of eleven belonging to the post, were sent to Isle a la Crosse with a guard of armed men, under the command of Samuel Black.

At Isle a la Crosse it appears, by the depositions of John McDougall, that from this period the servants of the Hudson's Bay company remained prisoners at large within their own post, under an armed guard of the North-West company's service; that after two or three weeks, they were rejoined by Mr. John McLeod; that they were allowed and expected to fish for their livelihood, but that the men being unwilling to work when prisoners, and nearly the whole of their canoes being taken away before the opening of the navigation, they suffered a good deal from want; and Mr. McLeod, and four others, escaped by land towards the end of the winter; and that on the 8th day of June, Mr. Archibald Norman McLeod took seventeen of their best men away in his canoes, and carried them, as he believes, to the North-West post at Isle la Ronde, where he is totally ignorant of their situation; that on the 17th July, four canoes of the Hudson's Bay company's servants arrived at the Hudson's Bay post at Isle a la Crosse, containing each about twelve men; that two of these men were left at Isle a la Crosse, and himself and John McDonald came out in their stead, leaving about twelve persons still prisoners at that place. McDougall further adds, that he was informed by George Innes, the Hudson's Bay company's clerk, who came out with the four canoes above mentioned, that there still remained twenty or thirty persons prisoners in the Athabasca country; these, it will be observed, are the latest accounts received from Isle a la Crosse or Athabasca.

The declarations made by captain D'Orsonnens at Fort Douglas, in the winter of 1816-17, of his further intentions of stopping the North-West canoes in Lake Winipic, have already been stated; Hervey McKenzie, in his deposition (No. 377,) taken at the Falls of St. Mary's the 5th June 1817, details at some length, and with apparent sincerity, the apprehensions then entertained by him of the interruption of the North-West company's trade, by the Earl of Selkirk and his party; and in one

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of a subsequent date (No. 321,) he further states, that as he was proceeding, in August 1817, into the interior, in company with Archibald McLean, a barrister of the province of Upper Canada, they met Miles McDonnell, who had some conversation with the said Archibald McLean, which the latter immediately repeated to him (McKenzie), and that the purport thereof was, that Miles McDonnell and his party would have been in possession of all the North-West company's posts, had it not been for the proclamation and the subsequent arrival of the commissioner named therein; and Archibald Norman McLeod states, in his deposition (No. 372,) that Mr. John Clarke, superintendent for the Hudson's Bay company in Athabasca, repeatedly told him, and with much seeming exultation, very nearly in the fall 1816, that he (McLeod) and his people would all be made prisoners in the spring by Lord Selkirk's forces, which had taken Fort William.

J. C. McTavish has also proved before me (Deposition, No. 163, marked K,) the copy of a narrative by Mr. Thomson, taken from the original in his handwriting; and Mr. McGillivray has annexed to his deposition (No. 373.) two papers, marked C and D; the former purporting to be agreements and arrangements in Athabasca, in the winter 1815-16; and the latter, a narrative of the transactions at that place in winter 1816-17; which he attests as true and faithful statements, according to the information which he has received, as principal agent and proprietor of the North-West company, of the respective transactions to which they relate: No part of these papers can of course be considered as evidence, further than as to the existence of certain documents mentioned therein, of which the authenticity may probably be hereafter proved. Mr. Thomson, in his narrative, dwells principally upon the taking of the Fort William, and the North-West post at Lac la Pluie, by Lord Selkirk and his followers, and the apprehensions entertained by him, that a general capture of all the North-West posts in the Indian country was intended; and describes the various steps taken by himself as measures of precaution. According to his statement, the first arrest of John McLeod appears to have taken place on account of the part taken by him in the disturbances on Red River the year before, where he assisted as hereinbefore stated, in the capture of the North-West post at Pembina; from this arrest he was liberated, on giving security to keep the peace for twelve months, and engaging not to send off any letters, or any verbal messages, to the North, or Athabasca, and to give previous notice

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of any he might send to the South, or Saskatchewan. Accounts having been received, that this agreement was much disapproved of by Mr. Bird, the governor of that part of Hudson's Bay territories, McLeod thereupon is stated to have given Mr. Thomson notice on the 14th March, of his intention of proceeding to Mr. Bird's post, in order to have a full explanation with him; and, notwithstanding Thomson's remonstrances, he accordingly set off the next day; this, as Thomson states, he considered a virtual breach of the agreement, as no further attention would be paid thereto, after McLeod's departure; that he therefore thought the most prudent plan would be to prevent his going, and consequently had him and his men brought back to the North-West company's post, after they had been gone a few hours, and on the following morning caused McLeod's people to be disarmed; that a few hours afterwards, he went over to McDougald, second in charge to McLeod, who was detained in custody, and told him the reason for what had been done; he further adds, that "in order to prevent confusion, and obviate any idea of wishing to appropriate their property, McDougald was requested to make an inventory of all the goods, &c. they possessed;" which was accordingly done, and signed by both parties, and the property lodged in a separate store in the North-West post. Mr. Thomson appears also to acknowledge having authorized, on similar grounds, the seizure of the Hudson's Bay posts at Green Lake, and at Lac Caribou, but enters into no details relative thereto. He further states, that as it appeared, by the last accounts they had received, that Lord Selkirk still kept possession of Fort William, and Lac la Pluie, it was thought, from this and other concurring accounts relative to his position and plans, a necessary measure for their own safety, to leave the Hudson's Bay company's men in the interior, with proper means for their subsistence, as the taking them out, would be adding a strong force to that of an enemy, whom they had the most serious reason to believe would attack them; that on reaching Cumberland House, they were released from much of their anxiety on hearing that Government had interfered, and appointed commissioners; that in consequence they requested Mr. Kennedy, in charge of the Hudson's Bay post at that place, to send in provisions, that his people might immediately come out, and offered some of their own men to accompany him, and forward the commissioners notices; but that the proposal was declined by him. Mr. Thomson finally states, that every precau-

tion prudence could dictate was taken, to prevent any violence in carrying his measures into effect; that not the least personal injury was sustained; that individual property of every kind, arms excepted, was left untouched, and not even a paper looked at.

Should the foregoing statement of Mr. Thomson be hereafter made out in evidence, it may certainly palliate, to a considerable degree, the charges against him; for, although he does not even himself state grounds sufficient to justify the seizure of the company's property, yet what he does state, seems sufficient to remove the supposition of any intention of a felonious conversion of the property; and to show, that a good deal of allowance ought fairly to be made, for the difficulty of the situation in which he was placed. With respect to the proceedings at Athabasca, it is more difficult to form any opinion, even of that contingent nature expressed relative to those of Mr. Thomson, from the want of any general statement by Mr. Archibald Norman McLeod; but by the papers stated to be in possession of the North-West company, it appears that in many of the proceedings with which McLeod is charged, he acted under affidavits, laid before him as a magistrate; and that regular lists of the property, delivered up at different times by the Hudson's Bay company servants, accompany the agreement made with them; and it is also stated, that no personal injury was sustained by any one during the transactions in question. As to the occurrences at Little Slave Lake, no evidence or explanation of any kind has been offered by the North-West company; nor has any testimony been brought forward, to counteract that which has been given of the hostile intentions avowed by McLeod, previous to the capture of Fort William; possibly, indeed, the North-West company may be ignorant of the charge on this last point.

The Earl of Selkirk was served by William Smith, the deputy sheriff of the western district of Upper Canada, at Fort William, with a writ for the restitution of the said post to the North-West company, to which the Earl refused to yield obedience; the said Earl, captain Matthey, and John Allan, were also arrested under a warrant for felony by the said William Smith, which warrant was also resisted by them, and the said Under Sheriff made a prisoner by an armed party in the service of the said Earl.

By the deposition of Colin Campbell, of the 22d May 1817 (No. 276.) who was present as an assistant

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to the said under sheriff in the service of the aforesaid writ and warrant; and by that of the said Campbell and Henry McKenzie jointly, of the 25th August 1817, it appears, that on entering the room where the Earl of Selkirk was, they found captain Matthey and Dr. Allan with him, "That the under sheriff produced his warrant of restitution to the said Earl, and demanded of him in the King's name to deliver up the said Fort William to him, and all the effects therein; that thereupon his Lordship said, he did not consider that the said under sheriff had any power as such, and that he would consider him as a private individual; that the said under sheriff again commanded the said Earl, in the King's name, to make restitution of the said fort, and the effects therein; that the said Earl thereupon said, that he had purchased the said Fort William and all the effects therein, from a partner of the North-West company, and that he considered the said Fort William, and every thing in it as his own, and that he would not give it up; whereupon the said under sheriff asked his Lordship, if he would resist him and his warrant? upon which the said Earl said, he would resist him and his warrant, that he had force enough to resist, and that he would make use of such force in resisting the warrant; that thereupon the said under sheriff told the said Earl, that he considered himself in legal possession of the house in which he was, and all the said Fort William, and that he would not abandon his possession until he was forced to do so; whereupon the said Earl then said it would soon be settled, and went up towards the sheriff and seized him by the arm, and said he would turn him out, and pushed him towards the door." Upon this it appears, that the under sheriff produced his warrant for the personal arrest of the Earl, captain Matthey and John Allan, and executed the same by laying his hand upon each of them, and telling them, "that they were his prisoners in the King's name;" that some conversation took place between them on the subject of the said arrest, in the course of which the under sheriff asked the Earl, whether he intended to submit to or resist the said warrant; to which the Earl replied, he certainly would resist, "that the appointment of commissioners by His Majesty's Government superseded all other appointments, and that he would be a fool to submit when so great a superiority of force was at his command." or words to that effect.

That after the said conversation, the Earl took hold of the under sheriff by the arm, and forced him out of the room in which the arrest was made; that a guard was standing at the door of the said room, consisting of serjeant Pugh and six men of the 37th regiment, whom the under sheriff called upon in the King's name to assist him, which the said serjeant refused to do, although an order signed by Colonel Harvey, Adjutant General, containing directions to that effect had previously been delivered to him, but which he refused to obey, "as it was not signed by Sir John Coape Sherbrooke, the commander in chief." Campbell adds also, that one of the men of the 37th regiment at this moment loaded his musket with ball; he further states, that the under sheriff and himself having retired to a house in the fort, a serjeant Grail of the late regiment DeMeuron and four men, fully armed and dressed in the uniform of that regiment, came to the under sheriff and told him, they came to make him and his party prisoners; that the under sheriff asked him by what authority he did so, and the serjeant replied, that the Earl of Selkirk had commanded him to do so, and that he must do so; that the under sheriff then commanded the said serjeant Grail in the King's name to withdraw himself and his guard, which the said serjeant refused to do, and made the said under sheriff and all his party prisoners, and kept a guard and sentry over them the whole of that night. It appears, however, that Campbell and some of the party were released the next day, and left Fort William on the 22d March, when the said under sheriff and some of his party still remained in confinement.

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(19th March,
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The general purport of Campbell's deposition, and various circumstances mentioned therein, are further confirmed by those of William Smith, the said under sheriff, of the 15th July (No. 277), of the said Smith and others, of 9th August (No. 279), and of James Taitt (No. 270); it further appears also, from the last-mentioned depositions, that the said under sheriff was kept in confinement till the month of May following.

On the part of the Earl of Selkirk, the only evidence laid before me, is that of John Allan, whose statement (Deposition, No. 280) does not very materially differ from that of Campbell. Allan states however, that the reason assigned to Smith by the Earl of Selkirk for not obeying the writ of restitution, "was that "it was illegal, in as much as Fort William did not

“belong to the North-West company, but to the Crown, “having been built on land to which no title had ever “been granted, and that even if it were legal in other “respects, it could not be lawfully put in execution, “without the sanction of the special commissioners;” and with regard to the warrant for their personal arrest, he further states, that upon reading it, “Lord “Selkirk told him that it was founded on perjury, and “at all events could not be legally enforced without “the sanction of the special commissioners; upon which “Smith declared, that he must either take the Earl of “Selkirk, and the others prisoners, or become one himself; that he (Allan) asked Smith whether he had heard “of what had befallen Mr. Keveney, after delivering “himself as a prisoner into the hands of the North- “West company, and if Smith had the means of protecting the Earl of Selkirk, him and others from the same “fate, if they should surrender to him; that to this “Smith replied, that he was by no means bound to respect the public notification of the the special commissioners; that he knew what had befallen Mr. Keveney, but “that the sheriff or his deputy was not by law responsible for the consequences of the warrants which he “might enforce, and that if the warrant had been obtained by perjury, he (Allan) and the others aggrieved “would have an action of damages; that he (Allan) then “said, an action of damages could not restore a man’s “life, and that he would never surrender alive to a “band of murderers, meaning the North-West company; “but that if Smith chose to wait till the arrival of the “commissioners, he would then submit to the warrant, “if they approved of it, when there would remain no “doubt of its legality, and when he could do so under “a power that would protect him from murder; but that “Smith insisted that nothing would satisfy the scruples “of his conscience according to his oath, but the absolute and immediate surrender of the Earl of Selkirk, “himself and others, named in the warrant, into his “power; that then the Earl of Selkirk and himself told “him (Smith) that they had no wish to involve him “in difficulties, by making him neglect his duty, and “that if he chose to call witnesses, the Earl of Selkirk would put his hand to Smith’s shoulder while he “walked out of the room, so that by their testimony “he might exonerate himself from responsibility, which “was accordingly done.” Allan then details various

charges alleged against John Duncan Campbell, one of the partners of the North-West company, who had accompanied the under sheriff to Fort William, and states, that in order to prevent any act of violence by Campbell and his associates, a guard was directed to watch their motions, but they were not confined to their room, or prevented from going away, if they had thought proper; and he finally adds, that on the 21st March he learnt, that Smith had threatened a renewal of his attempt to enforce his warrant of arrest, and that he had been prevented by some of the Meurons from quitting his apartment.

On the 3rd
May 1817.

Inclosure in
Sir J. C. Sher-
brooke's of
20th July
1818; viz. Mr.
Coltman's Re-
port, &c.

(3d May
1817.)

A proclamation was issued by Sir John Coape Sherbrooke, Governor in Chief of British North America, by command of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, notifying the appointment of the undersigned, and John Fletcher, Esquire, as special commissioners for inquiring into and investigating all offences committed in the Indian territories, and the circumstances attending the same; and also as magistrates for the said Indian territories, for the purpose of enforcing the various injunctions of the Prince Regent contained in the said proclamation; and of restraining all offenses in the said Indian territories, and of bringing to condign punishment the perpetrators of those committed there.

Proceeding in the execution of this charge, the depositions of Joseph Fagnan and Francois Tapier (No. 374 and 375) were laid before the commissioners at Montreal, stating the violent and alarming declarations made by a number of men formerly belonging to the late regiment De Meuron, who were about to proceed to join the Earl of Selkirk in the Indian territories. The commissioners found these men at La Chine, and there received from lieutenant Joseph Wittnur, the person who had engaged them on behalf of the Earl of Selkirk, a copy of their agreement, which, together with various explanations given by him, will be found on reference to his deposition (No. 376,) wherein he states in particular, that he has no knowledge of any military equipment. In some degree satisfied by these assurances, the commissioners, after causing the proclamation to be read and explained to these men, and receiving assurances of their peaceable intentions, allowed them to proceed by way of the Ottowas River, whilst they went on themselves to York; at this latter place they were overtaken by Colin Campbell and Henry McKenzie, the former of whom made, before them, the deposition

(No. 276,) mentioned under the last head, detailing the resistance of the Earl of Selkirk to the writ of restitution and the warrant; the support afforded, under his Lordship's influence to this proceeding, by the party of the 37th regiment, granted by Government for his personal protection; and finally, the imprisonment, by an armed force, acting under his Lordship's control, of the civil officer in charge of the said processes; and the latter (McKenzie) stated, that notwithstanding the assurances given the commissioners, a quantity of arms had been taken on board the canoes in which the men of the late regiment De Meuron were proceeding, in cases fitted with hinges, locks, straps, and buckles, so as to afford easy access thereto. This information, which renewed the suspicions entertained of the views with which these men were engaged, was afterwards confirmed by the said McKenzie, in his deposition (No. 377,) taken at the Falls of St. Mary, the 5th June 1817; which contains also various other details, by the consideration whereof the commissioners were impressed with the conviction of the necessity of one of them remaining at St. Mary's till the arrival of the above-mentioned party of men, in order to take such measures as might appear necessary, to insure their peaceable conduct in the Indian territories; whilst the presence of the other in the neighbourhood of Lake Winnipic, at the earliest possible period, appeared of equal urgency. Under these impressions, the undersigned commissioner set out to proceed without delay for the interior. Fort William, he found, had been re-occupied by the North-West company, under the authority of William Smith, the under sheriff, as will be found stated by him in his deposition (No. 279,) and also various other details connected therewith in those of Wm. McGillivray, John Spencer, and John McNab (No. 378, 379 and 380.) The North-West posts at Lac la Pluie and Bas de la Rivière, were found also to have been given up without contest, by the followers of the Earl of Selkirk, to Mr. Angus Shaw, the said under sheriff and others, who had preceded the commissioner a few days into the interior, with the proclamation. In the re-occupation of these posts, and the seizure of other property, under the presumption of its having belonged to the North-West company, Mr. Shaw and his party, appear to have acted with much illegal violence, and to have taken and detained many articles that had never belonged to the said company. The particulars of these acts of violence, as relating

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to a parcel of wild rice seized at the River Maligne, will be found stated in the depositions of Joseph Bouvier, Louis l'Ecuyer, and Baptiste la Londe (No. 381, 385, and 386;) to the re-occupation of the post at Lac la Pluie, and the seizure of goods there, in those of Antoine Dubud. Charles Boue, and Jean Baptiste Chauvin (No. 387, 388, and 389;) and to the like, at Bas de la Rivière, in those of Miles McDonnell, Pierre Paul Lacroix, and Solomon Desmarrais (No. 391, 392, and 393;) by the two last of which it appears also, that the commissioner arrived at Bas de la Rivière, barely in time to prevent the sending off, by the North-West company, of an armed party for that river, as the same was actually prepared, and part of the men embarked in the canoes; from the declarations made by some of them, it appears that measures of extreme violence had been in contemplation. On the part of the North-West company, the depositions of Antoine Brisebois, William Smith, Angus Shaw, and Vincent Roy (No. 382, 383, 384, and 390.) have been laid before the commissioners as relative to these affairs; the three first stating, that the persons in charge of the wild rice seized by Mr. Shaw at the Riviere Maligne, had acknowledged it to be the property of the North-West company; and the latter detailing a violent assault by McDonnell, the person in charge for the Earl of Selkirk at Lac la Pluie, on the said Roy, a few days after the re-occupation of the post. The great complaint made by the North-West company was, however, the arrest and imprisonment of the under sheriff, which took place at Fort Douglas on the 24th June 1817; the alleged grounds on which this measure was adopted, will be found stated in the deposition of Miles McDonnell (No. 391,) already mentioned; these appeared however, to me, so insufficient under all the circumstances to authorize the measure adopted, that there could scarcely be a doubt the real motive was to prevent any attempt on his part to enforce his warrant for the arrest of the Earl of Selkirk; as there can (notwithstanding his declaration when examined, "that he came up along "with Mr. Angus Shaw to keep the peace, and to prevent "any hostile act") be little doubt, that it was for the purpose of attempting to execute this warrant that he was brought into the interior.

On arriving at Red River, the complaint of the North-West company, respecting the imprisonment of the under sheriff, was one of the first objects pressed upon my at-

tion; although the grounds of his original arrest did not appear to me sufficient to warrant the measure, yet evidence had been subsequently obtained of a considerable breach of the peace, in taking possession of the North-West post at Lac la Pluie, in which the under sheriff had taken an active part; the particulars thereof are stated in the deposition of Antoine Dubud (No.387), above mentioned. In consequence of this latter charge, the under sheriff was therefore bound to give security for the peace, and thereupon liberated. Very pressing applications were subsequently made to me by him for the aid of my authority and support, in enforcing the warrant against the Earl of Selkirk and others; to this, according to the strict principles of law, perhaps he was entitled; but at the same time there appeared to the undersigned so much doubt, as fairly to authorize him and probably indeed to render it his duty, to defer any proceeding till the arrival of his colleague, who had been expressly appointed on account of his legal knowledge; such delay appeared also most consonant to the general duties of the commissioners, the endeavouring to give effect to the injunctions of the Prince Regent, for the pacification of the Indian country, and to the thorough investigation of the past offences committed there, both which objects might have been materially impeded, by the adoption of any harsh measure of doubtful authority. Such were the views which induced me in the first instance to decline any interference in support of the warrant, and to use my influence with the under sheriff to defer any proceedings on his part, until I could be assisted by the legal knowledge of my colleague; this officer in consequence soon after left Red River for the avowed purpose of meeting the other commissioner, and returning with him or otherwise, according as might appear necessary; from various circumstances my colleague (Mr. Fletcher) was however prevented from proceeding beyond Fort William; nor did the under sheriff return to Red River, but his assistant, Mr. Campbell, came up in his stead. On his arrival, a renewed application was made to me for support in the execution of the warrant, on the grounds stated in the joint deposition (No. 397) of Henry McKenzie and Colin Campbell; but on an attempt subsequently made by Campbell to execute the warrant, the deputation under which he acted appeared so evidently irregular (never having been sanctioned by the sheriff of the district,) that there could be no doubt of the il-

legality of his proceeding, and in consequence he was necessarily held by me to bail, for the assault committed by him in attempting to arrest the Earl; although I had in the first instance so far authorized the proceeding, as to assure the parties, that if they could show legal authority, I would prevent the execution thereof being opposed by force; the period for which Campbell's recognizances were taken, having however expired previous to their reaching the clerk of the peace at Montreal, and the complaint not being renewed, it is probable no further proceedings are intended against him. The Earl of Selkirk shortly after this occurrence proceeded by way of the United States to Montreal, having given bail, which appeared to me sufficient to ensure his due appearance at that place, and which has accordingly since taken place.

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Subsequent to my arrival in the Indian country, there have been no complaints of acts of open violence on either side; but charges of having evaded some of the agreements mutually entered into between the parties, under my sanction, and in the view of giving fuller effect to the intent of the proclamation, have been brought forward on both sides:—Paul Bibb (Deposition, 394) states the conveying away surreptitiously, from Red River, of two half-breeds and one Canadian, by James Hughes, a partner of the North-West company, in violation of a written assurance, given officially to me as commissioner, by each party a day or two previous, that no person should be sent from the country without my sanction; an arrangement adopted to prevent the necessity of a constant search of the canoes, and to which Hughes had been personally a party: on the other hand, Joseph Vandal, and J. B. Henault, in their depositions (Nos. 257 and 395,) state the refusal or evasion by the Earl of Selkirk, of paying them for the time they had been in his Lordship's service, in consequence of their return to that of the North-West company, under their previous engagements; and Michel Chretien, in his deposition (No. 396) states, that his brother, Jean Baptiste Chretien, who was under similar circumstances, told him he was ready to return to the service of the North-West company, if they would guarantee the payment of his wages, whilst in the service of the Earl of Selkirk; statements which appear to show, on the part of the Earl, a course of conduct inconsistent with the arrangements between the parties, which were, on the 15th July 1817, reduced into the

shape of instructions, mutually signed by the Earl and two of the Governors, appointed under the Hudson's Bay company's charter, on one part; and by two of the principal agents of the North-West company, on the other; and circulated through the Indian country, for the avowed purpose of evincing the readiness of the parties to obey the proclamation, and to provide for the execution thereof in detail; one clause whereof provides expressly, that in the event of either party having in their service any persons under previous engagements to the other, they are to allow such servants to fulfil their engagements, and to pay them their wages for the time they may have served.

The complaints above mentioned, did not, however, appear either to call for, or admit of, any immediate proceedings; nor did they, indeed, seem to be brought forward by the parties for any other purpose than to establish a charge of want of good faith against each other; no steps were therefore taken thereon; and each party professing the utmost submission to the commands of the Prince Regent, and having proved this deposition by the instructions above mentioned, issued on the 15th July, and, by a generally unreserved compliance with the measures which, in my official situation, I felt it my duty to direct; nothing further remained, but for me to adopt such steps as appeared most proper to give effect to the general objects of the mission; this was accordingly done; and such of the occurrences as appeared of importance, have been detailed in my official letters to the Governor in Chief of British America.

Quebec, 30th June 1818.

(Signed)

W. B. Coltman.

THE MINUTES OF THE COUNCIL OF THE NORTHERN DEPARTMENT OF RUPERT'S LAND 1830 TO 1843, BEING THE TRANSACTION AND ENACTMENT OF THE RULERS OF THE COUNTRY DURING THAT PERIOD, WITH ACCOMPANYING DOCUMENTS.

Introduction.

Isaac Cowie.

Every wintering partner of the Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay, was entitled to receive personally a copy of the Minutes of Council of the Department in which he was stationed. A few, more methodical than the majority, preserved these copies by transcribing them carefully in a book containing the minutes of many years transactions. One of these books has descended as an heirloom to a friend, who lent it me with full permission to make whatever literary use of it I thought fit, with the result which is now produced in the proceedings of the State Historical Society of North Dakota.

The day has long passed since such publication would afford useful information to any opponent of the old Company. On the contrary, to the great credit of the Hudson's Bay Company, it shows, in records not originally intended for publication, an admirable system of business operations, and reveals a benevolent desire to treat the natives with kindness and humanity, to assist Christian missionaries, to foster education and to promote agriculture.

The copy of the minutes of the Northern Council published below, will give a glimpse of the scope and methods of the Company's transactions, both east and west of the Rocky Mountains. The names of the stations and of the officers appointed to them speak for themselves, and the preambles of a few of the resolutions are sufficiently explanatory; but most of these resolutions are founded upon letters and reports discussed, of which one can only infer the substance from the resulting motion. There is much, therefore, to be read between the lines, while the secret and confidential voting of the chief factors for the promotions of clerks to chief traderships and of chief traders to chief factorships appear in no copies of the minutes which were sent to each district annually.

Each Council opened with the reading of the General Letter addressed annually by the Governor and Committee of the Company at home to their partners in the Territories, couched in terms so cordially courteous as to lead each of the Chief Factors and

Isaac Cowie was formerly a wintering partner in the Hudson's Bay Company and is now a resident at Winnipeg, Manitoba. Through his courtesy the Society is able to put into print for the first time the minutes of Hudson's Bay Company Council for the years 1830 to 1843.

Chief Traders to feel that he was not only an associate in business but a personal friend of "their Honors" the members of the Committee. The letter then went on to treat of business past and prospective. It remained in the custody of the Governor, and no copy of it was sent out with that of the Minutes to the different districts.

The Northern Department Council, besides regulating and directing the trade, was vested with vast power to govern the chartered territories and make laws, not inconsistent with those of England in 1670, under which the country was ruled. It was, through the number of Chief Factors attending it, supreme over the Councils of other Departments, and the Colony of Assiniboia, the official designation of the Red River Settlement, was merely a municipal government subject to its legal jurisdiction, which extended to all those portions of the Chartered territory now included in the Rainy River and Kenora districts of New Ontario, all Keewatin Territory, all Manitoba and Saskatchewan, and that portion of Alberta drained by streams running into Hudson's Bay.

It is questionable whether the legal jurisdiction under the charter extended to the Indian territory, held under Royal License to exclusive trade in the drainage basin of the McKenzie River and the territories west of the Rocky Mountains similarly held.

To enable readers not familiar with the history of the Hudson's Bay Company to understand the minutes it is necessary to give a short historical sketch of the Company.

In its origin, the Hudson's Bay company was a French-Canadian idea, financed by English money and operated by Englishmen. But few people are aware that this great English company became in 1821 in men and management more a Canadian than an English concern. In that year the powerful and progressive, not to say aggressive, North West Company of Montreal joined the Hudson's Bay company as equal partners, providing an equal share of the capital of £400,000, the united concern operating under the charter of the Hudson's Bay company, and under a royal license of exclusive trade in the Indian territories, outside the chartered company's limits, granted jointly to both concerns.

This royal license was continued to the united companies till 1859. It granted them the exclusive Indian trade as against all other British subjects in the territories, but on the Pacific slope it did not confer the privilege as against the Americans and Russians in their respective "spheres of influence," which were unsettled at the time. Most of the American traders were overcome by competition, and a considerable portion of the Russian territory was leased by the Hudson's Bay company during the continuance of the license.

The Chartered Territories.

The Hudson's Bay company claimed under their royal charter of 1670, the exclusive proprietorship, government and trade of all lands drained by streams flowing into Hudson's Bay and straits. Hence the watershed or height of land constituted the boundary of their chartered rights.

The Eastern and South Eastern Boundaries.

The boundary between the British territories of the Hudson's Bay company and those of French Canada were never definitely agreed upon, the line proposed by the company before and soon after the treaty of Utrecht not meeting the views of the French commissioners. This proposal was that a line be drawn from Cape Perdrix, on the Labrador coast in latitude $58\frac{1}{2}$ degrees north, to Lake Mistassine, thence southwesterly to the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, which boundary neither French nor English were to cross. But, as this proposal was not accepted, the Hudson's Bay company, down to the time of the surrender of their territorial rights to the Dominion in 1870, continued to claim the whole region whose waters flowed into Hudson's Bay and straits.

However, after the union of the North West and Hudson Bay companies, this open question of the eastern and south eastern boundary ceased to affect the fur trade. The united company continued to carry on the old business of the North Westers, in harmonious relations with the Canadian government, and under a lease from them of the "King's Posts" from the Saguaney along the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Labrador.

On the coast of Labrador no special leave or license seems to have been required for the posts there from the government of Newfoundland, to which that coast is subject.

I have been unable to procure copies of the Minutes from 1821, the time of the Union of the North West Company with the Hudson's Bay Company, up to 1829, which would cover the difficult transition period, when under the deft management of the great Governor Geo. Simpson, former foes in the old rival companies, with many an unhealed sore, sat at the same Council board. Neither have I had access to the Minutes from 1844 to 1870, when the golden age of the Fur Trade and the Fur traders terminated on the surrender of the Company's sovereignty to Canada.

But by 1830 the diplomatic Governor Simpson had, aided by wise counsellors, brought order out of confusion, and the ancient enemies of the old days of violent rivalry had become reconciled into good working allies and many had become personal friends also. So that the period covered by the minutes herewith, 1830 to 1843, was characterised by an economical development and extension of trade throughout the old districts and the discovery

and exploitation of new fields, such as Ungava in Labrador, and the great valley of the Yukon. Besides these an advantageous lease of a portion of Russian America (now Alaska) was obtained; while the Company's officers won renown in Arctic exploratory and search expeditions. In fact during this fourteen year period the fur trade may be said to have reached the zenith of its progress, and it may be likened to the Elizabethan period in English history. Its decline set in with the loss of its guiding mind and hand in the death, in 1860, of its greatest governor, Sir George Simpson, followed by the appointment of a greenhorn governor, an outsider named Alexander Grant Dallas.

Of all the departments the greatest and most important was the Northern department, which included all the present provinces of Manitoba and Saskatchewan, and Southern Alberta; and the North West, Keewatin, and Yukon territories; also Rainy Lake and River districts in Ontario. The seaport and depot of this department was York Factory. In the interior Norway House was the depot for supplies for the far northern districts of Athabasca and McKenzie river; while Fort Garry, in the Red River settlement, and in communication with the advancing settlements in the United States became yearly of more and more importance.

The Southern department extended along the east coast of Hudson's Bay to James Bay, and took in all James Bay and the country between that and the settled parts of Canada, including the posts on the great lakes. Moose Factory was its seaport and depot, and the residence of the chief factor superintending the department.

The Montreal department included the business in Upper and Lower Canada, the gulf of St. Lawrence and the Labrador. Montreal was the headquarters, and near it at Lachine, the governor-in-chief, Sir George Simpson, resided.

The Western department included the present province of British Columbia and the states of Washington and Oregon. Trapping and trading expeditions also penetrated into California, Idaho, Utah, and Wyoming, and Colorado. Until the disputed boundary was settled by the cession of Oregon to the United States in 1846, Fort Vancouver on the Columbia river was the seaport and depot for this department, and the residence of the superintending chief factor. Thereafter the headquarters were removed to Victoria, Vancouver's Island.

Within the limits of this article it is not possible to enumerate the districts into which these great departments were divided. Western readers will be chiefly interested in the northern department, and to some extent in the Columbian or western.

The government was administered by the governor-in-chief of Rupert's Land, who held a council annually at some convenient point in the northern department, such as York Factory, Norway

House, or Fort Garry. All chief factors were *ex-officio* members of this council which it was their right and duty to attend if possible. Chief traders, if at hand, were invited to attend, and then were permitted to debate and vote equally with the chief factors.

The governor held other councils occasionally in other departments but generally details were arranged for them by the governor in correspondence with the local superintendents. The Northern department council exercised a general jurisdiction over all the other departments, and during their sittings were supreme, subject to the rarely exercised veto of the governor and committee in London.

The preamble to the proceedings of these councils reads that it has met for the purpose of establishing rules and regulations for the conduct of the business, of investigating the result of trade of the past year, and of arranging for the business of the current year.

The order of business followed in council was first to settle which officers should get furlough, to which each was entitled to one year in seven. Next was the appointment of the chief factors and chief traders to new or old districts and posts. Then the amount of supplies to be imported for each district was defined, and the number of persons employed therein limited. The appointments of officers to posts in the several districts were then made by name. The engagements and re-engagements of clerks and postmasters at certain salaries were provided for. Resolutions were passed to protect the furbearing animals from being over-hunted. Grants were made to churches and schools, and for public works in the Red river settlement. The meeting then adjourned.

Immense journeys were made through the wilds by the chief factors attending these councils. Members came from Fort Vancouver at the mouth of the Columbia to York Factory at Hudson's Bay. Others from McKenzie river and Athabasca; while Sir George Simpson came yearly from Montreal by canoe. The meeting was of every importance to the officers, any one of whom might be and frequently was sent by its direction from one department or district to another no matter how remote. The fates of the chief traders aspiring to promotion to the rank of chief factor, and of a clerk desiring a chief tradership were settled at it by the secret votes of the chief factors; and so were increases of clerks' and postmasters' salaries voted at this meeting.

The number of officers and men regularly employed by the company was 25 chief factors, 27 chief traders, 152 clerks, and 1,200 regular servants, besides the occasional labor in boating and other services of a great number of the natives.

These chief factors and chief traders were not salaried officers but were paid by a share in the profits of the company. This

co-operative system was that in operation by the North West company, and supplied the powerful motive of personal interest to each officer so "commissioned." Each apprentice clerk, by good conduct and zeal, was entitled to expect promotion to the rank of such a partner; and the enthusiasm of the North West employees as compared with the less zealous service of the salaried officials of the Hudson's Bay company led to the continuation of the profit-sharing system upon the union of the two companies.

Minutes of Council

1830

Minutes of the Council held at York Factory: Northern Department of Rupert's Land which commenced on the third day of July, 1830, for the purpose of establishing such Rules and Regulations as may be considered expedient for conducting business of said Department and in order to investigate the results of the trade of last year, and determine the Outfits and general arrangements for the trade of the current year conformally to the provisions of a Deed Poll, under the seal of The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay bearing date the twenty sixth day of March 1821 at which were present the following Members. Viz.

George Simpson	Governor-in-Chief
Colin Robertson	Chief Factor
Alexander Stewart	do
John Clarke	do
John D. Cameron	do
John Charles	do
John Stewart	do
Alexander Christie	do
William McKintosh	do
John Rowand	do
P. W. Dease	do
John Lee Lewes	do
Roderick McKenzie	do

Resolved 1. That Chief Traders be invited to attend and in consequence the following were present. Viz.

Duncan Finlayson	Chief Trader
Robert Miles	do
John E. Harriott	do

Resolved 2. That the Rotations for Furlough for the Current year 1830, be in favor of Chief Factors P. W. Dease, Colin Robertson and James Leith.

Resolved 3. That those of Chief Factors, P. W. Dease and Colin Robertson be transferred to Chief Factors, Alexander Stewart

and John Clarke who with Chief Factor Leith avail themselves thereof.

Resolved 4. That the Rotations of Furlough for the present year be in favor of Chief Trader A. R. McLeod and Alexander Fisher, neither avail themselves thereof.

In order to guard against any misapprehension in respect to the Rotation of Furlough for the two ensuing years.

Resolved 5. That they be considered as in favor of Chief Factors, Alex. Stewart, J. George McTavish and John Clarke, and Chief Traders Samuel Black and P. Skene Ogden for Outfit 1831/32 and for Outfit 1832/33 in favor of Chief Factors George Keith, John D. Cameron and John Charles and Chief Traders Cuthbert Cummings and Francis Heron.

The request of Chief Trader Francis Heron contained in a Letter under date the 19th April 1830 to be allowed to accept the Transfer of Chief Trader Samuel Black's Rotation of Furlough for Outfit 1831 under the provisions of the 21st Article of the Deed Poll having been duly considered, it is apprehended that if this indulgence were granted such transfer and exchange might be injurious and inconvenient to the interest of the Columbia Department to which both Gentlemen are attached it is therefore.

Resolved 6. That this request of Chief Trader Heron be not complied with unless Chief Factor John McLoughlin finds that it cannot be without injury or inconvenience to the business of the Columbia Department in which case Chief Factor John McLoughlin is hereby authorised to afford Chief Trader Heron a passage to York in the Craft of ensuing season.

The request of Chief Trader John McLeod to be allowed leave of absence and a passage to England this season for the benefit of his health accompanied by Dr. William Todd. medical certificate have been duly considered, it is,

Resolved 7. That Chief Trader John McLeod be granted leave of absence for one year accordingly

Resolved 8. That the following appointments take place, Viz.

Districts	Chief Factors	Chief Traders
Athabasca	John Charles	Colin Campbell
McKenzie River	Edward Smith	
English River	Roderick McKenzie	
Cumberland	William McKintosh	
Saskatchewan	John Rowand	J. P. Pruden
Swan River	Colin Robertson	
Norway House		Donald Ross
Island Lake	J. Lee Lewes	
Nelson River		Josh. McGillivray

York	Alex Christie	Robert Miles
Winnipeg	John Stewart	
Lac La Pluie	J. D. Cameron	Thos. McMurray
Red River Settlement	Donald McKenzie	Duncan Finlayson
New Caledonia	William Conolly	Alexander Fisher
	Peter W. Dease	
Columbia	J. McLoughlin	Simon McGillivray
		A. R. McLeod
		Samuel Black
		P. S. Ogden
		Francis Heron
		Arch. McDonald
		John E. Harriott

Experimental Farm at Red River James McMillan, Chief Factor.

In reference to the appointment of Chief Trader Simon McGillivray to the district of Columbia it is

Resolved 9. That in the event of that Gentleman not arriving at Fort Chippewyan from Great Slave Lake in sufficient time to proceed to the Columbia by New Caledonia, say on or before the 20th of Sept he be retained in the Athabasca Department for the Current year and his appointment to the Columbia be transferred to Chief Trader Colin Campbell.

Resolved 10. That the following arrangements take place. Viz.

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 11. Athabasca

Fort Chippewyan.....	John Charles, Chief Factor
	James Heron, Clerk
Dunvegan.....	Colin Campbell, Chief Trader
Great Slave Lake.....	George McDougall, Clerk
Vermillion.....	Paul Fraser, Clerk

Resolved 12. That 4 boats 29 men and about 220 pieces Goods constitute the Current Outfit for Athabasca District.

Resolved 13. That the quantity of Leather Parchment, pack Cords and Babiche stated in 84th Resolve as being required for New Caledonia which have usually been furnished by the Saskatchewan District be from henceforward provided at Dunvegan together with a sufficient quantity of Grease to make up the ladings of Two Canoes to 50 Pieces in all, deliverable when called for after the month of August in every year.

Resolved 14. That Chief Factor Charles be directed to leave Fort Chippewyan with the boats and accompany them to Portage La Loche from whence he will proceed his brigade in Mr Conolly's Canoe from New Caledonia accompanied by Chief Factor Roderick McKenzie from Ile a La Crosse, their presence being required at York Factory on or about 25th June.

Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 15. Athabasca

Fort Chippewyan.....	four men
Great Slave Lake.....	three men
Dunvegan.....	three men
Vermilion.....	three men

Resolved 16. That Colin Campbell, Chief Trader, James Heron and Paul Fraser, Clerks remain inland and be appointed as C. F. Charles may consider expedient.

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 17. McKenzie River

Fort Simpson.....	E. Smith, Chief Factor
	J. McLeod, Clerk
Fort Riviere aux Liard'.....	M. McPherson, Clerk
Fort Norman	C. Brisbois, Clerk
Fort Good Hope.....	John Bell, Clerk
Fort Halkett.....	J. Hutchison, Clerk

Resolved 18. That about 250 pieces of goods forwarded in 4 boats from Norway House for Portage La Loche constitute the Current outfit for McKenzie River.

Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 19. McKenzie River

Fort Simpson.....	A clerk and two men
Fort Riviere aux Laird.....	A clerk and three men
Fort Halkett.....	A clerk and three men
Fort Norman.....	A clerk and two men
Fort Good Hope.....	A clerk and three men

Resolved 20. That it be discretionary with Chief Factor Smith to regulate the appointments and to make such alterations in the Summer Arrangements of the District as he may consider expedient.

Resolved 21. That 4 Boats and a canoe or 5 Boats be employed to bring out the returns Summer 1831 To Portage La Loche.

Resolved 22. That Chief Factor Christie be directed to forward 300 pieces Goods to Norway House for McKenzie River Outfit 1831, the same to be transferred thence in 5 boats to start from Norway House on or before the 20th June, three of which to be manned by people to be engaged for the trip on Red River say 8 men each and the other 2 by 18 servants exclusive of the guides, 13 of whom to be under engagements of not less than three years, three of these men to be added to the late complement of the District and others to be exchanged if necessary for retiring servants.

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 23. English River Ile a la Crosse Roderick McKenzie
Chief Factor Deer Lake Geo. Deschumbeault, Clerk.

Resolved 24. That 100 pieces Goods in two boats manned by 12
men constitute the Current Outfit of that District. The post
at Lac La Ronge having been for a great length of time whereby
the surrounding country has been much impoverished and it
being considered expedient to nurse the Country. It is

Resolved 25. That the said Post of Lake la Ronge be abandoned
and that a Post in lieu thereof be established at Deer's Lake.

Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 26. English River

Ile a la Crosse.....three men

Deer's Lake.....a clerk and three men

Resolved 27. That a quantity of dried provisions equal to 80
bags Pemican be provided and forthcoming for the use of the
outward and inward bound Northern Craft Spring and Summer
1831.

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 28. Cumberland

Cumberland.....William McKintosh, C. F.

Moose Lake, ...Donald McKenzie, Clerk.

Resolved 29. That about 120 pieces of Goods constitute the
current Outfit for Cumberland District, part of which to be
taken by a boat and 6 men belonging to the district and the
remainder on freight by the Saskatchewan Brigade.

Summer Arrangement.

Resolved 30. Cumberland

Cumberland.....Donald McKenzie Clerk.

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 31. Saskatchewan

Edmonton.....John Rowand, C. F.

Carlton.....J. P. Pruden, C. F.

Fort Pitt.....Patrick Small, Clerk.

Fort Assinaboine.....Richard Grant, do

Rocky Mountain House. Henry Fisher, Jr. do

Jasper House.....Michel Klyne P. M.

Lesser Slave Lake.....George Linton, Clerk

Resolved 32. That 360 pieces Goods in 9 Boats manned by 37
men constitute the Current Outfit.

Summer Arrangements

Resolved 33. Saskatchewan

Edmonton.....A clerk and 12 men

Carleton.....J. P. Pruden Chief Fact. 8 men

Resolved 44. Lower Red River

Warden of the Plains Cuthbert Grant.

The establishment at Fort Garry being in a very dilapidated state, its situation not sufficiently central, much exposed to

the spring floods and very inconvenient to the navigation of the River and in other points of view it is.

Resolved 51. That a new establishment to bear the same name be formed on a site to be selected near the lower end of the Rapids for which purpose tradesmen be employed or the work be done by contract as may be found most expedient and as stones and lime are on the spot materials to be used instead of timber being cheapest and more durable.

Resolved 52. That Chief Factor Donald McKenzie, commissions and authority as governor of the colony be equally applicable to servants of the company under his direction and that they be required to yield due obedience to such authority in all cases in which he may find necessary to exercise it.

Resolved 53. That the Chief Factor McMillan be directed to establish any experimental farm at or near the Red River for the purpose of rearing sheep and the preparation of tallow or wool and of Hemp and Hay and Flax for the English market and that the necessary means be afforded for that object.

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 54. Winnipeg

Fort Alexander	John Stewart C. F.
Berens River	An Interpreter
Nettley Creek	Nemisses P. M.
Dalles	William Sinclair Clerk.

Resolved 55. That about 100 pieces in two boats manned by 12 men constitute the Current Outfit for this district.

Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 56. Winnipeg,

Fort Alexander, ...	a clerk and two men
Berens River.....	An interpreter

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 57. Lac La Pluie

Lac La Pluie,.....	J. D. Cameron C. F.
	C. W. Bone Clerk
Lac des Bois Blanc,.....	Thos. McMurray C. T.
White Fish lake.....	William Clouston Clerk

Resolved 58. That Chief Factor J. D. Cameron be authorized to make such alterations in the above arrangements as he may consider expedient.

Resolved 59. That about 250 pieces Goods in 4 Boats navigated by 24 men constitute the Current Outfit for this district and that five new bark canoes be built next spring 3 of which to be brought out to remain at Fort Alexander and the remainder together with 50 fathoms best bottom and side bark be brought out to Norway House.

Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 60. Lac La Pluie

Lac La Pluie Thos. McMurray. C. T.
C. W. Bone clerk and 4 men

Winter and Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 61. Norway House

Norway House.....Donald Ross, Chief Trader

Resolved 62. That three men be provided for the winter and summer and the requisite Outfit of 25 pieces for the Current Year be taken thither on freight:

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 63. Island Lake

Oxford House.....John Lee Lewes C. F.

Windy Lake.....William McKay, P. M.

Merrys House Patriek Cunningham Do

Manitoo Lake A Labourer.

Resolved 64. That about 20 pieces Goods in Craft navigated by 9 men constitute the Current Outfit of this District.

Winter Road Arrangements.

It being very desirable to follow up the winter road plan which in due time promises important advantages at large it is.

Resolved 65. That the work be continued under the direction of Chief Factor Lewes and that to carry it on the services of the men now employed in the transport of the McKenzie River Outfit and return be at his disposal for that Object for the month of October until the month of April next: Likewise that such facilities be established by the York Factory and Norway House towards the execution thereof as may subject the business to no material inconvenience.

Resolved 66. That 200 pieces of Goods to be forwarded from York Factory in the course of the summer and autumn to Fort Deer be transported to Norway House by this mode of conveyance.

Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 67. Island Lake

Oxford House.....Two men

Manitoo Lake.....An interpreter and one man.

Windy Lake One man

Merry's House.....An interpreter

Winter Arrangements

Resolved 68. Nelson River

Split Lake.....Joseph McGillivray C. T.
Andrew Wilson P. M.

Resolved 69. That 40 pieces Goods in 1 boat managed by three men with Indians constitute the Current Outfit of this District.

Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 70. Nelson River

Split Lake.....Andrew Wilson P. M. and one man

In reference to the appointment of Chief Trader Joseph McGillivray.

Resolved 71. That it be discretionary with Governor Simpson to appoint him to Winter at any Post or in District which he may consider expedient or to allow him a passage to Montreal or England.

Winter Arrangements

Resolved 72. York

York Factory.....Alexander Christie, C. F.

Robert Miles, C. T.

James Hargrave, Clerk

George Taylor, do

Thos. Simpson do

Joseph Charles, P. M.

Churchill.....Robert Harding, Clerk

Resolved 73. That 42 men including mechanic, constitute the Winter and Summer Establishments of York Factory and Churchill and that the Outfit of Churchill be forwarded by such means as Chief Factor Christie can provide in the course of the season.

Resolved 74. That measures be taken in course of the summer and autumn to forward 200 pieces of Goods in all to Fort Daer for the purpose of being conveyed to Norway House by the Winter Road and that every facility be afforded at the Depot for the promotion of this important object.

Winter Arrangements

Resolved 75. Columbia

Fort Vancouver.....J. McLoughlin C. F.

J. E. Harriott, C. T.

Donald Manson, Clerk

James Douglas, do

James Birnie, do

John Kennedy, Surgeon

Michel Laframboise, P. M.

Fort Colville.....Francis Heron C. T.

Flat Heads.....William Kittson, Clerk

Coutainous Payette Intr.

Thompson's River,.....Fis Ermatinger, Clerk.

Okanagan A labourer

Fort Nez Perce.....Samuel Black C. T.

Fort Langley A. McDonald, C. T.

J. M. Yale, Clerk.

Snake Expedition.....	P. S. Ogden C. F.
Disposable	Simon McGillivray C. T.
	A. R. McLeod do
	John Work Clerk
	Thomas McKay do
	Geo. Barnstone do
	F. N. Annance do
Shipping.....	Captain Simpson
	Captain Ryan & Capt Minors & mate

Notwithstanding the above nominations of Commissioned officers and clerks.

Resolved 76. That it be discretionary with Chief Factor McLoughlin to make the appointments of those Gentlemen as he may consider expedient.

Resolved 77. That 40 men be provided for the District to accompany the Saskatchewan Brigade under the charge of Chief Trader Rowand until they reach Edmonton and from thence proceed under the charge of Chief Trader Harriott to Fort Vancouver or until he may receive instructions from Chief Factor McLoughlin for his further guidance.

Resolved 78. That 160 guns (trading) and a few other supplies as per requisition be taken from York for the use of the Columbia Department and from Jaspers House all the leather which he may find there of the stock provided last year for New Caledonia.

Resolved 79. That Chief Factor McLoughlin take the necessary steps to employ the shipping in the coasting and timber trades to build a ship at Vancouver to establish the post of Nass and to carry into effect the other objects noticed in the Governor's and Committee's Dispatch on 28th October 1829 conformably to their Honours instructions.

Columbia Continued.

Resolved 80. New Caledonia

Stewarts Lake.....	Wm. Conolly C. F.
	James McDonald Clerk.
Frasers Lake	P. W. Dease, C. F.
	Thos. Dears. Clerk
McLeods Lake	John Tod Clerk
Alexandria	A. Fisher, Chief Trader
Bambines	P. C. Pambrun Clerk.
Connollys Lake	Charles Ross do
Fort George	Wm. McGillivray, Clerk.

Resolved 81. That it be discretionary with Chief Factor Conolly to make the appointments of the above Gentlemen together with the requisite establishment of servants as he may consider expedient.

Resolved 82. That Chief Factor Dease, proceed to New Caledonia via Athabasca and Peace River in a canoe manned by 4 men for the Columbia; in which Chief Factor Charles will take a passage from Norway House to Fort Chippewyan preceding his brigade; from Fort Chippewyan Chief Trader McGillivray to accompany Mr. Dease, or in the event of that Gentleman not arriving there by the 20th of September Chief Factor Campbell accompany him and either of these Gentlemen say Mr. McGillivray or Mr. Campbell proceed from New Caledonia to Kamloops and thence to Vancouver as early as possible with the men intended for the Columbia Department.

Resolved 83. That Chief Factor Conolly be authorized to transfer the charge of the District of New Caledonia next Spring to Chief Factor Dease, who will make the necessary points of officers and servants for the summer to the different posts and Stations as he may see fit and that Chief Factor Conolly attend the sitting of council next season taking his passage out via Peace River in a canoe manned not exceeding 4 retiring servants, the remainder of the crew to be provided by Chief Factor Charles at Fort Chippewyan and that John McDonald Clerk, late of New Caledonia District who is to pass the ensuing Winter at Peace River come out to Fort Chippewyan in charge of the Athabasca Brigade to Norway House.

Resolved 84. That 650 dressed Moose skins, 100 pounds of Babi-che snares and Beaver Nets, 2000 fathoms pack cords and a sufficient quantity of grease to make up 50 pieces in all be provided at Dunvegan for New Caledonia District to be sent for in the Autumn of every year by the Gentlemen in charge of that District.

Resolved 85. That a complete Outfit for New Caledonia 1831 conformably to requisition be prepared at Fort Vancouver by next spring and that the requisite Horses and appointments etc. to effect the transfer thereof be provided and forwarded thither from the Columbia, and with reference to further arrangements connected with the Columbia Department generally.

Resolved 86. That the same be determined by Governor Simpson on Correspondence with Chief Factor McLoughlin and Conolly.

Resolved 87. That Chief Factors and Chief Traders in charge of Districts and Posts where regular tradesmen are employed be authorized to engage strong healthy half-breed lads not under 14 years of age as apprentices to be employed with those tradesmen with the purpose of acquiring of their business on a term not less than seven years at the following wages which are considered sufficient to provide them with clothes etc. other personal necessities; Viz. The 2 first years at 8 pounds per an-

num the next two years at 10 pounds, the following two years at 12 pounds per annum and the last year at 15 pounds per annum making for the seven years apprenticeship an allowance of 75 pounds such lads not to be employed with their fathers nor in the districts where their fathers or families reside.

Great Benefit having been derived from the benevolent and indefatigable exertions of the Catholic Mission at Red River in the welfare, moral and religious instruction of its numerous followers and it being observed with much satisfaction that the influence of the mission under the direction of the Right Rev. The Bishop of Julipolis has been uniformly to the best interest of the settlement and of the country at large. It is

Resolved 88. That in order to mark our approbation of such laudible and disinterested conduct on the part of the said mission the sum of 50 pounds be given towards its support together with an allowance of luxuries for its use.

Resolved 89. That 100 pounds be placed at the disposal of the Right Rev. The Bishop of Julipolis towards the repairs or the rebuilding of the Catholic Church at Red River and Payable to his order on demand in Canada, England, or Red River.

Resolved 90. That Richd. Juln. Hamlyn, Surgeon to the Red River Settlement be allowed the sum of 50 pounds sterling for medical attendance and advice at the Company's Establishment and to their retired servants at Red River Colony and Neighboring Districts for the following year.

Resolved 91. That for the purpose of transmitting corrected accounts from the depot of the Summer transactions as well as of conveying information relative to the districts in general a winter express from the depot and the Interior be appointed to meet at Carleton House, the one to proceed Northward via Ile a la Crosse and Athabasca, and the other southward Via Cumberland and Norway House, and steps be always taken by means of Indians or otherwise to forward from the depot to Norway House or Cumberland before the closing of the navigation and private letters conveyed by the ship in order that the same may reach their respective destinations before the departure of the Craft and return in the Spring. That all letters on public business be in duplicate under official signature and when intended for general circulation be addressed to the Governor, Chief Factor and Chief Traders.

Resolved 92. That the different districts in the Northern Department be restricted to not exceeding the following number of beaver for the Current Outfit, founded on an average list of returns for three years as expressed in number 13, minutes of Council 1836. Viz.

Athabasca 5,000

Winnipeg 50

Saskatchewan 5,500

English River 650

Cumberland 150

Swan River 400

Norway House 20

Island Lake 100

Nelson River 400

York & Churchill 300

Resolved 93. That Gentlemen in charge of Districts and Posts be directed to use their uttermost endeavours to collect large quantities of leathers dressed, and Parchment, Buffalo Robes, Pack Cords, Snow Shoe Line, Sinews, Tracking, Shoe, Leather tents, etc. as these are articles absolutely necessary for the trade in many parts of the country and cannot be purchased in Canada or Europe.

Resolved 94. That the Gentlemen in charge of Districts be directed to use every exertion to collect bears grease as it is likely to become a valuable article of trade for which credit will be taken in accounts at 2 shillings per pound.

Resolved 95. That Gentlemen in charge of Districts and Posts be directed to bring to the depot all the old spirit kegs either shaken or made up into parcels or filled with grease, provisions and other articles, as by proper care the same kegs may be made to last 2 years and for every keg so brought back: if the staves be sound and in a fit state to be remanufactured, five shillings per keg will be credited to the District.

Resolved 96. That Gentlemen in charge of Districts and Posts be directed to furnish annually with the inventories a list of the articles in use at each Post distinguishing them according to their condition, as good, half worn, much worn, also a list of cattle or other live stock and the number of acres in cultivation and quantity of seed sown for the next crop and quantity reaped the preceding summer the cattle should be distinguished, bulls, cows of the several ages, calves one year old, two years old, three years old and upwards without any valuation affixed.

Resolved 97. That Chief Factors, Chief Traders and Clerks in charge of districts and posts give notice to the servants under their direction that the rate of interest allowed by the government on exchequer bills having been reduced to $1\frac{1}{2}$ per day or about 2 pounds 5 shillings per cent. The Honourable Company can only allow that rate of interest on Balances left in their hands.

A letter dated, Montreal, 1st April 1830 from Mr. James Hughes late, a partner of the North West Company who stood high in the estimation of his Colleagues for talent as an Indian Trader and in that of his friends and acquaintance, for his correct and honourable conduct stating his present indigent circumstances and destitute situation having been favourably considered It is

Resolved 98. That the Governor and Committee be requested

to admit him into the service of the Fur Trade in the Capacity of Clerk, on a salary of 100 pounds per annum but without claims to, or hopes of promotion on account of his advanced time of Life and to afford him a passage to the Northern Department next season in order to be appointed to the charge of a trading Post.

Resolved 99. That the annexed standing Rules and Regulations be considered in force and be acted upon accordingly until rescended.

Resolved 100. That the Council do now adjourn

Signed.

George Simpson,	Governor
Colin Robertson	Chief Factor
Alexander Stewart	do
John Clarke	do
John Charles	do
John Stewart	do
J. D. Cameron	do
Alexander Christie	do
William McIntosh	do
William McIntosh	do
John Rowand	do
Peter W. Dease	do
John Lee Lewes	do
Roderick McKenzie	do

York Factory,
7th July 1830.

Minutes of Council
1831

Minutes of a council held at York Factory, Northern Department of Ruperts Land which commenced on the Twenty-ninth day of June 1831 for the purpose of establishing such Rules and Regulations as may be considered expedient for conducting the business of said Department, and in order to investigate the result of the Trade of last year, and determine the Outfit and general arrangements for the trade of the Current year conformably to the provisions of a Deed Poll under the seal of the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudsons Bay bearing date the twenty-sixth of March 1821, at which were present the following Members Viz:—

George Simpson,	Governor-in-chief
Colin Robertson	Chief Factor
Alexander Stewart	do
John D. Cameron	do
John Charles	do

John Stuart	do
Alexander Christie	do
William McIntosh	do
William Conolly	do
John Rowand	do
Roderick McKenzie	do
Duncan Finlayson	do
John Lee Lewes	(to do

Resolved 1. That Chief Traders be invited to attend and in consequence the following were present, Viz—

John McLeod
A. R. McLeod
Robert Miles

Resolved 2. That the rotations of furlough for the Current year 1831 be in favor of Chief Factors Alexander Stuart, John George McTavish and John Clark.

Resolved 3. That those of Chief Factors John Clark & Alexander Stewart be considered null and void as they do not avail themselves thereof and that that of Chief Factor John G. McTavish be transferred to C. F. William Conolly.

Resolved 4. That the rotations of Furlough for the Current year 1831 be in favor of Chief Traders Samuel Black and Peter S. Ogden and that they be considered null and void as they do not avail themselves thereof.

In order to guard against any misapprehension in respect to the rotations of Furlough for the two ensuing years.

Resolved 5. That they be considered as in favor of Chief Factors George Keith, John D. Cameron and John Charles and Chief Traders Cuthbert Cummings and Francis Heron for Outfit 1832-33 and in favor of Chief Factors John Stuart, Edward Smith and John McLoughlin and Chief Traders John Siveright and Robert Miles for Outfit 1833-34.

The request of Chief Trader Simon McGillivray contained in a letter under date 13th March 1831, to be allowed a Furlough or leave of absence for the year of Outfit 1832 having been duly considered it is apprehended that if this indulgence were granted it might be drawn into a precedent which might be injurious or inconvenient to the Interests of the Service it is therefore

Resolved 6. That Chief Trader Simon McGillivray's request be not complied with.

And with reference to the foregoing Resolutions frequent changes of Commissioned Gentlemen on the West side of the mountains being found exceedingly inconvenient it is

Resolved 7. That no exchanges of Rotation of Furlough between Chief Factors or between Chief Traders be permitted nor leave

of absence granted to Chief Factors or Chief Traders while under appointments while on the West side the mountains until after they have passed Five Winters there except in cases where ill-health may render it necessary for them to visit England or Canada for the benefit of Medical advice.

Resolved 8. That the following appointments take place

Districts	Chief Factors	Chief Traders
Athabasca	John Charles	Colin Campbell
McKenzie's River	Edward Smith	A. R. McLeod
English River	Roderick McKenzie	
Cumberland	William McIntosh	
Saskatchewan	John Rowand	J. P. Pruden
Swan River	Colin Robertson	
Red River Settlement	Donald McKenzie	
Upper Red River		Wm. Todd
Experimental Farm	Jas. McMillan	
Winnipeg	John Stuart	
Lac la Pluie	John D. Cameron	
Norway House		Donald Ross
Island Lake	John Lee Lewes	
York Factory	Alexander Christie	Robert Miles
Columbia	John McLoughlin	S. McGillivray
	Duncan Finlayson	Samuel Black
		P. S. Ogden
		Francis Heron
		Archibald McDonald
		J. E. Harriott
		Emilius Simpson
		John Work
New Caledonia	Peter W. Dease	Alexander Fisher
Southern Dep't.		
Albany	Alexander Stewart	
Montreal Dep't.		
Kings Posts		John McLeod
Do Do	Wm. Conolly for Outfit 1832-33.	

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 9. Athabasca

Fort Chippewyan	John Charles C. F.
	James Heron Clerk
Dunvegan	Colin Campbell C. T.
Vermilion	Paul Fraser Clerk
Great Slave Lake	John McDonnell do

Resolved 10. That 4 Boats, 29 men and about 200 pieces Goods constitute the Current Outfit for Athabasca District.

Resolved 11. That the quantities of Leather parchment, pack Cords and Babiche stated in 85th Resolve as being required

for New Caledonia which have usually been furnished by the Saskatchewan District be from henceforward provided at Dunvegan together with a sufficient quantity of Grease to make up the Lading of two Canoes to 50 pieces in all deliverable when called for after the month of August in every year.

Resolved 12. That Chief Factor Charles be directed to precede his Brigade in a Canoe to be manned by 4 of the New Caledonia retiring Servants and 4 of the people belonging to Athabasca District, his presence being required at York Factory on or about the 25th June.

Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 13. Athabasca

Fort Chippewyan.....	Four men
Great Slave Lake.....	3 do
Vermilion.....	3 do
Dunvegan.....	3 do

Resolved 14. That Paul Frazer Clerk be transferred to New Caledonia Department and be replaced either by John Tod or Charles Ross Clerks.

Resolved 15. That James Heron Clerk accompany the Boats to Norway House next season and from thence proceed to York Factory.

Resolved 16. That Colin Campbell, Chief Trader, and John McDonell and either John Tod or Charles Ross Clerks remain inland and be appointed as Chief Factor Charles may consider expedient.

Resolved 17. That Chief Factor Christie be directed to forward 160 pieces Goods to Norway House for Athabasca, Outfit 1832 by Indians or Red River Carriers.

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 18. McKenzies River

Fort Simpson.....	Edward Smith C. F.
	A. R. McLeod C. T.
	John McLeod Clerk.
Rivres au Laird.....	Murdoch McPherson Clerk
Fort Simpson.....	Charles Brisbois do
Fort Good Hope.....	John Bell do
Fort Halkett.....	John Hutchison Clerk

Resolved 19. That about 280 pieces Goods forwarded in 5 Boats from Norway House for Portage la Loche constitute the current Outfit for McKenzies River.

Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 20. McKenzies River

Fort Simpson.....	Two men
Rivres au Laird.....	Three do

Fort Norman.....	Two do
Fort Good Hope.....	Three men
Fort Halkett.....	do do

Resolved 21. That it be discretionary with Chief Factor Smith to regulate the appointments and to make such alterations in the Summer arrangements of the District as he may consider expedient.

Resolved 22. That 4 Boats and a Canoe or 5 Boats be employed to bring out the Returns, Summer 1832 to Portage la Loche.

Resolved 23. That Chief Factor Christie be directed to forward 250 pieces Goods to Norway House for McKenzies River Outfit 1832, the same to be transported thence in 4 Boats to start from Norway House on or before the 15th of June three of which to be manned by people to be engaged for the trip at Red River say 7 men each and the 4th by 7 Servants exclusive of the Guide.

Resolved 24. That Chief Factor Smith be at liberty to visit York Factory next Summer if so disposed in which case it will be necessary for him to be at Fort Chippewyan in sufficient time to accompany Chief Factor Charles and that Chief Factor Smith be directed to send John McLeod Clerk to Fort Chippewyan sufficiently early to take a passage to Norway House or York in the Athabasca Boats or Canoe, it being intended to transfer his services to the Montreal Department.

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 25. English River.

Isle la Crosse.....	Roderick McKenzie C. F.
Rapid River.....	Geo. Deschambeault Clerk.
Green Lake.....	An Interpreter

Resolved 26. That 100 pieces Goods in 2 Boats manned by 12 men constitute the Current Outfit for that District.

The Post at Deers Lake being found exceedingly inconvenient for the Crees at Lac la Ronge, it is

Resolved 27. That it be abandoned and that a Post be established in its stead at the mouth of Rapid River which will accommodate the Crees of Lac la Ronge as also the Chippewyans of Deers Lake.

Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 28. English River.

Isle la Crosse.....	Three men
Rapid River.....	1 Clerk & 1 man

Resolved 29. That a quantity of dried Provisions equal to 80 Bags Pemican be provided and forthcoming for the use of Outward and inward bound Northern Craft, Spring and Summer 1832.

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 30. Cumberland

Cumberland Ho. Wm. McKintosh C. F.

Resolved 31. That 50 pieces Goods constitute the Current Outfit for Cumberland District to be taken in by the Saskatchewan Brigade into which the 3 voyaging Servants belonging to the District will be drafted.

Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 32. Cumberland

Cumberland Ho. Two men

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 33. Saskatchewan

Edmonton John Rowand C. F.

Carlton J. P. Pruden C. T.

Fort Pitt Patrick Small Clerk.

Fort Assineboine Richard Grant do

Rocky Mountain Ho. Henry Fisher do

Jaspers House Michel Klyne, P. M.

Lesser Slave Lake Geo. McDougall Clerk.

Resolved 34. That 250 pieces Goods in 8 Boats manned by 40 men constitute the Current Outfit.

Resolved 35. Saskatchewan

Edmonton A Clerk & 12 men

Carlton J. P. Pruden C. T. & 8 men

Fort Assineboine 1 man

Jaspers House A Postmaster & 1 man

Resolved 36. That J. P. Pruden C. T. Patrick Small, Henry Fisher and George McDougall Clerks remain inland and be appointed as the Chief Factor superintending the District may consider expedient.

Resolved 37. That the requisite number of Horses be provided at Edmonton for the transport of the Columbia Property to Fort Assineboine the charges for transport to be 5/- for each piece of 90 lbs. Weight and that Craft be always in readiness at Fort Assineboine and the Rocky Mountain House for the conveyance of people and property belonging to the Columbia Department.

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 38. Swan River.

Fort Pelly Colin Robertson C. T.

Thomas Isbister P. M.

Shoal River Goulet Interpreter.

Manitoba Francis Dease P. M.

Resolved 39. That 100 pieces Goods, 2 Boats and 11 Servants

and 3 freemen hired for the trip constitute the current Equipment of Swan River.

Resolved 40. That Chief Factor Robertson be authorized to contract with a freeman for the delivery of 2 to 300 bushels Salt annually at 5 /- per Bushel.

Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 41. Swan River.

Fort Pelly.....	An Interpreter & 4 men.
Manitobah.....	do do
Shoal River.....	Francis Dease & 1 man.

Chief Factor J. D. Cameron having expressed a desire of transferring his rotation of Furlough for the year of Outfit 1832-33 to Chief Factor Robertson the latter Gentleman having intimated his intention of availing himself thereof and expressed a wish to leave his District with that view before the opening of the navigation and to be exempted from attendance at Council, it is

Resolved 42. That Chief Factor Robertson be permitted to avail himself of Chief Factor Cameron's rotation of Furlough for next year and to leave his district before the opening of the navigation and that he be exempted from attendance at Council accordingly.

In order to protect the trade of the Assineboine and Crees of Upper Red River from American opposition on the Missouri it is

Resolved 43. That a new Post be established at or in the neighborhood of Beaver Creek to be called Fort Ellice.

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 44. Upper Red River.

Fort Ellice.....	William Todd C. T.
	George Setter P. Mr.
Brandon House.....	James Hughes Clerk.

Resolved 45. That an Outfit of 50 pieces Goods for the use of this District be forwarded to Red River on freight and that a complement of 16 men be provided at the settlement either for a term of years at the ordinary wages of the District or for the Winter only as may be considered expedient; and that the Posts be abandoned during the Summer.

Winter & Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 46. Lower Red River.

Fort Garry.....	Donald McKenzie C. F.
	Thomas Simpson Clerk.
	John Ballenden do

Warden of the Plains.....Cuthbert Grant.

Resolved 47. That the Chief Factor McKenzie's requisition for

the use of the Colony Shop and Indian trade amounting to about 400 pieces Goods be complied with.

Resolved 48. That Chief Factor McKenzie be directed to charge to private account any commission he may execute in Red River Colony at the request of individuals unless specially authorized by an order of minute of Council.

Resolved 49. That Chief Factor McKenzie be directed to purchase at the Colony the following supplies made up in sound and transportable packages at not exceeding the prices thereto annexed Viz:

500 Cwt. Flour	@ 10/- per Cwt.
200 Bushels rough Barley	@ 2/- per Bu.
40 Bushels hulled Indian Corn	@ 4/- per do
30 Bushels Pease	@ 3/- per do
7 Cwt. prime Beef	@ 3d per lb.
50 Cwt. prime Pork	@ 2d per do
600 Lbs. Ham	@ 4d per lb.
30 Firkins Butter	@ 7d per do
400 Portage slings	@ 2/8 ea.
50 Pairs Cassette Straps	@ 4/- per pair.

Resolved 50. That the freight to be allowed Carriers and Districts during the Current year for the transport of pieces be as follows Viz:

From York Factory to Red River	18/- per piece
York Factory to Norway House	14/- per do
Oxford House to Norway House	4/- per do
Norway House to Red River	4/- per do
Norway House to Oxford House	2/- per do
Red River to Norway House	1/- per do
Oxford House to York Factory	3/- per do
York Factory to Oxford House	10/- per do

Resolved 51. That Chief Factory McKenzie engage for the season of open water to be employed either on the Factory communication or in the McKenzies River transport business as may be required.

3 Steersmen	at £18 ea. per the season
3 Bowsmen	at £16 ea. per the do
15 Middlemen	at £14 ea. per the do

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 52. Experimental Farm

Experimental Farm....James McMillan & 4 men.

Resolved 53. That Chief Factor McMillan be directed to prosecute the object for which the Experimental Farm was established last season and that the necessary means be afforded for the purpose.

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 54. Winnipeg.

Fort Alexander.....	John Stuart C. F.
Berens River.....	An Interpreter.
Dalles	Wm. Sinclair, Clerk.
Shoal Lake.....	Thos. Taylor P. Mr.

Resolved 55. That about 50 pieces Goods in 2 Boats manned by 10 men assisted by two of Lac la Pluie servants constitute the Current Outfit for this District.

Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 56. Winnipeg.

Fort Alexander.....	A Clerk & 2 men
Berens River.....	An Interpreter.

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 57. Lac la Pluie.

Lac la Pluie.....	J. D. Cameron C. F.
	C. W. Bone Clerk.
Lac du bois Blanc.....	An Interpreter.
White Fish Lake.....	Wm. Clouston P. Mr.

Resolved 58. That Chief Factor Cameron be authorized to make such alterations in the above mentioned arrangements as he may consider expedient.

Resolved 59. That about 180 pieces Goods in 3 Boats manned by 24 men constitute the Current Outfit for this District, two of those men to be transferred to the Winnipeg District for the ingoing passage and that 5 new Bark Canoes be built next Spring, 3 of which to be brought out and to remain at Fort Alexander, and the remaining two together with 50 fathoms best bottom and side bark be brought out to Norway House.

Summer Arrangements

Resolved 60. Lac la Pluie.

Lac La Pluie	Chas. W. Bone, Clk.
	Wm. Clouston P. M and 4 men
Lac du bois Blanc.....	An Intr & 1 man

Winter Arrangements

Resolved 61. Norway House

Norway House	Dond Ross C. T.
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Resolved 62. That 5 men be provided for the Winter and Summer business of this Post and the requisite Outfit of 25 pieces Goods for the current year be taken thither on freight.

Resolved 63. That Chief Trader Ross be directed to get timber prepared for building 6 inland Boats of the usual dimensions & 2 large decked boats of about 12 Tons burden of small draft of water for the transport of supplies between Norway House

& Red River Settlement to be built by carpenters to be sent this ensuing Autumn from York and Swan River Districts.

Winter Arrangements

Resolved 64. Island Lake

Oxford House.....	John Lee Lewes C. F.
Winipeg Lake.....	Wm. McKay P. M.
Merrys House.....	An Interpreter
Manitoo Lake.....	do

Resolved 65. That about 80 pieces Goods in Craft navigated by 9 men constitute the current Outfit of this District.

Resolved 66. That Chief Factor Lewes be directed to employ 32 Indians belonging to Island Lake District next season in the transport of 640 pieces Goods from York Factory to Norway House and in the transport of 400 pieces provisions. Leather, Furs &c. from Norway House to York Factory by 80 piece Boats in two trips and that the said Indians be paid after the rate of 60 made Beaver for Middlemen 65 made Beaver for Bowsmen and 70 made Beaver for Steersmen for their service during the season.

Winter Arrangements

It being very desirable to follow up the Winter Road plan which in time promises important advantages to the country at large It is

Resolved 67. That the work be continued under the direction of Chief Factor Lewes and that to carry it on, the services of 10 supernumeraries be at his disposal for that object for the month of October until the month of April next likewise that such facilities be afforded by the establishments of York Factory and Norway House towards to execution thereof as may not subject the business to material inconvenience.

Summer Arrangements

Resolved 68. Island Lake

Oxford House.....	An interpreter & 1 man
Windy Lake	1 man
Merrys House	An interpreter
Manitoe Lake.....	An interpreter & 1 man

Winter Arrangements

Resolved 69. Nelson River

Split Lake.....	Andrew Wilson P. M.
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Resolved 70. That 40 pieces Goods in 1 Boat manned by 3 servants with Indians constitute the current Outfit of the District.

Summer Arrangements

Resolved 71. Nelson River

Split Lake.....	Andrew Wilson & 1 man.
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Winter Arrangements

Resolved 72. York

York Factory.....Alexander Christie C. F.

Robert Miles C. T.

James Hargrave Clk

George Taylor, do

Joseph Charles P. M.

Churchill Robert Harding Clk

It being ascertained that many of the late Home Guard Severn Indians experience much inconvenience from the want of a Post on their own lands, it is

Resolved 73. That a small post be established there this season under the charge of Patrick Cunningham Postmaster attached to York Factory and that it be supplied with 20 pieces Goods besides provisions to be transported theither in a Boat navigated by 3 Servants & Indians.

Resolved 74. That 40 men including Mechanics constitute the Winter & Summer Establishment of York Factory Severn & Churchill and that the Outfit of Churchill be forwarded by such means as Chief Factor Christie can provide in course of the season.

Winter Arrangements

Resolved 75. Columbia

Fort Vancouver, Fort Colville, Flat Heads, Coutanais, Thompsons River, Okanagan, Fort nez Perceez, Fort Langley, Nass. Snake Expedition Shipping &c &c.

John McLoughlin & Duncan Finlayson C. F.

Simon Mc Gillivray, Samuel Black, P. S. Ogden, Francis Heron.

Archd McDonald, J. E. Harriott Emilius Simpson & John Work.

Chief Traders James Douglas, James Birnie, William Kitson.

Francis Ermatinger, Donald Manson, F. N. Annance, Thomas

McKay, P. C. Pambrun, & George Allan, Clerks, Ryan & mates.

Resolved 76. That it be discretionary with Chief Factor McLoughlin to make the appointments of those gentlemen as he may consider expedient.

Resolved 77. That 24 men be provided for this District to accompany the Saskatchewan Brigade under the charge of Chief Factor Rowand until they reach Edmonton and from thence proceed under the charge of Chief Factor Finlayson to Vancouver or until he may receive instructions from Chief Factor McLoughlin for his further guidance.

Resolved 78. That Chief Factor McLoughlin take the necessary steps to employ the shipping in the coasting & Timber Trades and to carry into effect the other objects noticed in the Governor and Committee's Dispatch of 28th October 1829 and Governor Simpson's letter of the 2nd July.

Columbia continued

Resolved 79. New Caledonia

Stuarts Lake, Frasers Lake, McLeods Lake, Alexandria, Babines, Conolly's Lake, Fort George & Chilcotins Peter Warren Dease, Chief Factor Alexander Fisher, Chief Trader John Tod, Charles Ross, Thomas Dears, Clerks.

New Caledonia contd.

Wm. McGillivray, George Linton, & Dond McKenzie Clks. Charles Roussin and Benjamin McKenzie P. Mr.

Resolved 80. That a Canoe with 8 men and George Linton and Donald McKenzie Clerks and Benjamin McKenzie Postmaster be forwarded via Athabasca for the service of New Caledonia Department.

Resolved 81. That it be discretionary with Chief Factor Dease to make the appointments of the above mentioned Gentlemen together with the requisit Establishment of servants as he may consider expedient.

Resolved 82. That 530 dressed Mooseskins, 18 Parchment skins, 100 lbs. Babiche snares, and Beaver nets, 200 Fathoms Pack Cords, 30 lbs. of sinews, and a sufficient quantity of Grease to make up 50 pieces in all be provided at Dunvegan for the use of New Caledonia District to be sent for in the Autumn of every year by the Gentleman in charge of that District.

Resolved 83. That a complete Outfit for New Caledonia 1832 conformably to requisition be prepared at Fort Vancouver by next Spring, and that the requisite Horses and appointments etc. to effect the transport thereof be provided and forwarded thither from the Columbia and with reference to further arrangements connected with the Columbia Department generally.

Resolved 84. That the same be determined by Governor Simpson in correspondence with Chief Factors McLoughlin & Dease.

Resolved 85. That the new settlement of Ungava to be named Fort Chimo be attached to the Northern Department.

Winter and Summer Arrangements

Resolved 86. Ungava

Fort Chimo.....Nicol Finlayson Clk
Erland Erlundson do
Wm. Taylor P. Mr.

Resolved 87. That the Beaver Sloop under the command of Thomas Duncan Sloopmaster with a crew of 5 men taking Mr. Erlandson as passenger be transferred to the Settlement of Ungava for the purpose of being at the disposal of Mr. Nicol Finlayson and be dispatched thither as early this season as the navigation admits and that such supplies in Trading Goods, pro-

visions Stores &c &c be shipped on board of her for the use of the settlement as are likely to be required until the Autumn of 1833 it being intended that she be employed on the coast in trade with the Esquimaux the whole of the next season of open water and that she be sent with such Returns as may be collected and for such further supplies as may be required to York Factory in the Summer of 1833.

Resolved 88. That the 9 men now at Ungava be retained there and employed as Mr. Nicol Finlayson may consider expedient, and that the servants whose Contracts expire in 1833 be brought to York then and replaced by others if they be unwilling to renew their Engagements and for further instructions that Mr. Finlayson be referred to Governor Simpsons letter of this date.

Resolved 89. Montreal Department

That Chief Factor Conolly proceed thither for the purpose of being placed in charge of the Kings Posts Outfit 1832 accompanied by Chief Trader John McLeod for the purpose of being appointed to that department for the current Outfit likewise by Richard Rae and either Wm. Nouse or Alexr McKay Clerks & Simon Ross Postmaster to be placed as may be found necessary.

Resolved 90. That Chief Factors & Chief Traders in charge of Districts and Posts where regular Tradesmen are employed by authorized to engage strong healthy half breed lads not under 14 years of age as apprentices to be employed with those tradesmen for the purpose of acquiring a knowledge of the business on a term of not less than seven years at the following wages which are considered sufficient to provide them Clothes and other personal necessities viz. the first 2 years at £8 per annum, the next 2 years at £10 per annum, the following 2 years at £12 per annum, and the last year at £15 p. annum, making for the 7 years apprenticeship an allowance of £75, such lads not to be employed with their Fathers nor in the Districts where their Fathers and families reside.

Great benefit having been derived from the benevolent and indefatigable exertions of the Catholic Mission at Red River in the welfare, moral and religious instruction of its numerous followers and it being observed with much satisfaction that the influence of the Mission under the direction of the Right Revd. the Bishop of Juliopolis has been uniformly directed to the best interests of the settlement and of the country at large it is

Resolved 91. That in order to mark our approbation of such laudable and disinterested conduct on the part of said Mission the sum of £50 pounds be given towards its support, together with an allowance of luxuries for its use.

Resolved 92. That for the purpose of transmitting corrected Ac

counts from the Depot, of the Summer transactions as well as of conveying information relative to the Districts in general, a Winter express from the Depot and the Interior be appointed to meet at Carlton House and one to proceed northward via Isle a la Crosse and Athabasca and the other southward via Cumberland & Norway House and that steps be also taken by means of Indians or otherwise to forward from the Depot to Norway House or Cumberland before the closing of the navigation any private Letters conveyed by the Ship in order that the same may reach their respective destinations before the departure of the Craft and Returns in Spring, that all Letters on public business be in triplicate under official signature & when intended for general circulation be addressed to the Governor, Chief Factors & Chief Traders.

Resolved 93. That the different Districts in the Northern Department be restricted to not exceeding the following number of Beaver for the current Outfit founded on an average List of Returns for three years as expressed in number 131 Minutes of Council 1826, Viz.

Athabasca	5000	Winnipeg	50
Saskatchewan	5500	Norway House	20
English River	650	Island Lake	100
Cumberland	150	Nelson River	400
Swan River	400	York and Churchill	300

Resolved 94. That Gentlemen in charge of Districts and Posts be directed to use their utmost endeavors to collect large quantities of Leather dressed and Parchment, Buffalo Robes, Pack Cords, Snow shoe line, Sinews, tracking Shoes, Leather tents &c, &c., as they are articles absolutely necessary for trade in many parts of the Country & cannot be purchased in Europe or Canada.

Resolved 95. That Gentlemen in charge of Districts or Posts be directed to bring to the Depot all the old spirit Kegs either shaken & made up into parcels or filled with Grease, Provisions and other articles as by proper care, the same Kegs may be made to last 2 years and for every Keg so brought back, if the staves be sound and in a fit state to be remanufactured 5/—per keg will be credited to the District.

Resolved 96. That Gentlemen in charge of Districts and Posts be directed to furnish annually with the Inventory; a list of the articles in use at each Post distinguishing them according to the condition as good, half worn, much worn; also a list of Cattle or other live stock and the number of acres in cultivation, and quantity of seed sown for the next crop with the quantity reaped the preceding Summer.

The cattle should be distinguished; Bulls, Cows; of the sev-

eral ages; one year old, two years old and 3 years old & upward without any valuation affixed.

Resolved 97. Several complicated transactions having recently appeared in the books of Swan River District in reference to the purchase and sale of Cattle on the private account of Chief Factor Clark by which it appears that he derived a profit from sales of Cattle reared at Fort Pelly at the expense of the Fur Trade; and to prevent a recurrence of such dealings It is

Resolved 97. That a statement be required of Chief Factor Clark of the cost & expences incurred by him individually in the purchase and of the money he has received by the sales of those Cattle made up with Interest to the 1st June next, That the stock left at Fort Pelly on the 1st June 1830 be assumed by and be considered as belonging to the Fur Trade and that in the event of the original cost expences and Interest amounting to more than the sum received by Chief Factor Clark, for sales such difference be paid him by the Fur Trade; but that the transactions entered into by Chief Factors Robertson & Clark last year in referenre to those Cattle be annulled.

Resolved 98. The undermentioned Clerks & Postmasters whose contracts have expired be reengaged for the term of 3 years at the salaries affixed to their names Viz

John Bell Clerk.....	£100
George Deschambeault Clerk.....	75
Erland Erlandson Clerk	75
Francis Ermatinger Clerk	100
Paul Fraser Clerk	100
James Hargrave Clerk.....	100
John Hutchison Clerk.....	100
Wm. McGillivray Clerk	100
Thomas McKay Clerk.....	100
John McLeod Clerk	100
Murdoch McPherson Clerk	100
Donald Manson Clerk	100
P. C. Pambrun Clerk	100
Charles Ross Clerk	100
Thomas Simpson Clerk	75
Wm. Sinclair Jr. Clerk	75
Patrick Small Clerk	100
John Tod Clerk	100
Wm. Clouston Postmaster.....	50
Patrick Cunningham Postmaster	50
Thomas Isbister Postmaster	50
Pierre LeBlanc Postmaster	75
William McKay Postmaster	50
Benjamin McKenzie Postmaster	50

Charles Roussin Postmaster	50
Andrew Wilson Postmaster	40

Resolved 99. That James McDougall & George Barnston Clerks be permitted to retire from the Service & be provided with passages the former to Canada or Red River Settmt and the latter to Canada or England as he may desire.

Resolved 100. That in accordance with the 13th Article of the Govr. & Committee's Dispatch of 23rd Feb. 1831 a donation of Five Hundred Pounds Sterling be made to James McDougall and that he be at liberty to draw for the same as he may consider expedient.

Serious inconvenience to the service having in many instances arisen of late from the circumstance of Clerks in distant parts of the Country applying to the Governor & Council for permission to visit the Depot or withdraw from the District without having previously consulted the Commissioned Gentlemen superintending the District and to guard against a recurrence of such inconvenience It is

Resolved 101. That no such permission shall be granted in future unless the applicant first submits his request in writing to the Gentlemen superintending the District to which he belongs who is hereby directed to report on the same for the information of the Governor and Council.

Resolved 102. That the amount of requisition from England for shipment 1832 for Outfit 1833 do not exceed the sum of Fifteen Thousand Pounds Sterling.

Resolved 103. That the annexed Standing Rules and Regulations be considered in force and be acted upon accordingly until recinded.

Resolved 104. That this Council do now adjourn.

Signed

George Simpson	Governor
Colin Robertson	Chief Factor
Alexr Stewart	do
J. D. Cameron	do
John Charles	do
John Stuart	do
Alexander Christie	do
William McKintosh	do
William Conolly—	do
John Rowand	do
Rodk McKenzie	do
John Lee Lewes	do
Duncan Finlayson	do

York Factory 4th July 1831.

Minutes of Council 1832

Minutes of a Temporary Council held at York Factory, Northern Department of Ruperts Land which commenced on the 9th day of July Eighteen hundred & thirty-two for the establishing such rules and regulations as may be considered expedient for conducting the said Department and in order to investigate the result of the trade of last year and determine the Outfits and General Arrangements for the trade of the Current year, conformably to the Provisions of a deed Poll under the seal of the Governor and Company of adventurers of England trading into Hudsons Bay bearing date the 26th day of March 1821, at which were present the following members Viz:

George Simpson	Governor in chief
John D. Cameron	Chief Factor
John Stuart	do
Alexander Christie	do
William McKintosh	do
John Lee Lewes	do
Rodk. McKenzie	do
Francis Heron	Chief Trader
Robert Miles	do
John E. Harriott	do
Robert Cowie	do
William Todd	do

Resolved 1. That the rotation of Furlough for the Current year 1832 be in favor of Chief Factors George Keith, John D. Cameron and John Charles.

Resolved 2. That the rotations of Chief Factor George Keith be availed of by himself & the rotations of Chief Factor J. D. Cameron and John Charles be transferred to Chief Factors Colin Robertson and Edward Smith.

Resolved 3. That the rotations of Furlough for the Current year be in favor of Chief Trader Cuthbert Cummings and Francis Heron, the former Gentleman availing himself of his rotation and the latter Gentleman not availing himself thereof but with an understanding that he shall be allowed to take the benefit of an Exchange of Rotation in 1835.

In order to guard against any misapprehension in regard to the Furloughs of the two ensuing years.

Resolved 4. That they be considered as in favor of Chief Factors John Stuart, Edward Smith and John McLoughlin, with Chief Traders John Siveright and Robert Miles for Outfit 1833/34; and in favor of Chief Factors James Keith, Joseph Bewley and Angus Bethune, with Chief Traders Colin Campbell and Alexander McTavish for Outfit 1833/34.

Resolved 5. That Chief Factor John Stuart having given notice of his intention not avail himself of his Furlough for the year 1833/34 it be at the disposal of the Governor and Council.

Resolved 6. That Chief Trader Robert Miles having given notice of his intention not to avail himself of his Rotation of Furlough for the year 1833/34 it be transferred to Chief Trader Colin Campbell who has expressed a desire of obtaining a Rotation and having understood that Chief Trader Siveright does not mean to avail himself of his Rotation of Furlough for the year 1833/34 it be transferred to Chief Trader Alexr R. McLeod who has expressed a desire to be relieved from his appointment on account of ill-health.

Resolved 7. That no exchange of Rotation of Furlough between Chief Factors or between Chief Traders while under appointment on the West side of the Mountains until after the they have passed 5 Winters there, except in cases where Ill-health may render it necessary for them to visit England or Canada for the benefit of medical advice.

Resolved 8.

Districts	Chief Factors	Chief Traders
Athabasca	John Charles Wm. McIntosh	Colin Campbell
McKenzies River	John Stuart	A. R. McLeod
English River inc.)		
Cumberland)	Roderick McKenzie	J. P. Pruden
Saskatchewan	John Rowand	J. E. Harriott
Swan River incl.)		
Fort Ellice)		Wm. Todd
Red River)		
Ft. Garry or New Ft.	Donald McKenzie	
R. River El. Farm)		
Sale Shop at the F'ks)		
& new Post at Port-)		
age la Prairie)	James McMillan	
Lac la Pluie inc. Ft.)		
Alexr & Shoal Lake)	J. D. Cameron	
Norway House incl.)		
Berens River)		Donald Ross
Island Lake	John Lee Lewes	
York Factory	Alexr Christie	Robert Miles
Columbia	John McLoughlin	Saml Black
	Duncan Finlayson	P. S. Ogden
		Fras. Heron
		Archd McDonald
		Robert Cowie

New Caledonia

P. W. Dease

John Work

Simon McGillivray

Alexr Fisher

Resolved 9. That the appointments of the Commissioned Gentlemen in the Montreal Department for the year 1833/34 be continued as those of 1832/33 unless Chief Factor James Keith, who must be considered the principal superintendent of that Department may find it necessary from unforeseen causes to make alterations therein.

Resolved 10. That the following arrangements take place

Winter Arrangements

Athabasca

Fort Chippewyan.....J. Charles C. F.

Chas. Ross Clk.

Dunvegan Wm. McKintosh C. F.

Vermilion Robt. Miles C. T.

Gt. Slave Lake.....J. McDonell Clk

Resolved 11. That 4 boats, 29 men, and about 200 pieces Goods constitute the current Outfit for Athabasca District.

Resolved 12. That the quantities of Leather, parchment Pack Cords, and Babiche required for New Caledonia, be provided at Dunvegan together with a sufficient quantity of Grease to make up the lading of two Canoes to 50 pieces in all deliverable when called for after the month of August.

Resolved 13. That Chief Factor Charles be directed to precede his Brigade in a Canoe to be manned by retiring Servants from New Caledonia and the crew to be made up by Servants belonging to the District. The New Caledonia people to be at Fort Chippewyan not later than the 25th May.

Resolved 14. That Chief Factor Charles be provided with a passage from Norway House to Fort Chippewyan if he requires it in a Canoe proceeding under the charge of Mr. W. F. Lane Clerk, with eight men to New Caledonia.

Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 15. Athabasca

Fort Chippewyan Four men

Gt. Slave Lake Three men

Vermilion Three men

Dunvegan Three men

Resolved 16. That Chief Factor William McKintosh, John McDonald, and Charles Ross, Clerks remain inland and be appointed as Chief Factor Charles may consider expedient.

Resolved 17. That Chief Trader Colin Campbell be provided with a passage from Fort Chippewyan in order to avail himself of an exchange of Rotation of Furlough with Chief Trader Miles

that a passage be likewise provided for Chief Trader Alex. Rodk McLeod in order to avail himself of an Exchange of rotation of Furlough with Chief Trader John Siveright; and a passage be provided for Charles Brisbois, retiring Clerk.

Resolved 18. That Chief Factor Christie be directed to forward 160 pieces Goods to Norway House for Athabasca Outfit 1833 by Indians or Red River Carriers.

Resolved 19. That the Athabasca Sale Shop to servants to be transferred to Norway House for Outfit 1832 under the direction of Chief Trader Ross who will make the necessary requisition for the same.

Winter Arrangements

Resolved 20. McKenzies River

Fort Simpson	John Stuart C. F.
	Alexr R. McLeod C. T.
Rivre au Laird	M. McPherson Clk.
Fort Norman	Chas. Brisbois do
Fort Good Hope	John Bell do
Fort Halkett	John McLeod do

Resolved 21. That about 250 pieces Goods forwarded in 4 Boats from Norway House for Portage la Loche constitute the current Outfit for McKenzies River.

Resolved 22. McKenzies River

Summer Arrangements

Fort Simpson	Two men
Rivre au Laird	Three men
Fort Norman	Two do
Fort Good Hope	Three do
Fort Halkett	Ten men
(Removed to West branch)	

The proximity of the establishment of Fort Halkett to Riviere au Laird being found to interfere with the Trade of the latter Establishment and it be desirable to settle the valuable country discovered last year by Mr. John McLeod Clerk situated on the West branch of the Laird River towards the skirt of the Rocky Mountains it is

Resolved 23. That Chief Factor Stuart be directed to take the necessary steps to abandon the Post of Fort Halkett and to form an Establishment to bear the same name on an eligible spot in the upper part of the west branch in the course of the Summer, to be occupied by Mr. John McLeod Clerk during the Winter 1833/34 so as to enable him to prosecute his discoveries in that quarter in course of the following Summer.

Resolved 24. That it be discretionary with Chief Factor Stuart to regulate the appointments and to make such alterations in

the Summer Arrangements of the District as he may consider expedient.

Resolved 25. That 4 Boats and a Canoe or 5 Boats be employed to bring out the Returns Summer 1833 to Portage la Loche.

Resolved 26. That Chief Factor Christie be directed to forward 250 pieces Goods to Norway House of McKenzies River Outfit 1833, the same to be transported thence in 4 Boats to start from Norway House on or before the 15th June three of which to be manned by people to be engaged for the trip at Red River say 7 men each & the fourth by 7 Servants exclusive of the Guide and to be accompanied by a Clerk or Postmaster of the District.

Resolved 27. That Chief Trader Alexr Rodk McLeod be permitted to withdraw from the District next Season for the purpose of availing himself of the exchange of Chief Trader John Siveright's Rotation of Furlough in order to obtain medical advice. being in bad health; and that Charles Brisbois Clerk be permitted to withdraw from the District, having given notice of his intention to retire from the Service unless Chief Factor Stuart may consider it necessary to re-engage him.

Resolved 28. English River

Winter Arrangements

Isle a la Crosse	Rodk, McKenzie C. F.
Rapid River	Geo. Deschambeault Clk.
Green Lake	An Interpreter
Cumberland Ho.	Thos. Isbister P. M.

Resolved 29. That 100 pieces Goods in 2 Boats manned by 12 men constitute the Current Outfit for the three first Posts of that District; a that pieces constitute the Current Outfit for Cumberland Post, to be taken in by the Saskatchewan Brigade into which the three voyaging Servants belonging to that Post will be drafted.

Resolved 30. English River

Summer Arrangements

Isle a la Crosse	Three men
Rapid River	A Clerk & 1 man
Cumberland Ho.	A P. M. do

Resolved 31. That a quantity of dried Provisions equal to 80 Bags Pemican be provided and forthcoming for the use of the outward and inward bound Northern Craft, Spring & Summer 1833.

Resolved 32. Saskatchewan

Winter Arrangements

Edmonton	John Rowand C. F.
	Richd Grant Clk

Carlton	J. P. Pruden C. T. Henry Fisher Clk
Piegan Post	J. E. Harriott C. T. Patrick Small Clk.
Fort Assiniboine	An Interpr.
Jaspers House	Michel Klyne P. M.
Lesser Slave Lake.....	Geo. McDougall Clk.

Resolved 33. That the establishment of Fort Pitt be abandoned in consequence of the danger arising from War Parties frequenting that neighborhood.

The recent defection of the Piegan tribe rendering it unnecessary to maintain the Rocky Mountain House which was originally established for their convenience It is

Resolved 34. To abandon that Post and to establish a new Post to be called the Piegan Post on the borders of the 49th Parallel of Latitude, with a view to attract that Tribe, and to prevent other Indians who are in the habit of frequenting The Honble Companys Posts in the upper part of the Saskatchewan from crossing the line.

Resolved 35. That about 250 pieces Goods in 8 Boats manned by 40 men constitute the Current Outfit.

It being found that the annual supply of Pemican required for Norway House and the Lower Establishments does not exceed 600 pieces and that there will this season be a large surplus on hand which cannot be preserved from damage It be

Resolved 36. That not exceeding 600 pieces be brought out from the District Summer 1833 for which the District will receive credit at the rate of 2d per lb. and 50 Bags fine Pemican which will be credited at 3d per lb.

Resolved 37. That Chief Factor Rowand be instructed to bring to the Depot all the clean rendered Tallow he can collect made up in Hide Cerons of 1 cwt. each for exportation provided it can be purchased at a price not exceeding 2d per lb.

Resolved 38. Saskatchewan

Summer Arrangements.

Edmonton	J. E. Harriott & 12 men
Carlton	A Clerk and 8 men
Fort Assiniboine	1 man
Jaspers House	A P. M. and 1 man
Piegan Post	Abandoned during sum.

Resolved 39. That Chief Trader J. P. Pruden be permitted to visit the Depot next Summer agreeably to his request and that Chief Trader Harriott, Patk Small, and Henry Fisher Clerks remain inland and be appointed as the Chief Factor superintending the District may consider expedient, likewise George

McDougall Clerk unless he wishes to retire from the Service.

Resolved 40. That the requisite number of horses be provided at Edmonton for the transport of the Columbia property to Fort Assiniboine, the charges for transport to be 5/—for each piece of 90 lb. Weight and that Craft be always in readiness at Fort Assiniboine and the Rocky Mountain House for the conveyance of people and property belonging to the Columbia Department.

Resolved 41. That Chief Factor Rowand be instructed to provide 1200 pairs tracking Shoes to be brought out to the Depot

Resolved 42. Swan River

Winter Arrangements

Fort Pelly	Wm. Todd C. T.
	Geo. Setter P. M.
Fort Ellice	Jas. Hughes Clk.
Manitobah	An Interpreter
Swan River	A do

Resolved 43. That 160 pieces Goods in 4 Boats with 24 men constitute the Equipment of the Current year.

Resolved 44. That Chief Trader Todd be directed to contract with freemen for the delivery of 2 to 300 Bushels Salt at Norway House at a price not exceeding 5/—per Bushel.

Resolved 45. That Chief Trader Todd be directed to provide 3 new Boats for distribution, exclusive of the Craft belonging to the District.

Resolved 46. That the Trade in provisions in the District be discouraged but that Chief Trader Todd be directed to collect good clean rendered Tallow for exportation at a price not exceeding 2d per lb.

Resolved 47. That every encouragement be given with a view of increasing the Returns on the article of Buffalo Robes, in order to withdraw the plain Tribes from the American Establishments on the Missouri the price however not to exceed 3/—each.

Resolved 48. Swan River

Summer Arrangements

Fort Pelly	Geo. Setter P. M. & 1 man
Fort Ellice	Jas. Hughes Clk an Interpreter & 6 men
Manitobah	An Interpreter
Swan River	do

Resolved 49. That Chief Trader Todd be directed to send the Returns of Fort Pelly and Fort Ellice out via the Assiniboine River and those of the other Establishments via the Dauphin River and that the Crew of the Boats be made up to 4 men each by Freeman or Indians engaged for the trip at Norway House.

Resolved 50. Red River

Winter Arrangements

Fort Garry or New Fort....Dond McKenzie C. F.
 Wm. Hendry Surgn.
 Thos. Simpson Clk
 Pierre Le Blanc P. M.

Warden of the Plains.....Cuthbert Grant

Resolved 51. That supplies for the use of the Colony Shop and Indian trade amounting to about 600 pieces be provided and forwarded on freight by Servants and Freemen.

Resolved 52. That purchases be made at the Colony of the following supplies made up in sound and transportable packages at not exceeding the annexed prices Viz

110 Bushels rough barley at not exceeding	2/	per Bush.
30 Kegs cured Butter	7d	per lb.
110 Bushels hulled Indian Corn	4/-	per Bush.
16 Cwt. Best cured Beef, Briskets & Ribs....	3d	per lb.
1200 Cwt. Flour 1st & 2nd quality mixed.....	10/6	per Cwt.
60 Cured Pork Hams	4d	per lb.
10 Bush. white Pease	3/-	per Bush.
60 Cwt. cured Pork	21½ d	per lb.
250 Portage Slings	2/-	each

Resolved 53. That the freight to be allowed to carriers and Districts during the Current year for the transport be as follows Viz:—

From Yorkfactory to Red River	18/—	per piece
Yorkfactory to Norway House	14/—	per piece
Yorkfactory to Oxford House	10/—	per piece
Oxford House to Norway House	4/—	per piece
Norway House to Red River	4/—	per piece
Red River to Norway House	1/—	per piece
Norway House to Oxford House	2/—	per piece
Oxford House to Yorkfactory	3/	per piece

Resolved 54. That 18 men the crews of three boats be engaged for the season of open water to be employed as may be required at £16 per Steersmen, £14 for Bowsmen and £12 for Middlemen.

Resolved 55. That 21 men, the crews of three Boats be engaged for the McKenzies River transport and any other duties that may be required of them for the season of open water at £16 for Steersmen £14 for Bowsmen and £12 for Middlemen.

Resolved 56.

Winter Arrangements

Red River Experiml Farm....Jas. McMillan C. F.
 Sale Shop at the Forks.....Joseph Charles Clk.
 New Post at Portge La Prairie....
John R. McKay P. M.

Resolved 57. That Chief Factor McMillan be provided with supplies from time to time from the new Fort for the sales to Settlers and Indian trade at the Forks and that an Outfit of 30 pieces Goods for a new Post to be established at Portage la Prairie be forwarded in the Swan River Brigade on Freight.

Resolved 58. That the Establishment of Clerks & Servants under the direction of Chief Factor McMillan for the Experimental Farm, the sale and Indian Shop at the Forks and the new Post at Portage be as follows Viz:

Experimental Farm	Five men
Shop at the Forks.....	Joseph Charles Clk & 1 man
New Post	J. R. McKay P. M. & 4 men

As Governor Simpson purposes sending the ensuing Winter at Red River he will make such further arrangements or alterations in the foregoing as he may consider expedient.

Resolved 59. Lac la Pluie
Winter Arrangements

Fort Frances	John D. Cameron C. F.
	Wm. Sinclair Clk.
Lac du bois blanc.....	Chas. W. Bone do
White Fish Lake	Jas. Isbister Intr.
Dalles	Wm. Clouston P. M.
Shoal Lake	A Laborer
Fort Alexander	Thos. Taylor P. M.

Resolved 60. That about 260 pieces Goods in 5 Boats manned by 25 engaged servants assisted by Trippers for the inland voyage constitute the Current Outfit for this District and that 5 new Bark Canoes be provided, one of which to be brought to Norway House with 30 Fathoms best bottom and side Bark.

Resolved 61. Lac la Pluie
Summer Arrangements

Fort Frances	Chas. Bone Clk & 3 men
Lac Du Blais Blanc.....	An Intr & 1 man
Fort Alexander.....	Wm. Clouston P. M. & 2 men

Resolved 62. That Chief Factor Cameron be authorized to make such alterations in the above mentioned engagements as he may consider expedient.

Resolved 63. Norway House
Winter Arrangements

Norway House	Dond Ross C. T.
Berens River	Two men
Grand Rapid	Robt. Cummings P. M. & 2 men

Resolved 64. That 5 men be provided for the business of Norway House and five men for the 2 Posts on Berens River, that requisite Outfit of pieces Goods be taken upon Freight and men

to make up the complement of people for the District be forwarded by the Lac la Pluie Brigade.

Resolved 65. Norway House

Summer Arrangements

Norway House Dond Ross C. T.

Wm. Sinclair Clk & 5 men

Berens River.....Robt. Cummings P. M. & 1 man

Resolved 66. That Red River produce of every description be valued on Inventory at Norway House and York at prime cost $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent thereon, to cover freight, packages and other charges at Red River and when sold to Servants the price to be $12\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. on Inventory Tariff.

Serious inconvenience having been experienced from the irregular practice which has been heretofore observed at this Depot, of opening accounts with other Establishments and Servants belonging to other Districts; It be

Resolved 67. That with the exception of Red River produce no supplies of any description be given to either Districts or Servants from this Establishment.

Resolved 68. That this Establishment be considered the Depot of Athabasca District; its Outfit & Supplies for Servants to be forwarded from York Factory without any charges additional to the actually paid, and that Norway House be allowed $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent advance upon York or Inventory prices on sales to the Servants of Athabasca District in order to cover a charge of storage, packing &c. &c.,

Resolved 69. That the Boat Carpenter attached to the McKenzies River Freight Brigade be employed at Norway House during the Winter or Spring in repairing all the old Craft belonging to that Establishment.

Resolved 70. That the two decked vessels employed in the Lake Winnipeg transport be laid up at Norway House during the Winter and dispatched to Red River for Cargoes at the opening of the navigation and that the crews be occupied during the dead season of the year in opening the Winter Road and other work connected with that object.

Resolved 71. Island Lake

Winter Arrangements

Oxford House John Lee Lewes C. F

Windy Lake Wm. McKay P. M.

Merrys House An Interpreter

Manitoo Lake do

Resolved 72. That about 80 pieces Goods in 1 Boat navigated by 9 men constitute the Current Outfit of this District.

Resolved 73. That Chief Factor Lewes be directed to employ two Boats manned by Indians in transport next Summer between Norway House and York Factory and to take the necessary measures to transport Red River Produce from Norway House to the head of Oxford Lake there to be in readiness for transport the following Winter by the Winter Road.

Winter Arrangements

It being very desirable to follow up the Winter Road plan which in due time promises important advantages to the country at large It is

Resolved 74. That the work be continued under the direction of Chief Factor Lewes and that to carry it on the services of 20 supernumeraries be at his disposal for that object from the month of October until the month of April next, likewise that such facilities be afforded by the Establishments of York Factory and Norway House towards the execution thereof as may not subject the business to material inconvenience.

Resolved 75. Island Lake.

Summer Arrangements

Oxford House	Wm. McKay P. M. & 1 man
Windy Lake	A Labourer
Merrys House	Do
Manitoo Lake	Do

Resolved 76. York.

Winter Arrangements

York Factory	Alexander Christie C. F.
	Robert Miles C. T.
	Jas. Hargrave Clerk
	John Ballenden do
	Archd McKinlay do
Churchill	Robert Harding do
Nelson River	Andw Wilson P. M.
Severn	John Rendall do

Resolved 77. That 25 men including mechanics constitute the Winter and Summer Establishment of Yorkfactory; 6 men, the Winter & Summer Establishments of Churchill; 3 men the Winter & Summer Establishments of Split Lake; and 3 men for the Establishment of Severn Post; that the Outfit of Churchill amounting to about 100 pieces Goods and provisions and that of Severn amounting to about 50 pieces Goods and Provisions be forwarded by such means as Chief Factor Christie can provide in course of the season, and that the Outfit of Nelson River amounting to about 40 ps. Goods be forwarded in a Boat manned by Servants with Indians.

Resolved 78. That Chief Factor Christie be instructed to encour-

age the Oil trade at Churchill, which at the present high prices for that article is considered worthy attention.

Since passing the foregoing Resolutions Chief Factor Robertson arrived at the Depot and accordingly takes his seat at the Board which now forms a full Council.

Resolved 79. Columbia & Winter Arrangements

Fort Vancouver	Fort Colville	Flat Heads
Coutanais	Thompsons River	Okanagan
Fort Nez Percé	Fort Langley	Fort Simpson
Shipping	Snake Expedition or New Establishment	

John McLoughlin and Duncan Finlayson C. Factors Samuel Black, P. S. Ogden, Francis Heron, Archd McDonald, Robt. Cowie & John Work, C. Traders James Douglas, James Birnie, William Kittson, Francis Ermatinger, Dond Manson, F. N. Annam, Thos. McKay, Pierre C. Pamburn, George F. Allan and Alexander Anderson Clerks.

Masters and Mates of Vessels.

Resolved 80. That it be discretionary with Chief Factor McLoughlin to make the appointments of those Gentlemen as he may consider expedient.

Resolved 81. That men be provided for the District to accompany the Saskatchewan Brigade under the charge of Chief Trader Harriott until they reach Edmonton; from thence proceed under the charge of Chief Trader Heron to Fort Colville and from thence under the charge of Chief Trader Cowie to Vancouver in the absence of further instructions from Chief Factor McLoughlin.

Resolved 82. That Chief Factor McLoughlin take the necessary steps to employ the shipping in the coasting and timber Trade and to carry into effect the other object noticed in the Governor and Committee's Dispatch of 21st September 1831 and in Governor Simpson's Letter of 12th inst.

Resolved 83. That Chief Factor McLoughlin be at liberty to avail himself of his Rotation of Furlough next year by re-crossing the Mountains in Spring taking a voyage to the Southward or taking a passage to England by the Return Ship of the season, in which case the principal superintendents of the Department will devolve; as a matter, of course on Chief Factor Finlayson with all the power lately vested in Chief Factor McLoughlin, but should Chief Factor McLoughlin not avail himself of his rotation of Furlough nor re-cross the mountains he retain the superintendence of the District as heretofore.

Columbia Contd
New Caledonia

Resolved 84. Stewarts Lake, Frasers Lake, McLeods Lake, Alexandria, Babines, Conolly's Lake, Fort George, Chilcotins,

Peter Warren Dease Chief Factor, Simon McGillivray & Alexander Fisher Chief Traders. Thomas Dears. George Linton. Donald McKenzie & W. F. Lane, Clerks.

Chas. Roussin and Benjamin McKenzie Post Masters.

Resolved 85. That a Canoe with 8 men and W. T. Lane, Clk be forwarded via Athabasca for the service of New Caledonia Department.

Resolved 86. That it be discretionary with Chief Factor Dease to make the appointments of the above mentioned Gentlemen together with the requisite Establishment of Servants as he may consider expedient.

Resolved 87. That 530 dressed Mooseskins. 18 parchments skins. 100 lbs. Babiche snares and Beaver nets 2000 Fathoms Pack Cords, 30 lbs. Sinews and a sufficient quantity of Grease to make up 50 pieces in all be provided at Dunvegan for the use of New Caledonia District & be sent for in the Autumn of every year by the Gentleman in charge of that District.

Resolved 88. That a complete Outfit for the New Caledonia Outfit conformably to Requisition be provided at Fort Vancouver by next Spring, and that the requisite horses and appointments &c. &c. to effect the transport thereof be forwarded from the Columbia.

And with reference to further arrangements connected with the Columbia Department generally.

Resolved 89. That the same be determined by Governor Simpson in correspondence with Chief Factors McLoughlin and Dease.

With regard to the establishment of Ungava from whence no advice has yet been received It is

Resolved 90. That the arrangements connected with that District be left to the direction of Governor Simpson.

Resolved 91. That Chief Factors and Chief Traders in charge of Districts and Posts where regular Tradesmen are employed, be authorized to engage strong, healthy half-breed lads, not under fourteen years of age, as apprentices to be employed with those Tradesmen for the purpose of acquiring a knowledge of their business on a term not less than seven years at the following wages which are considered sufficient to provide them with clothes and other necessaries. Viz: The 2 first years at £8 per annum, the next two years at £10 per annum, the two following years at £12 per annum and the last year at £15 per annum, making for the seven years apprenticeship an allowance of £75 such lads not to be employed with their Fathers or in the District where their Fathers or families reside.

Resolved 92. That the grants given by Governor Simpson last Winter of £100 towards the building of a new Protestant church at Red River Settlement be confirmed.

Great benefit having been derived from the benevolent and indefatigable exertions of the Catholic Mission at Red River in the welfare, moral and religious instruction of its numerous followers; and it being observed with much satisfaction that the influence of the Mission under the direction of The Right Reverend The Bishop of Juliopolis has been uniformly directed to the best interests of the Settlement, and of the Country at large. It is

Resolved 93. That in order to mark our approbation of such laudable and disinterested conduct on the part of said Mission, the sum of £50 be granted towards its support together with an allowance of luxuries for its use.

Resolved 94. That for the purpose of transmitting corrected accounts for the Depot of the Summer transactions as well as of conveying information relative to the Districts in general; a Winter Express from the Depot and the interior be appointed to meet at Carlton House; the one to proceed northward via Isle a la Crosse and Athabasca, and the other southward via Fort Pelly and Norway House, and that steps be also taken by means of Indians or otherwise to forward from the Depot to Norway House or Cumberland before the closing of the navigation, any private letters conveyed by the Ship in order that the same may reach their respective destinations before the departure of the Craft and Returns in Spring.

That all letters on public business be in triplicate under official signature and when intended for general circulation be addressed to The Governor, Chief Factors and Chief Traders.

Resolved 95. That the Winter Packet from York for Moose be forwarded by via Severn and Albany.

Resolved 96. That the different Districts or divisions of Districts in the Northern Department be restricted to not exceeding the following number of Beaver for the Current Outfit founded on an average list of Returns for the three years as expressed in number 131 Minutes of Council 1825, Viz:

Athabasca	5000
Saskatchewan	5500
English River	650
Cumberland	150
Swan River	400
Winipeg (L. L. P.)	150
Norway House	120
Island Lake	100
Nelson River	400
York & Churchill	300

Resolved 97. That the Gentlemen in charge of District & Posts be directed to use their utmost endeavours to collect large

quantities of Leather dressed and Parchment, Buffalo Robes. Pack Cords, Snow shoe line, Sinews, tracking Shoes, Leather Tents &c. &c., as they are articles absolutely necessary for the trade in many parts of the Country and cannot be purchased in Europe or Canada.

Resolved 98. That Gentlemen in charge of Districts and Posts be directed to furnish annually with the Inventories a list of the articles in use at each Post, distinguishing them according to the condition as good, half worn, much worn; also a list of cattle or other live stock, and the number of acres in cultivation, and quantity of seed sown for the next crop with quantity reaped the preceding Summer. The cattle should be distinguished Bulls, Cows or the several ages, calves one year old, two years old, three years old and upwards, without any valuation affixed.

Resolved 99. That the undermentioned Clerks and Postmasters whose contracts have expired be reengaged for the term and the salaries affixed to their names, Viz:

Clerks

George F. Allan.....	3 years at £ 60 per annum
F. N. Annance.....	3 years at £ 100 per annum
James Birnie.....	3 years at £ 100 per annum
Charles Bone	3 years at £ 75 per annum
James Douglas.....	3 years at £ 100 per annum
Henry Fisher Jr.....	3 years at £ 100 per annum
Richard Grant.....	3 years at £ 100 per annum
William Kittson.....	3 years at £ 100 per annum
George Linton.....	3 years at £ 100 per annum
John McDonell.....	3 years at £ 100 per annum
Archibald McKinlay...	5 years at £ 20, 25, 30, 40, 50
Wm. G. Rae.....	3 years at £ 75 per annum
J. M. Yale.....	3 years at £ 100 per annum

Postmasters

Robert Cummings.....	3 years at £ 40 per annum
George Setter.....	3 years at £ 50 per annum

Resolved 100. That John Tod Clerk be allowed leave of absence for one year for the benefit of medical advice being in ill health.

Resolved 101. That James Heron Clerk be permitted to retire from the Service.

Serious inconvenience to the service having in many instances arisen from the circumstance of Clerks in distant parts of the country applying for permission to visit the Depot or withdraw from the District without having previously consulted the Commissioned Gentleman superintending the District and to guard against a re-currence of such inconvenience It

Resolved 102. That no such permission shall be granted in future unless the applicant first submit his request in writing to the Gentleman superintending the District to which he belongs who is hereby directed to report on the same for the information of the Governor and Council.

Resolved 103. That the amount of requisition from England for shipment 1833 for Outfit 1834 do not exceed ten Thousand pounds Ster.

Resolved 104. That the annexed standing Rules and Regulations be considered in force and acted upon accordingly until rescinded.

Resolved 105. That this council do now adjourn.

(Signed)

George Simpson.....	Governor
Colin Robertson.....	Chief Factor
J. D. Cameron.....	Chief Factor
John Stuart.....	Chief Factor
Alexander Christie.....	Chief Factor
Wm. McKintosh.....	Chief Factor
John Lee Lewes.....	Chief Factor
Roderick McKenzie.....	Chief Factor
Francis Heron.....	Chief Trader
Robert Miles.....	Chief Trader
J. E. Harriot.....	Chief Trader
Robert Cowie.....	Chief Trader
Wm. Todd.....	Chief Trader

York Factory 16th July, 1832.

Minutes of Council 1833.

Minutes of a temporary Council held at Red River Settlement Northern Department of Ruperts Land in consequence of Governor Simpson being unable to attend at the usual seat of Council through indisposition which commenced on the 1st day of June, 1833, for the purpose of establishing such Rules and Regulations as may be considered expedient for conducting the business of said Department and in order to investigate the result of the trade of last year, and determine the Outfits and General Arrangements for the trade of the Current year conformably to the provisions of a Deed Poll under the seal of the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay bearing date the 26th day of March, 1821; at which were present the following members, Viz:

George Simpson.....	Governor in chief
J. D. Cameron.....	Chief Factor
Alexander Christie.....	do
Jas. McMillan.....	do

Resolved 1. That the rotations of Furlough for the Current year 1833 be in favor of Chief Factors John Stuart, Edward Smith, and John McLoughlin.

Resolved 2. That the Rotation of Chief Factor John Stuart be transferred to Chief Factor John McBean, and that those of Chief Factors Edward Smith and John McLoughlin be availed of by themselves.

Resolved 3. That the rotations of Furlough for the Current year 1833 be in favor of Chief Traders John Siveright; and Robert Miles; but as neither of those Gentlemen avail themselves thereof; that of John Siveright be transferred to Donald McKintosh; as Alexander Roderick McLeod does not take advantage of the transfer allowed him by the 6th Resolve of last year; and that the rotation of Robert Miles be transferred to Colin Campbell.

Resolved 4. In order to guard against any misapprehension with respect to the Rotations of three ensuing years

That they be considered in favor of Chief Factors James Keith, Joseph Bewley and Angus Bethune with Chief Traders Colin Campbell and Archibald McDonald for 1834-35; in favor of Chief Factors Donald McKenzie, Alexander Christie and John McBean with Chief Traders Francis Heron and J. E. Harriott for Outfit 1835-36 and in favor of Chief Factors William McKintosh, William Conolly and John Rowand with Chief Traders Robert Cowie and Donald Ross for 1836-37.

Resolved 5. That no exchanges of Rotation of furlough between Chief Factors or between Chief Traders be permitted, nor leave of absence granted to Chief Factors or Chief Traders while under appointments on the West side the mountains, until after they have passed five Winters there, except in cases where ill health may render it necessary for them to visit England or Canada for the benefit of medical advice.

Resolved 6. That the following arrangements take place, Viz.

Districts	Chief Factors	Chief Traders
Athabasca	John Charles Wm. McKintosh	J. P. Pruden
English River incl. English River incl.) Cumberland)	Roderick McKenzie John Rowand	J. P. Pruden J. E. Harriott
Swan River incl.) Fort Ellice)		Wm. Todd

Red River Ft. Gar-
ry, Expr Farm and)
Post at Portage La)

Prairie	) Jas. McMillan	
Lac la Pluie incl. .)		
River Winipeg	) J. D. Cameron	
Norway House incl.)		Donald Ross
Berens River	)	
Island Lake	John Lee Lewes	
York Factory	Alexander Christie	Robt. Miles
		Jas. Hargrave
Columbia	Duncan Finlayson	Samuel Black
		Cuthbert Cumming
		Francis Heron
		Archibald McDonald
		Robert Cowie
		John Work
New Caledonia	P. W. Dease	Simon McGillivray
		Alexander Fisher

In order to fill up the vacancies that have occurred in the Southern Department in consequence of Chief Factor John McBean and Chief Trader William McKintosh leaving their respective charges on Furlough It is

Resolved 7. That Chief Factor Donald McKenzie be appointed to the charge of the Post of Fort William in the Lake Superior District, and that Chief Trader P. S. Ogden be appointed to the charge of Lake Huron District.

And in order to fill up the vacancy that has occurred in the Montreal Department in consequence of Chief Trader Cumming being removed to the Northern Department.

Resolved 8. That Chief Trader Alex. Roderick McLeod be appointed to the Montreal Department.

Resolved 9. That the following arrangements take place.

Winter Arrangements.

Athabasca.

Fort Chippewyan.....	John Charles C. F.
Dunvegan.....	Wm. McKintosh do
Vermilion	Charles Ross Clk.
Gt Slave Lake	John McDonell do

Resolved 10. That 4 Boats, 29 men and about 200 pieces Goods constitute the Current Outfit for Athabasca District.

Resolved 11. That the quantities of Leather, Parchment Pack Cords and Babiche required for New Caledonia be provided at Dunvegan together with a sufficient quantity of Grease to make up the ladings of 2 Canoes to 50 pieces in all deliverable when called for after the month of August.

In order to save the expense of a light Canoe for the purpose of transporting the out coming and ingoing Gentlemen

belonging to Athabasca District which was formerly necessary when the Depot business was transacted at York, but which is now unnecessary as Norway House is its Depot, It is

Resolved 12. That Chief Factor Charles be directed to accompany his Brigade to and from his Wintering grounds.

Summer Arrangements, 1834.

Resolved 13. Athabasca

Fort Chippewyan	4 men incl.	Intr.
Dunvegan.....	3 men do	do
Vermilion.....	3 men do	do
Gt Slave Lake	3 men do	do
		13 men incl. Intr.

Resolved 14. That Chief Factor William McKintosh, John McDonell and Charles Ross Clerks remain inland and be appointed as Chief Factor Charles may consider expedient.

Resolved 15. That Chief Factor Christie be directed to forward about 200 pieces Goods to Norway House for Athabasca Outfit 1834 by Indians or Red River Carriers.

In order to save the expense of transporting Flour from the Depot to Athabasca or McKenzies River Districts it is

Resolved 16. That the Gentlemen in charge of Posts in Peace River where the climate and soil are favorable to cultivation be directed to devote their attention to that important object forthwith; as it is intended that those Districts shall depend on Peace River alone for their Flour after the close of Outfits 1834.

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 17. McKenzies River.

Fort Simpson.....	John Stuart C. F.
Riv au Laird	Mur. McPherson Clerk.
Fort Norman.....	Wm. Mowat P. M.
Fort Good Hope	John Bell Clk.
Fort Halkett.....	John McLeod do

Resolved 18. That about 250 pieces Goods in 4 Boats from Norway House for Portage la Loche constitute the Current Outfit for McKenzies River.

Summer Arrangements

Resolved 19. McKenzies River.

Fort Simpson.....	2 men incl.	Interpr
Riv au Laird.....	3 " do	do
Fort Norman	2 " do	do
Fort Good Hope	3 " do	do
Fort Halkett	3 " do	do
Exploring Party	5 " do	do
		18 men incl. Intr.

Resolved 20. That Murdoch McPherson and John Bell Clerks and William Mowat Postmaster remain inland and be appointed as Chief Factor Stuart may consider expedient.

Resolved 21. That John McLeod Clerk be employed Summer 1834 with the 5 men employed in discovering the countries situated on the West side of the Rocky Mountains from the sources on the East branch of the Laird River.

Resolved 22. That the voyaging Establishments of Servants between the District and Portage la Loche do not exceed 29 men in all, say 1 Guide 4 Steersmen, 4 Bowsmen and 20 Middlemen to be employed in transporting the Returns and Outfit from Portage la Loche in 4 Boats Summer 1834; and that Chief Factor John Stuart accompany the Brigade to and from the District as it is resolved that he shall Winter there Outfit 1834/35.

Resolved 23. That Chief Factor Christie be directed to forward in the course of the Summer 250 pieces Goods to Norway House for McKenzies River Outfit 1834, the same to be transported thence in 4 Boats to start on or before the 15th June, 3 of which to be manned by people engaged for the Trip at Red River, say 7 men each, and the fourth by Servants exclusive of the Guide, those Servants to be under engagements of not less than 3 years, and to be exchangeable at the Portage for retiring Servants from the District.

Winter Arrangements

Resolved 24. English River

Isle a la Crosse.....	Rodk McKenzie C. F.
Rapid River	Geo. Deschambeault Clk.
Green Lake	An Interpreter
Cumberland Ho.	Thos. Isbister P. M.
Rat River	An Interpreter

Resolved 25. That 100 pieces Goods in 2 Boats manned by 13 men constitute the Current Outfit for the three first Posts of that District, and that 60 pieces Goods constitute the Current Outfit for Cumberland House and the Outpost of Rat River to be established this season from thence: these Goods to be taken in by the Saskatchewan Brigade, into which 5 voyaging Servants intended for the two last Posts will be drafted.

Summer Arrangements 1834

Resolved 26. English River

Isle a la Crosse	G. Deschambeault Clk and 2 men
Rapid River	1 do
Cumberland Ho.	T. Isbister P. M. & 1 man

Resolved 27. That a quantity of dried Provisions equal to 80 Bags Pemican be provided and forth coming for the use of the

outward and inward bound Northern Craft, Spring and Summer 1834.

Winter Arrangements

Resolved 28. Saskatchewan

Edmonton	John Rowand C. F.
	Richd Grant Clk
	W. G. Rae do
Carlton	J. P. Pruden C. T.
	Patrick Small Clk
Piegan Post	J. E. Harriott C. T.
	Henry Fisher Clk
Fort Assiniboine	An Interpreter
Jaspers House	Michel Klyne P. M.
Lesser Slave Lake	Geo. McDougall Clk.

Resolved 29. That about 550 pieces Goods in 10 Boats manned by 40 Servants belonging to the District constitute the Current Outfit; that the Crews be made up of the ingoing Servants belonging to the Columbia with 5 Servants for the Cumberland Posts and that 60 pieces Goods be forwarded on Freight by this Brigade for those Posts.

Resolved 30. That 600 Bags Pemican be provided by the Saskatchewan District for the service of next year deliverable at Norway House, for which credit shall be given at the rate of 2d per lb.; That 50 Bags soft Pemican be provided and delivered at the same place for which credit shall be given at the rate of 3d per lb. and that all the surplus Grease collected in the District be brought to the Depot in a clean and rendered state for exportation in packages of not less than 2 Cwt. for which credit shall be given at the rate of 2d per lb.

Resolved 31. That a Boat and 2 men be left at York for the the purpose of conveying 12 of the new Servants coming from Europe by the Ship inland where it is intended they shall pass the Winter, and be brought to the Depot next Summer for appointment to other Districts.

Summer Arrangements 1834.

Resolved 32 Saskatchewan

Edmonton	J. E. Harriott C. T.)	
	Henry Fisher Clk)	& 13 men
	Wm. G. Rae do)	
Carlton	J. P. Pruden C. T.)	& 7 men
	Patk Small Clk.)	
Fort Assineboine		2 do
Jaspers House	Michel Klyne P. M.	1 do

Including Interpreters 20 men

Resolved 33. That J. P. Pruden and J. E. Harriott Chief Traders and Richard Grant, Patrick Small, Henry Fisher, George McDougall and W. G. Rae, Clerks, remain inland and be appointed as the Chief Factor superintending the District may consider expedient unless the services of one or two of those Clerks be required by him in assisting to conduct the Brigades to and from the Depot.

Resolved 34. That the requisite number of horses be provided at Edmonton for the transport of the Cumberland property to Fort Assiniboine; the charge for transport to be 5/—for each piece of 90 lbs. weight and that Craft be always in readiness at Fort Assiniboine and the Rocky Mountain House for the conveyance of people and property to the Columbia Department.

Resolved 35. That Chief Factor Rowand be instructed to provide 120 pair tracking Shoes to be brought out to the Depot.

Resolved 36. That Chief Factor Rowand be instructed to provide 8 new Boats for general distribution at Norway House.

Winter Arrangements

Resolved 37. Swan River

Fort Pelly	William Todd C. T.
	Chas. Goulet P. M.
Fort Ellice	John McKay Clk.
Manitobah	Fras Richard P. M.
Shoal River	A man

Resolved 38. That 180 pieces Goods constitute the Current Outfit for this District with 15 voyaging Servants 100 pieces of these Goods to be taken up from the Depot on 2 Boats manned by 12 men for the trade of Fort Pelly, Manitobah and Shoal River Posts and the remaining 80 pieces to be brought with the Red River Outfit for the trade of Fort Ellice accompanied by the 3 remaining men who are intended to Winter at that Post.

Resolved 39. That Chief Trader Todd be directed to contract with Freeman for the delivery of 2 to 300 Bushels Salt at Norway House at a price not exceeding 5/—per Bushel.

Resolved 40. That every encouragement be given with a view to increasing the returns in the article of Buffalo Robes in order to withdraw the plain tribes from the American Establishments on the Missouri the price not to exceed 3/— each.

Summer Arrangements

Resolved 41. Swan River

Fort Pelly	Chas. Goulet & 2 men
Fort Ellice	J. R. McKay & 7 men
Manitobah	Fras Richard P. M.
Shoal River	1 man

Including Interpreters 10 men

Resolved 42. That Chief Trader Todd be directed to send the Returns of Fort Pelly and Fort Ellice out via the Assiniboine river; and those of the other Establishments via the Dauphin river and that the Crews of the Boats be made up to 4 men each by Freeman or Indians engaged for the trip to Norway House

Winter Arrangements

Resolved 43. Red River

Fort Garry Thomas Simpson Clk

Pierre Le Blanc P. M.

Forks Joseph Charles Clk

Warden of the Plains..... Cuthbert Grant

Resolved 44. That supplies for the use of the Colony Shop and Indian trade amounting to about 1000 pieces be provided and forwarded on Freight and that the Establishment of Servants be as follows:—

Fort Garry..... 4 men including B. Smith

Forks 1 man

Resolved 45. That the following supplies be procured at the Colony made up in sound and transportable packages at the annexed prices Viz:—

50 Firkins best cured Butter at 7d per lb.

20 Cwt. best cured Beef (briskets & ribs) 3d per lb.

150 Bushels Hulled Indian Corn at 4/—per Bush.

1000 Cwt. Flour 1st & 2nd (qualities mixed) 11/—per Cwt

50 Pork Hams cured at 5d per lb.

50 Bushels white pease at 3/6 per Bush.

60 Cwt. Cured Pork at 3d per lb.

300 Portage Straps at 2/— each

Resolved 46. That 1000 Bushels clean, sound, dry Wheat be purchased and laid up in Depot at the new fort until required, if to be obtained at 3/6 p. Bus.;

Resolved 47. That the Freight to be allowed to Districts for the Current year for the transport of pieces be as follows: Viz.

York Factory to Red River 18/— per piece

York Factory to Norway House 14/— per piece

York Factory to Oxford House 10/— per piece

Oxford House to Norway House 4/— per piece

Norway House to Red River 3/— per piece

Red River to Norway House 2/— per piece

Norway House to Oxford House 2/— per piece

Oxford House to York Factory 3/— per piece

Resolved 48. That 30 men the crews of 5 Boats be engaged for the Season of open Water to be employed as may be required at £16 per Steersmen, £14 for Bowsmen, and £12 for Middlemen.

Resolved 49. That 21 men the crews of 3 Boats be engaged for the McKenzie River transport and others that may be required

for the season of open Water at £16 per Steersmen, £14 for Bowsmen, and £12 for Middlemen.

Winter Arrangements

Resolved 50. Red River

Experimental Farm Jas. McMillan C. F.

Portage la Prairie Geo. Setter P. M.

Resolved 51. That 50 pieces Goods constitute the Current Outfit for the Experimental Farm and the Post at Portage la Prairie to be taken in on Freight.

Resolved 52. That the Establishment of people under the Direction of Chief Factor McMillan for the Experimental Farm and the Post at Portage la Prairie be as follows Viz

Experimental Farm.....5 men

Post at the Portage....Geo. Setter P. M. & 4 men

Summer Arrangements

Resolved 53.

Fort Garry 4 men including B. Smith

Forks George Setter P. M. & 1 man

Experimental Farm 5 men

The Council having learnt with much satisfaction that the cause of education and religion is much advanced in Red River Settlement by the establishment of sundry schools under the superintendence of the Revd Mr. Jones and the Revd Mr. Cochrane and the Mr. Pritchard has rendered his valuable services gratuitously to that effect for several years past; moreover that that Gentleman has established a day school for the education of the youth of both sexes in his neighborhood which is attended by many Children whose parents cannot afford to pay for their instruction It is

Resolved 54. That in order to encourage the laudable and highly useful objects now in question, the sum of £25 per annum be allowed to Mr. Pritchard subject to the approbation of the Governor & Committee.

Winter Arrangements

Resolved 55. Lac la Pluie

Fort Frances J. D. Cameron C. F.

Wm. Sinclair Clk

White Fish Lake.....An Interpreter

Lac du bois blanc do

Dalles Thos. Taylor P. M.

Fort Alexander Wm. Clouston P. M.

Resolved 56. That 250 pieces Goods to be transported by 19 Servants belonging to the District and on freight by Craft belonging to other Posts constitute the Current Outfit for this District and that 5 new Bark Canoes be provided for the service of the following year.

Summer Arrangements 1834.

Resolved 57. Lac la Pluie

Fort Frances Wm. Sinclair Clk. & 3 men
incl. Intr

Fort Alexander Wm. Clouston P. M. & 2 men
Including Intr 5 men

In order to reduce the expenses on the Lac la Pluie District which is now relieved from opposition

Resolved 58. That the voyaging complement of Servants be next year reduced to 12 men, who assisted by 6 Indians to be engaged for the Summer at \$5 per man will make up the crews of 3 Boats laden with Goods from the Depot to Norway House where the cargo of a fourth Boat will be delivered by Red River Trip men on Freight making the Outfit up to about 250 pieces which will be taken to the District from Norway House in 4 Boats manned by the said 18 Servants and Indians.

Winter Arrangements

Resolved 59. Norway House

Norway House Donald Ross C. T., an Appce
Clk. & 5 men

Berens River Two men

Sandy Narrows R. Cummings P. M. &
3 men

Resolved 60. That about 70 pieces Goods to be transported in 2 Boats manned by 7 Servants belonging to the District and 5 Indians to be engaged for the Trip constitute the Outfit for the Current year and that the loadings be made up by 70 pieces Goods on Freight.

Summer Arrangements 1834

Resolved 61. Norway House

Norway House Donald Ross C. T. 1 Clk)
and 3 men)

Berens River Robt. Cummings P. M.

Serious inconvenience having been experienced from the irregular practice which has hitherto been observed at this Depot of opening accounts with other Establishments and Servants belonging to other Districts.

Resolved 62. That with the exception of Red River produce no supplies of any description be given either to District or Servants from this Establishment.

Resolved 63. That this Establishment be considered as the Depot of Athabasca District and that Outfits and supplies for Servants be forwarded from York Factory, the Freight thereof to be chargeable to Athabasca District: and that Norway House be allowed 12½ per cent. advance upon York or Inventory

prices on sales to Servants in order to cover all charges of Storage, Packing &c.

Resolved 64. That the two-decked Vessel employed in the Lake Winipeg transport be laid up at Norway House during the Winter and dispatched to Red River for Cargoes at the opening of the navigation and that the Crews be occupied during the dead season of the year on the Winter road and other work connected with that object, except the Carpenter and an assistant who will be employed during the Winter at Norway House in building and repairing Boats for general distribution.

Winter Arrangements

Resolved 65. Island Lake

Oxford House	John Lee Lewes C. F.
Island Lake	Wm. McKay P. M.

Great difficulty having been experienced in maintaining the Establishments of Windy Lake and Merrys House of late which have been very unproductive in regard to returns and the Post of Manitoo Lake being only 40 miles distant from Oxford House it is considered expedient to concentrate the business by abandoning the Posts of Windy Lake and Merrys House and establish in their stead a Post at the east end of Island Lake, where the Fishery is so productive as to afford abundant means of living, and to which the Indians of both these Posts can be drawn without inconvenience, likewise to abandon the post of Manitoo Lake, merely keeping a Fisherman there for the support of the people employed on the Winter road, and who would be provided with a few essentials to supply the Indians with when absolutely necessary in the course of the Winter It is therefore

Resolved 66. That the Posts of Windy Lake, Merrys House and Manitoo Lake be abandoned this season and that a Post be established at the east end of Island Lake.

Resolved 67. That about 80 pieces Goods to be transported from the Depot in a Boat manned by 7 men constitute the Current Outfit of this District.

Winter Road Arrangements

It being very desirable to follow up the Winter road plan which in due time promises important advantages to the Country at large It is

Resolved 68. That the work be continued under the direction of Chief Factor Lewes and that to carry it on, the services of ten supernumeraries be at his disposal for that object, to be fed principally on fish from the Fishery at Manitoo Lake; those supernumeraries be at Norway House for general service on or before the 1st June.

Summer Arrangements 1834.

Resolved 69. Island Lake

Oxford House	Wm. McKay P. M. & 1 man
Island Lake	1 man

Resolved 70. That Chief Factor Lewes be directed to employ 4 Boats manned by 32 Indians and a Guide in performing a double Trip between the Depot and Norway House in the transport of Goods and Returns the lading of each Boat upwards per Trip to be 80 and downwards 70 pieces; 5 of which to be left at Oxford House and the remaining 65 ps. per Boat to be deliverable at York.

Winter Arrangements

Resolved 71. York

York Factory	Alexander Christie C. T.
	Robert Miles C. T.
	Jas. Hargrave do
	John Ballenden Clerk
	Archd McKinlay do
Churchill	Robert Harding do
Nelson River	John Tod do
Severn	John Rendall P. Mr.
	or John Hutchison Clk)
	if he comes from England)
	in which case Rendall to)
	winter at York.

Resolved 72. That 25 men including Mechanics constitute the Winter and Summer establishment of York Factory.

Resolved 73. That 4 men constitute the Summer establishments of Churchill, with an Outfit amounting to about 100 pieces goods, and provisions; and that in order to encourage the Oil Trade; the Frances Schooner be attached to that Post; the Master and Crew of 5 men including a Cooper with 1 man belonging to the Post to be employed during the months of June and July in fishing and preparing the Oil at Seal River, in August the vessel to proceed to York with the Returns; thence to Severn with the Outfit of that Post and for the returns which are to be taken to the Depot when the Schooner will be employed until the 15th September if necessary in discharging and re-loading the Ship from Europe and then return to Churchill with the Outfit of that Post where she will be laid up for Winter and the Master and Crew be employed as the Clerk in charge may consider expedient.

Split Lake being no longer considered an eligible situation for the Nelson River post on account of the impoverished state of the Country in its neighborhood and the improved condition of the Upper part of the River It is

Resolved 74. That the Post at Split Lake be abandoned and that a Post be established in its stead at the "Three Points" situated at about half way between Split Lake and the Point at which the Churchill and Nelson River waters separate and that 3 men including an Interpreter with about 50 pieces Goods constitute the Establishment and Outfit of that Post during the Current year; two of these men with Indians to transport the Returns to and Outfit from the Depot by Boat; the Interpreter alone to remain in charge of the Post during the Summer and the Clerk conducting the business to be employed in the Pack Store at York Factory during the busy season.

Resolved 75. That 3 men constitute the Winter and Summer establishment of Severn Post with an outfit of about 60 pieces Goods and provisions to be transported from the Depot and the returns taken thither by the Frances Schooner and that the Postmaster in charge who is a Ship Carpenter by trade be employed during part of the month of July and August in building or repairing Craft.

Resolved 76. Columbia Winter Arrangements

Fort Vancouver	Fort Colvile	Flat Heads
Coutonais	Thompsons River	Okanagan
Nez Perceez	Fort Langley	Fort Simpson
Shipping	Snake Expedition or New Establmts	

Chief Factor John McLoughlin if he does not avail himself of his rotation of Furlough and Duncan Finlayson Chief Factor, Samuel Black, Cuthbert Cummings, Fras Heron, Archd McDonald, Robert Cowie and John Work Chief Traders. James Douglas, James Birnie, William Kitson, Francis Ermatinger, Donald Manson, T. N. Annance, Thomas McKay, P. C. Pambrun J. M. Yale George T. Allan and Alexr Anderson Clerks

Surgeons

Masters and Mates of Vessels

Resolved 77. That it be discretionary with Chief Factor McLoughlin, (if he remains in the District) and if not; with Chief Factor Finlayson to make the appointments of those Gentlemen as he may consider expedient.

Resolved 78. That men be provided for this District to accompany the Saskatchewan Brigade under the charge of Chief Factor Rowand until they reach Edmonton and from thence proceed under the charge of Chief Factor Cumming to Fort Vancouver unless he may receive further instructions from the Chief Factor superintending the business *en route*, by which he will regulate his movements.

Resolved 79. That the Chief Factor superintending the business take the necessary steps to employ the Shipping in the coasting

and Timber Trades, and to carry into effect the object noticed in the Governor and Committee's Dispatch of _____ and in a letter to be written to him from York in the course of the season by the Gentlemen Chief Factors Chief Traders present.

Columbia Continued

Resolved 80. New Caledonia

Stuarts Lake

Frasers Lake

McLeods Lake

Alexandria

Babines

Conollys Lake

Fort George

Chilcotens

Peter Warren Dease Chief Factor.

Simon McGillivray and Alexr Fisher Chief Traders

Thomas Dears, George Linton, Donald McKenzie and William F. Lane Clerks

Chas. Ross and Benjamin McKenzie Postmasters

Resolved 81. That men be forwarded by the Columbia Brigade to replace the retiring Servants of this District and that they proceed via Okanagan, Thompsons River and Alexandria.

Resolved 82. That it be discretionary with Chief Factor Dease to make the appointments of the above mentioned Gentlemen together with the requisite Establishment of Servants as he may consider expedient.

Resolved 83. That 530 dressed Mooseskins, 18 Parchment Skins, 100 Babiche Snares and Beaver Nets, 2000 Pack Cords, 30 lbs. Sinews and a sufficient quantity of Grease to make up 50 pieces in all be provided at Dunvegan for the use of New Caledonia District to be sent for in the Autumn of every year by the Gentleman in charge of that District.

Resolved 84. That a complete Outfit for New Caledonia 1834 conformably to Requisition be prepared at Fort Vancouver by next Spring, and that the requisite Horses and appointments &c. &c. to effect the transport thereof be provided and forwarded thither from the Columbia.

And with reference to further arrangements connection with the Columbia department generally

Resolved 85. That the same be determined by a letter to be written by the Chief Factors and Chief Traders who may be at York this season to the Chief Factors superintending the Columbia and New Caledonia affairs.

With regard to the establishment of Ungava from whence no advices have been received since those of date 1831; it is expected that the Beaver Sloop will be forwarded thence to York with the Returns and for fresh supplies of Goods, Provisions, &c/ in the course of the present season in which case it is

Resolved 86. That Mr. Finlayson's request for men, Goods and other supplies be completed by Chief Factor Christie as far as the means at his disposal may permit.

In the meantime Governor Simpson has forwarded communications to Chief Factors McTavish and Bewley requesting to concert measures for sending the Express to Ungava with the least possible delay, if they have not already heard from Mr. Finlayson, in order to gain some intelligence respecting the state of the Settlement which they are directed to forward to the Governor and Committee likewise to Governor Simpson in duplicate by the Ship and via Canada; and in the event of the Beaver Sloop not having reached Ungava in 1831, or not getting to York in the course of the Current season, It is

Resolved 87. That Governor and Committee be requested to forward the necessary supplies either from England or Canada as early in the Summer of 1834 as possible but in the absence of any communication from Ungava either by overland express to the Southern Department or by the Vessel to York this season then & in that case it is to be understood that no Outfit shall be forwarded either from England or Canada next year but that Chief Factors McTavish and Bewley be directed to concert and carry into effect such measures by overland communication towards the protection and safety of the Settlement as they may consider expedient under existing circumstances.

Great benefit having been derived from the benevolent and indefatigable exertions of the Catholic Mission at Red River in the welfare, moral and religious instruction of its numerous followers and it being observed with much satisfaction that the influence of the Mission under the direction of the Right Revd. The Bishop of Juliopolis has been uniformly directed to the best interests of the Settlement and of the country at large, It is

Resolved 88. That in order to mark our approbation of such laudable and disinterested conduct on the part of said Mission, the sum of £50 be given towards its support together with an allowance of luxuries for its use.

Dr. Bunn having attended professionally on many retired Servants in Red River Settlement who on account of their indigent circumstances could not pay for medical advice and having likewise administered medicine at several of the Company's Establishments and to the families of Gentlemen belonging to the Service who have been sent to Red River for the benefit of religious instruction and education during the past year It is

Resolved 89. That in consideration of, and a remuneration for such medical advice and attendance a grant of £50 be made to the same Dr. Bunn for the year terminating the 1st June 1833.

Resolved 90. That for the purpose of transmitting corrected accounts from the Depot of the Summer transactions as well

as of conveying information relative to the Districts in general, a Winter Express from the Depot and the interior be appointed to meet at Carlton House; the one to proceed northward via Isle a la Crosse and Athabasca and the other southward via Fort Pelly and Norway House, and that steps be also taken by means of Indians or otherwise to forward from the Depot to Norway House or Cumberland before the closing of the navigation any private letters conveyed by the Ship in order that they may reach their respective destinations before the departure of the Craft and returns in Spring. That all letters on public business be in triplicate under official signatures and when intended for general circulation to be addressed to the Governor, Chief Factors and Chief Traders.

In order to remove all difficulty as to the future mode of conveying intelligence during the Winter between the Northern and Southern Depots It is

Resolved 91. That for the Winter 1833/34 the Packet be forwarded from Moose via Albany and Severn and for the Winter 1834/35 from York via Severn and Albany and in like manner alternately hereafter.

With reference to the 96th Resolve of Council of last year and similar preceding Resolves passed with a view to the preservation of Beaver, in which the Districts are restricted to certain Returns in that Article of which nevertheless there is almost invariably an excess thereby defeating the object in view It is

Resolved 92. That Gentlemen in charge of Districts and Posts be directed to, furnish annually with the Inventories a list of the Articles in use at each Post distinguishing them according to the condition as Good, half-worn, much-worn, also a list of Cattle or other live stock and the number of acres in cultivation and quantity of seed sown for the next Crop with quantity reaped the preceding Summer. The Cattle to be distinguished Bulls, Cows of several ages, Calves one year old, two years old, three years old and upwards without any valuation affixed.

Resolved 93. That Gentlemen in charge of Districts and Posts except such as are exposed to opposition exert their utmost efforts in discouraging the hunting of Cub Beaver and beaver out of season and that no Beaver traps be issued from the Depot except for sale to the Piegan Indians and that in any case where an unusual proportion of Cub or unseasoned Beaver appears the same be particularly represented to the Governor & Committee.

Resolved 94. That Gentlemen in charge of Districts and Posts be directed to use their utmost endeavor to collect large quan-

ties of Leather (dressed and parchment) Buffalo Robes, Pack Cords, Snow-shoe line, Leather tents &c. &c. as they are articles absolutely necessary for the trade in many parts of the Country and cannot be purchased in Europe or Canada.

Serious inconvenience having been experienced of late year from the circumstance of Gentlemen in charge of Brigades leaving the Factory with Craft not fully laden thereby occasioning a loss of Freight, It is

Resolved 95. That the lading of all Boats belonging to Districts in the Northern Department leaving the Depot be 70 pieces Goods of full weight or measurement except the usual allowance for passengers, Viz: 10 pieces for each Commissioned Gentleman, 5 pieces for first class Clerks, and 3 pieces for Junior Clerks and Postmasters and one third of the above allowances to cover the Freight of private orders for the same classes remaining inland, that each Servant remaining inland be allowed the Freight of one piece to cover his private order, which shall be considered Cargo and that in all cases where a loss of Freight is occasioned by neglect of this Resolve the same be chargeable to the private account of the Commissioned Gentleman conducting the Brigade.

And with reference to the foregoing Resolution in order to regulate the charge of Freight of private property conveyed inland exceeding the fixed allowance It is

Resolved 96. That the same be charged to private account of the parties as follows Viz

From York Factory to	McKenzies River	50/—p.	pee.
" " "	" Athabasca	40/—	" "
" " "	" Saskatchewan		
" " "	" Engh River, Lac la Pluie		
" " "	" Upper Red River		
" " "	" & Swan River	30/—	
" " "	" Red River Setl.)		
" " "	" & the Winipeg Posts)	18/—	
" " "	" Norway House	14/—	p. piece
" " "	" Oxford House &)		
" " "	" Nelson River)	10/—	do
" " "	" Churchill &		
	Severn	2/—	do
From Norway House to	McKenzies River Dist.	36/—do	
	Athabasca	26/—do	
	Saskatchewan Engh)		
	River, Lac la Pluie)		
	Upper Red River &)		
	Swan River)	16/—	
	Red River Settl &)		
	the Winipeg Posts)	3/—	

Oxford House	2/—
York Factory	5/—

Resolved 97. That the undermentioned Clerks whose terms have expired be re-engaged for the term and at the salaries affixed to their name from 1st June 1833 viz

Joseph Charles	for 3 years	at £75 p. annum
Robert Harding	“ 3 do “	100 “ “
George McDougall	3 do “	100 “ “

And that the undermentioned Clerks and Postmasters whose engagements will expire 31st May next be re-engaged for the term and the salaries affixed to their name from 1st June 1834
Viz

John Ballenden	Clerk for 3 years	at £ 75 p. an
John Bell	“ “ 3 “ “	100 “ “
Thomas Dears	“ “ 3 “ “	100 “ “
Francis Ermatinger	“ “ 3 “ “	100 “ “
Paul Fraser	“ “ 3 “ “	100 “ “
Donald McKenzie	“ “ 3 “ “	100 “ “
John McLeod	“ “ 3 “ “	100 “ “
Murdoch McPherson	“ “ 3 “ “	100 “ “
Donald Manson	“ “ 3 “ “	100 “ “
P. C. Pambrun	“ “ 3 “ “	100 “ “
Charles Ross	“ “ 3 “ “	100 “ “
Thomas Simpson	“ “ 3 “ “	100 “ “
William Sinclair	“ “ 3 “ “	100 “ “
John Tod	“ “ 3 “ “	100 “ “
Benjamin McKenzie	“ “ 3 “ “	100 “ “
Wm. Clouston	P. M. “ 3 “ “	60 “ “
Thos. Isbister	“ “ 3 “ “	60 “ “

Serious inconvenience to the Service having in many instances arisen of late from the circumstance of Clerks in distant parts of the Country applying to the Governor and Council for permission to visit the Depot or withdraw from the District without having previously consulted the Commissioned Gentleman superintending the District and to guard against a recurrence of such inconvenience It is

Resolved 98. That no such permission shall be granted in future unless the applicant first submits his request in writing to the Gentleman superintending the District to which he belongs who is hereby directed to report on the same for the information of the Governor and Council.

Resolved 99. That the amount of Requisition from England for Shipment 1834 for Outfit 1835 do not exceed the sum of £15,000 unless circumstances arise that cannot at present be foreseen which may render an alteration of the Indent absolutely necessary.

Resolved 100. That the annexed Standing Rules and Regulations be considered in force and be acted on accordingly until recinded except such as have been altered by the Resolves of Council of last and the Current year and that they be revived and corrected in the course of the current season at York and transmitted to England for confirmation and printing.

Resolved 101. That this Council do now adjourn.

(Sigd) George Simpson Governor
 J. D. Cameron Chief Factor
 Alexr Christie do
 James McMillan do

Red River Settlement 5th June 1833.

8th June 1833

present George Simpson Governor-in chief
 J. D. Cameron Chief Factor
 Donald McKenzie do
 Alexr Christie do
 Jas. McMillan do

A medical certificate being received from Dr. Hendry of Chief Factor McKenzie's ill health which renders it necessary for him to visit the civilized world to obtain the benefit of medical advice.

Resolved 1. That leave of absence be granted to the said Chief Factor McKenzie for the Current year.

In consequence of Governor Simpson proceeding for Europe this season, the assistance of another Commissioned Gentleman will be necessary in the Red River Settlement It is therefore

Resolved 2. That Chief Factor Christie be directed to leave York Factory after the business of the season is over and proceed thence to assume the charge of Fort Garry with all the powers heretofore vested in and held by the Governor of Assiniboia for the time being.

Chief Factor Christie's services being for the Winter transferred to the Red River Settlement It is

Resolved 3. That Chief Trader Miles be appointed to the charge of York Factory and its dependencies as heretofore expressed As Chief Factor Christie will be required in the superintendence of the Depot business at York during the Summer of 1834 It is

Resolved 4. That Chief Trader Todd shall proceed to Red River Settlement so as to arrive there on or before the 1st June where he will superintend the business during the Summer.

With reference to the Arctic Land Expedition under Captain Back which has for its object the laudable purpose of endeavoring to discover Captain Ross or any survivors of his party It is

Resolved 5. That every possible assistance be afforded to Captain Back and that the number of men and Craft which he may require be provided as well as complying with and completing the Indent for Goods and Provisions to the utmost extent which our means will afford.

Resolved 6. That this Council do now adjourn.

(Sigd)	George Simpson	Governor
	J. D. Cameron	Chief Factor
	Donald McKenzie	do
	Alexr Christie	do
	Jas. McMillan	do

Red River Settlement 8th June, 1833.

Minutes of Council
1835

Minutes of a Council held at Northern Department of Rupert's Land Red River, which commenced on the 3rd day of June One Thousand, Eight Hundred and Thirty Five for the purpose of establishing such Rules and Regulations as may be considered expedient for conducting the business of said Department and in order to investigate the result of the Trade of last year conformably to the Provisions of a Deed Poll under the seal of the Governor and Company of Adventurers trading into Hudsons Bay bearing date the 26th day of March 1826 at which were present the following Members Viz

George Simpson	Governor in chief
J. D. Cameron	Chief Factor
John Charles	do
Alexr Christie	do
Wm. McIntosh	do
John Rowand	do
John Lee Lewes	do
Duncan Finlayson	do

Resolved 1. That Chief Traders be invited to attend and in consequence the following were present Viz

J. P. Pruden
Fras Heron
James Douglas

Resolved 2. That the Rotations of Furlough for the current year 1835 are in favor of Chief Factors Alexr Christie, John McBean & Wm. McKintosh.

Resolved 3. That the rotation of Furlough of Chief Factor Christie be transferred to Chief Factor Lewes, that Chief Factor McKintosh take advantage of his rotation of Furlough and that Chief Factor McBean's rotation of Furlough be transferred

to Chief Factor Stewart who was prevented by circumstances from availing himself thereof last year.

Resolved 4. That the rotations of Furlough for the Current year 1835 are in favor of Chief Traders Francis Heron and J. E. Harriott.

Resolved 5. That Chief Trader Heron avail himself of his rotation of Furlough accordingly and that Chief Trader J. E. Harriott's services be considered as disposable as he has not intimated a desire of accepting his rotation of Furlough.

Information having been received of the ill health of C. F's J. G. McTavish & P. W. Dease It is

Resolved 6. That Chief Factors J. G. McTavish and P. W. Dease be allowed leave of absence for the benefit of medical advice accordingly.

In order to guard against any misapprehension with respect to the Furloughs for the 3 ensuing years It is

Resolved 7. That they be considered as in favor of Chief Factors William Conolly, John Rowand & James McMillan with Chief Traders Robert Cowie and Donald Ross for 1836/37. In favor of Chief Factors Allan McDonell, P. W. Dease and John Lee Lewes with Chief Traders John Work and William Todd for 1837/38 and in favor of Chief Factors Rodk McKenzie, Duncan Finlayson and P. S. Odgen with Chief Traders Jas. Hargrave & Nicol Finlayson for 1837/38.

Chief Factors J. D. Cameron and Joseph Bewley having expressed an anxious desire to obtain an exchange of Rotation of Furlough so as to visit the civilized world this years and Chief Factors John Rowand and James McMillan whose rotations of Furlough will fall due next year being willing to transfer the same to those Gentlemen whose services are not particularly required in the Country during the Current Outfit It is

Resolved 8. That Chief Factors J. D. Cameron and Joseph Bewley be at liberty to avail themselves of the transfer of Rotation of Furlough afforded them by Chief Factors John Rowand and James McMillan accordingly, the latter Gentlemen relinquishing by this arrangement their rights of Rotation next year.

Resolved 9. That the following Arrangements take place Viz

Districts	Chief Factors	Chief Traders
Athabasca	Edward Smith	A. R. McLeod
McKenzies River		Colin Campbell
English River	Rodk McKenzie	Murdk McPherson
Saskatchewan	John Rowand	J. P. Pruden
		J. E. Harriott
Swan River		Wm. Todd

Red River	Alexr Christie	
Lac la Pluie	Allan McDonald	
Jack River		Donald Ross
Island Lake	John Charles	
York	Alexr Christie	
Columbia	John McLoughlin	Saml Black
	Duncan Finlayson	Archd McDonald
		Robt. Cowie
		John Work
		John Tod
		John McLeod
		James Douglas
New Caledonia	P. S. Ogden	Alexr Fisher

Resolved 10. That the following arrangements take place Viz
Winter Arrangements

Athabasca	Fort Chippewyan	Edward Smith C. F.
		Francis Butcher Clk
	Dunvegan	Colin Campbell C. T.
	Vermilion	Chas. Roussin P. M.
	Gt. Slave Lake	A. R. McLeod C. T.

Resolved 11. That 4 Boats, 29 men including Guide and about 250 pieces Goods constitute the Current Outfit for this District.

Resolved 12. That Chief Factor Smith accompany his Brigade to Norway House Depot Summer 1836 for the purpose of attending to the business of the District and the Commissioned Gentlemen Clerks and Postmasters attached to the District remain inland and be appointed as Chief Factor Smith may consider expedient.

Summer Arrangements

Resolved 13.

Fort Chippewyan	including	Intrs	3-men
Dunvegan	do	do	2 do
Great Slave Lake	do	do	2 do

Resolved 14. That Chief Trader James Hargrave take the necessary measures to prepare and forward about 200 pieces Goods to Norway House for Athabasca Outfit 1836 by Indians or Red River Carriers.

Resolved 15. That encouragement be afforded for collecting as much dressed Leather as possible and that which cannot be brought to the Depot be carefully laid past inland as a large quantity will be required in the course of 2 or 3 years for New Caledonia.

Winter Arrangements

Resolved 16. McKenzies River

Fort Simpson.....Murdoch McPherson C. T.

	Robt Campbell P. M.
Rivire au Laird	Chas. Brisbois Clk.
Fort Halkett	J. Hutchison do
Fort Norman	Wm. Mowat P. M.
Fort Good Hope	John Bell Clk.

Resolved 17. That about 200 pieces Goods in 3 Boats navigated by 22 men including the Guide, 16 of whom are Red River men hired for the trip and 5 men under contract as regular Servants who are intended for the District in order to replace such Servants as may be retiring constitute the Current Outfit.

The late discovery of Mr. John McLeod towards the sources of the East branch of the Laird River and a large river named Pelly's River falling from the mountains into the Pacific presenting a field for the extension of trade in that quarter, it is towards that object and with a view of opening communication with our Posts & Shipping on the coast.

Resolved 18. That the present Establishment of Fort Halkett be removed to Deases Lake Summer 1836 if possible and that measures be concerted for the purpose of establishing a new Post on the banks of that river at least 200 miles distance in a direct line from the height of land towards the Pacific the Summer of 1837/38.

Summer Arrangements

Resolved 19. McKenzies River

Ft. Simpson	Incl. Intr 2 men
Rivire au Laird	" do 2 men
Fort Halkett	" do 3 "
Fort Norman	" do 1 "
Fort Good Hope	" do 2 "

Resolved 20. That Chief Trader Murdoch McPherson accompany the Brigade to Portage la Loche Summer 1836; and that the Clerks and Postmasters attached to the District remain inland and be appointed as Chief Trader McPherson may consider expedient.

Resolved 21. That Chief Trader James Hargrave take the necessary measures to prepare and forward in the course of this Summer about 250 pieces Goods to Norway House for McKenzies River Outfit 1836; the same to be transported thence to Portage la Loche in 4 Boats to start on or before the 15th June manned by a Guide & 28 men, of whom 20 are to be engaged for the Trip at Red River and 8 are to be under engagements of not less than 3 years and to be exchanged at the Portage for retiring Servants from the District.

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 22. English River

Isle a la Crosse	Rodk McKenzie C. F.
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Rapid River	Geo. Deschambeault Clk
Green Lake	An Interpreter
Cumberland Ho.	Geo. Gladman Clk.
Moose Lake	Augustin Nolin P. M.
	or John Ballandine

Resolved 23. That about 120 pieces Goods for the 3 first Posts and 50 pieces for the latter Posts constitute the current Outfit for the District to be taken inland by 3 Boats navigated by 17 Servants including the Guide; 13 of whom to be distributed among the 3 first Posts, and the 4 remaining to be attached to Cumberland and Moose Lake, and 4 Boats and 20 men will be required for the transport of the Returns, the remaining 3 men to be made up of Indians engaged for the Trip.

Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 24. English River

Isle a la Crosse	G. Deschambeault Clk)
	and 2 men)
Rapid River	One man
Cumberland Ho.	Geo. Gladman Clk)
	and 1 man)

Resolved 25. That a quantity of dried provisions equal to 80 bags Pemican be provided and forthcoming for the use of the outward and inward bound Northern Craft, Spring and Summer 1836.

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 26. Saskatchewan

Edmonton	John Rowand C. F.
	Wm. Thew Clerk
Carlton	J. P. Pruden C. T.
Rocky Mountn Ho.	J. E. Harriott C. T.
	Patk Small Clk
Fort Assineboine	An Interpreter
Jaspers House	do
Lesser Slave Lake	Richd Grant Clk.
Fort Pitt	Henry Fisher do

Resolved 27. That about 500 pieces Goods in 9 Boats manned by 46 Servants belonging to the District constitute the Current Outfit and that the crews be made up of ingoing Servants belonging to the Columbia District; and as by the foregoing arrangements the Saskatchewan Brigade is relieved of the Cumberland transport, the Cargoes from York be made up to 70 pieces per Boat on Freight to Norway House.

Resolved 28. That 600 Bags Pemican be provided by the Saskatchewan District for the service of next year; 140 of which to be left at Cumberland and the remainder taken to Norway House and that all the surplus Grease collected in the District

be brought to the Depot in a clean and rendered state for exportation in packages of not less than 2 Cwt.

Resolved 29. That a Boat and 2 men be left at York for the purpose of conveying 12 of the new Servants coming from Europe by the Ship inland where it is intended they shall pass the Winter and be brought to the Depot next Summer for appointments to other Districts.

Resolved 30. That the New Caledonia Requisition for Leather &c. be provided at Jaspers House to be taken thither in the course of next Summer by 6 of the recruit coming by the Ship and to be forwarded as supernumeraries this ensuing Fall, these men to remain inland and to be appointed to the Columbia Department next Fall. That the Leather &c. to be taken from Jaspers House to Tete Jaune Cache by Servants that will be appointed to New Caledonia District next year.

Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 31. Saskatchewan.

Edmonton	J. E. Harriott C. T. & 10 men
Carlton	J. P. Pruden C. T. & 7 men
Ft. Assineboine	An Interpreter & 1 man
Jaspers House	An Interpreter & 1 man
Lesser Slave Lake	do 2 men
Fort Pitt	do 3 men

Resolved 32. That the Commissioned Gentlemen Clerks and Postmasters attached to this District remain inland and be appointed as the Chief Factor superintending the District may consider expedient unless the services of one or more Clerks be required to accompany the Brigade to the Depot.

Resolved 33. That the requisite number of Horses be provided at Edmonton for the transport of the Columbia property to Fort Assineboine; the charge for transport to be 5/—for each piece of 90 lbs. weight and that Craft be always in readiness at Fort Assineboine and the Rocky Mountain House for the conveyance of people and property belonging to the Columbia Department.

Resolved 34. That Chief Factor Rowand be instructed to provide 12 new Boats for general distribution at Norway House.

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 35. Swan River

Fort Pelly	Wm. Todd C. T.
	Charles Goulet P. M.
Fort Ellice	J. R. McKay do
Manitobah	Frs. Richard do
Shoal River	A Labourer

Resolved 36. That about 200 pieces Goods constitute the Current Outfit for this District with 15 voyaging servants 100

pieces of these Goods to be taken up from the Depot in 2 Boats for the trade of Fort Pelly Manitobah and Shoal River Posts; and the remainder to be forwarded to Red River Settlement for the trade of Fort Ellice, the Crews of these Boats to be made up to 6 men each by Trippers and Cargoes to 70 pieces per Boat by Goods on Freight to Norway House.

Resolved 37. That Chief Trader Todd take the necessary measures to provide 300 Bushels of Salt for the use of Red River Settlement deliverable at the North end of Manitobah Portage from whence it will be removed in course of the season; Price not to exceed 8/— per Bushel.

Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 38. Swan River

Fort Pelly	Chas. Goulet P. M. & 2 men
Fort Ellice	J. R. McKay do & 7 do
Manitobah	Frs. Richard P. M.
Shoal River	A Labourer

• Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 39. Red River Settlement

Fort Garry	Alexr. Christie C. F.
	Thos. Simpson Clk.
	John Rowand Jr. P. M.
	Pierre LeBlanc do
New Fort	Hector McKenzie Clk.
Warden of the Plains	Cuthbert Grant

Resolved 40. That supplies for the use of the Colony Shop and Indian trade amounting to about 1200 pieces be provided and forwarded on Freight and that the Establishment of Servants be as follows Viz.

Fort Garry	6 men
New Fort	2 men

Resolved 41. That the following supplies be procured at the Colony made up in sound and transportable packages at the annexed prices Viz

50 Firkins of Butter @ 7d per lb.
 10 Cwt Beef @ 3d per lb.
 800 Cwt Flour 1st & 2nd Qualities mixed
 including Packing 12/— p. Cwt
 50 Pork Hams @ 6d p. lb.
 40 Cwt. Prime Cured Pork @ 3d p. lb.

Resolved 42. That the crews of 8 Boats be engaged for the season of open water to be employed as may be required at £16 for Steersman, £14 for Bowsman and £12 for Middlemen.

Resolved 43. That 20 men be engaged for the McKenzies River transport and other duties that may be required of them for the

season of Open water at £16 for Steersmen £14 for Bowsmen and £12 for Middlemen:

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 44. Lac La Pluie

Fort Frances	Allan McDonell C. F.
	Wm. Sinclair Clk.
White Fish Lake	Thos. Taylor P. M.
Dallas	An Interpreter
Fort Alexander	Wm. Clouston P. M.

Resolved 45. That 200 pieces Goods with a complement of 12 voyaging Servants constitute the Current Outfit; 130 pieces of of these Goods to be taken from York to Norway House in 2 Boats manned by 12 Voyaging Servants and the remaining 70 pieces to be transported to Norway House on Freight, and from Norway House the whole to be transported in 3 Boats manned by 4 men each; The usual quantity of Country produce to be supplied from Red River.

Resolved 46. That the sum of Three Hundred Pounds Stg. be paid by draft on the Governor and Committee to Wm. A. Aitkin Esquire of the American Fur Company having been withdrawn during the past Outfit from the frontier of the Lake Superior, Lac la Pluie, Winipeg and Red River Districts conformably to the terms of an engagement entered into between Governor Simpson and Mr. Aitkin as per correspondence dated "Red River 21st March 1833, the said amount to be charged to the Lac la Pluie Depart Oct 1834.

Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 47. Lac la Pluie

Fort Frances	Wm. Sinclair Clerk
	Thos. Taylor P. M.
	N. Chastellain Int. & 2 men
Fort Alexander	Wm. Clouston P. M.
	Jas. Isbister P. M. & 2 men

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 48. Jack River

Norway House	Donald Ross C. T. & 6 men
Berens River	Robt. Cummings P. M. & 2 men
Nelson River	Thos. Isbister P. M. & 3 men

Resolved 49. That 4 voyaging servants belonging to the District assisted by 10 Indians to be engaged for the Summer be employed in making 2 trips between York and Norway House with 2 Boats in all; 70 of which to form the Outfit of the first & second Posts and 50 pieces for the third post; the remaining 160 pieces Goods on Freight, These Outfits to be taken on the different Posts by Servants of the District assisted by Indians.

Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 50. Jack River

Norway House	Dond Ross C. T. & 6 men
Berens River	Robt. Cummings P. M.
Nelson River	1 man

Serious inconvenience having been experienced from the irregular practice which has hitherto been observed at Norway House of opening Accounts with other Establishments & Servants belonging to other Districts.

Resolved 51. That with the exception of Red River produce no supplies of any description be given either to Districts or Servants belonging to other Establishmts.

Resolved 52. That Norway House be considered the Depot of Athabasca District and that the Outfit and supplies for Servants be forwarded from York Factory, the freight of which to be chargeable to Athabasca District and the Norway House be allowed 12½ p. Cent. advance upon York or Inventory prices on sales to Servants in order to cover all charges of Storage Packing &c.

As it is found that much irregularity and inconvenience arise from the circumstance of Gentlemen in charge of Brigades making up the Lading of Craft leaving Norway House to York without consulting the Gentleman in charge of Norway House who is in regular communication with the Gentleman in charge of York Depot on the subject It is

Resolved 53. That in order to guard against a re-currence of such irregularity and inconvenience the ladings of all down-going Craft from Norway House to York be regulated in regard to the description of Cargo by the Gentleman in charge of Norway House who must prepare correct Bills of Lading of all such Cargoes amounting to 65 pieces from Norway House; 5 of which to be left at Oxford and the remaining 60 delivered at York one Copy of the Bills of Lading to be forwarded with the Craft to York and another to be retained at Norway House.

Resolved 54. That the two-decked Vessels be laid up for the ensuing Winter at Red River and the Crews employed there as may be required.

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 55. Island Lake

Oxford House	John Charles C. F.
Island Lake	Wm. McKay P. M.

Resolved 56. That about 80 pieces Goods to be transported from the Depot in a Boat manned by 7 men constitute the Current Outfit of this District.

Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 57. Island Lake

Oxford House	Wm. McKay P. M. & 1 man
Island Lake	1 man

Resolved 58. That Chief Factor John Charles be directed to employ 4 Boats manned by 32 Indians and a Guide in performing a double trip between the Depot and Norway House, in the transport of Goods and Returns the lading of each Boat upwards p. trip to be 80 and downwards 70 pieces; 5 of which to be left at Oxford House and the remaining 65 ps. p. Boat to be deliverable at York.

Winter & Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 59. York

York Factory	James Hargrave C. T. John Ballenden Clerk E. H. Whiffen Surgeon Joseph Charles Clk. Wm. McTavish Clk. John Rendall P. M.
Churchill	Robert Harding Clk.
Severn	Robert Wilson P. M.

Resolved 60. That Chief Factor Christie be directed to conduct the Summer Depot business as usual; and owing to the very irregular manner in which the Pack store business has been conducted during the 3 past years That Chief Factor Charles be appointed to the management of that Department during the ensuing Summer and that Chief Factor Christie be authorized to avail himself of the services of the 2 most efficient Clerks who may visit York this season to attend to the business of the Sale Shops which have by no means been in a regular State of late.

Resolved 61. That 30 men including Mechanics constitute the Winter & Summer Establishment of York Factory.

Resolved 62. That a scale of allowances forwarded by Governor Simpson to the depots in the Northern, Southern, Montreal and Columbia Departments last winter be hereafter acted on likewise the instructions contained in that Gentleman's circular of 15th December 1834 on the same subject addressed to the Gentlemen in charge of those Depots.

Resolved 63. That 4 men constitute the Summer Establishment of Churchill, with an Outfit amounting to about 100 pieces Goods & Provisions, and in order to encourage the Oil Trade, the Frances Schooner be attached to that Post the Master and Crew of 5 men including a Cooper with one man belonging to the Post to be employed during the months of June and July in fishing and preparing the Oil at Seal River; In August the Ves-

sel to proceed to York with the Returns: thence to Severn with the Outfit for that Post and for the Returns which are to be taken to the Depot where the Schooner will be employed until the 15th September in discharging and re-loading the Ship from Europe and then return to Churchill with the Outfit of that Post where she will be laid up for the Winter and the Master and Crew be employed as the Clerk in charge may consider expedient.

Resolved 64. That 60 pieces Goods & Provisions with three Servants constitute the Current Outfit of Severn and that Robert Wilson Postmaster with one of these Servants remain at the Post during the Summer. and the other two proceed to York early in June for the purpose of being employed there during the Summer.

Resolved 65. Columbia Arrangements.

Fort Vancouver.....	John McLoughlin C. F.
	Duncan Finlayson do
	Robert Cowie C. Trader
	James Douglas do
	George T. Allan Clerk
	Benjamin McKenzie do
	Meredith Gardner M. D.
Fort Colville	Archibald McDonald C. Trader
Coutanais Post.....	Alexander Anderson Clerk
Flatheads	Fras Ermatinger do
Thompsons River	Samuel Black C. Trader
Okanagan.....	An Interpreter
Nez Perceez	P. C. Pambrun Clerk
Nisqually.....	Wm. Kitson do
Fort Langley, Whitby's Island.....	J. M. Yale do
Fort Simpson Nass.....	James Birnie do
	John Kennedy Surgeon
Fort McLoughlin (Millbanke)	
	Donald Manson Clk
	Wm. T. Tolmie Surgeon
Umpqua Expedition.....	John McLeod C. Trader
	Michel Leframboise Intr
Coasting Trade	John Work C. Trader
Disposable.....	John Tod do
	W. G. Rae do
Shipping Dryade	Chas. Kipling Commander
	George Langley 1st Mate
	2nd do
Lama.....	Wm. H. McNeil Commander
	Jas. Scarborough 1st mate
	Alexander Lattey 2nd do
Cadboro.....	Alexander Duncan Commander

Wm. Heath 1st Mate
James Sangster 2nd do

Resolved 66. That it be discretionary with Chief Factor McLoughlin to make the appointments of those Gentlemen as he may consider expedient.

Resolved 67. That 12 men be provided for this District to accompany the Saskatchewan Brigade under the charge of Chief Factor Rowand until they reach Edmonton and from thence proceed under the charge of Chief Factor Finlayson to Vancouver unless he may receive instructions from Chief Factor McLoughlin *en route* by which he will regulate his movements.

Resolved 68. That Chief Factor McLoughlin take the necessary steps to employ the Shipping in the coasting and timber trade and to carry into effect the object noticed in the Governor & Committees Dispatch of 10th December 1834 and in Governor Simpson's Letter of June 1835.

Resolved 69. New Caledonia Arrangements

Stuarts Lake.....	P. S. Ogden Chief Factor
	John McLean Clerk
Frazers Lake.....	Donald McKenzie do
McLeods Lake.....	Paul Fraser do
Alexandria.....	Alexander Fisher Chief Trader
Chilcotens.....	Wm. F. Lane Clerk
Babines.....	Wm. McBean P. M.
Conollys Lake.....	Thomas Dears Clerk
Fort George.....	George Linton Clerk
Disposable	John McIntosh do
	Archibald McDonald do

Resolved 70. That it be discretionary with Chief Factor Ogden to make the appointments of those Gentlemen as he may consider expedient.

Resolved 71. That 5 men be provided for this District to be forwarded by the Columbia Brigade to replace the retiring servants from this District and that they proceed via Thompsons River, Okanagan and Alexandria.

Resolved 72. That Chief Trader Ogden's requisition for leather &c. for the use of New Caledonia District be provided at Jaspers House by Chief Factor Rowand and be forwarded by the ingoing Servants of next year to Tete Jaune Cache where they are to meet a Canoe in the Autumn from New Caledonia for the purpose of transporting it thither.

With reference to further arrangements connected with the Columbia Department generally It is

Resolved 73. That the same be determined by letter to be written by Governor Simpson to the Chief Factors superintending the Columbia & New Caledonia affairs.

Resolved 74. That the annual allowance to the Catholic Mission of Red River Settlement be increased to £100 and that the usual supplies of Tea, Sugar, Wine &c. for the use of the Mission be continued.

Resolved 75. That a further grant of £100 be made to the Catholic Mission of Red River Settlement in aid of the Church now being erected at that place.

The allowance of £50 p. annum usually given to Dr. Bunn for medical advice to the Honorable Company's Establishment at Red River, the retired servants who cannot afford to pay for such and all other Pauper Settlers being insufficient to remunerate him for the time and attention devoted to such professional duty It is

Resolved 76. That the allowance usually given to Dr. Bunn for such services be increased to £100 p. annum commencing with the Outfit terminating 1st Inst.

The very great benefits that are likely to arise connected with the objects of morality, religion and education not only in Red River but through the Country at large from the highly respectable and admirably conducted Boarding School lately established for the instruction of the youth of both sexes under the management of the Reverend Mr. Jones excite feelings of the most lively interest in its favor, and of great solicitude for its prosperity and success which even in a business point of view are very desirable from the large amount of Capital it brings into circulation, while it is highly creditable to the Country and honourable to the Gentlemen who have come forward so handsomely in its support But it is with unfeigned regret we observe that owing to the heavy expense incurred by Mr. Jones in erecting the necessary buildings for this Seminary; it cannot possibly at the present charge for board & education afford remuneration adequate to the labour bestowed by Mr. Jones upon it and the outlay of money it has occasioned to him, and as an increased charge for Board and Education might operate to the prejudice of this Establishment in its infant estate It is

Resolved 77. That an allowance be made to the Reverend Mr. Jones of £100 p. annum in aid of his highly promising Establishment subject to the approbation of the Governor and Committee.

and it is further

Resolved 78. That a vote of thanks be presented to Mr. & Mrs. Jones for the readiness with which they enter into the views and wishes of the Gentlemen in the Country when requested to undertake the formation of such an establishment. for the deep and lively interest they take in the improve-

ment, and the unremitting attention they pay to the health and comfort of the young folk entrusted to their care.

Resolved 79. That a grant of £300 be made towards the expenses of building a Gaol about to be erected at Red River Settlement and in aid of other Public Works in progress there.

Resolved 80. That the engagement of John Ballenden Clerk be renewed for a term of 3 years from the 1st June 1834 at a salary of £100 p. annum and that the engagements of the undermentioned Clerks and Postmasters be renewed from the to their names respectively Viz

1st June 1835 for a term of 3 years at the salaries affixed

George T. Allan	Clerk at £100 p. annum
James Birnie	" " 100 " "
Henry Fisher	" " 100 " "
Richard Grant	" " 100 " "
John Hutchison	" " 100 " "
Wm. F. Lane	" " 100 " "
George Linton	" " 100 " "
John McLean	" " 100 " "
James M. Yale	" " 100 " "
Robert Cummings	P. M. at 40 p. annum
Pierre LeBlanc	" " 75 " "
John R. McKay	" " 50 " "
Wm. McKay	" " 50 " "
John Rendall	" " 50 " "
Robert Wilson	" " 40 " "

Resolved 81. That the engagement of the undermentioned Clerks and Postmasters be renewed for a term of 3 years from 1st June 1836 at salaries affixed to their names respectively

Joseph Charles	Clerk at £100 p. annum
Robert Harding	do " 100 " "
Charles Goulet	P. M. at 35 " "
Wm. McBean	do " 50 " "
Francois Richard	do " 25 " "

Resolved 82. That a gratuity of £50 be given to John Rendall for his exertions in repairing the Ship Prince Rupert at Churchill Summer 1834.

Resolved 83. That the amount of requisition from England for Shipment 1836 Outfit 1837 do not exceed the sum of £28,000 Sterling.

Resolved 84. That no Servants be permitted to settle at Red River Colony unless they become purchasers from the proprietors of soil of at least 50 acres of land at 7/6 per acre. payment thereof to be deposited with the Gentlemen in charge of the Depots to which they have been attached previous to their departure from the Settlement.

Resolved 85. That a Winter Express from the Depot and the Interior be appointed to meet at Carlton; the one to proceed Northward via Isle a la Crosse and Athabasca, and the other Southward via Fort Pelly and Norway House and that all private letters conveyed by the Ship be forwarded from the Depot to Norway House or Cumberland before the closing of the navigation.

Resolved 86. That the Gentleman in charge of Lake Superior District be instructed to forward a Packet from the Sault St. Marys to Red River on the 1st February with all Letters and Papers that may be collected at the Sault or elsewhere within his charge previous to that date and that no other Express be forwarded unless rendered necessary by very important circumstances and that one Packet be sent only from Red River to the Southern Department, Canada and England after the close of the navigation which is to be dispatched on the 1st December unless urgent business should render more frequent communications necessary.

Resolved 87. That the Old Standing Rules and Regulations be recinded; that those which are annexed be considered in force and that they be transmitted to England for confirmation and Printing.

Minutes of Council

1836.

Minutes of Council held at Norway House Northern Department of Ruperts Land on the 21st day of June, One Thousand, Eight hundred and thirty six for the purpose of establishing such Rules and Regulations as may be considered expedient for conducting the business of said Department and in order to investigate the result of the Trade of last year, conformably to the Provisions of a Deed Poll under the seal of The Governor & Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudsons Bay bearing date the 26th day of June One Thousand Eight Hundred and Thirty Four at which were present the following Members Viz—

George Simpson,	Governor in Chief
John Sarles	Chief Factor
John Rowand	do
Allan McDonell	do
Peter W. Dease	do
Donald Ross	Chief Trader
Wm. Todd	do
Richard Grant	do

Resolved 1. That the rotations of Furlough for the Current year 1836 are in favor of Chief Factors William Conolly, John Rowand and James McMillan.

Resolved 2. That Chief Factor Rowand and McMillan having been allowed last year to transfer their rotations of Furlough in advance for the Current year to Chief Factors J. D. Cameron and Joseph Bewley, they are no longer at liberty to avail themselves of such rotations; their services are therefore disposable for the Current Outfit and Chief Factor Conolly having declined availing himself of his rotation of Furlough; his services are likewise disposable and are accordingly made applicable to the Montreal Department.

Resolved 3. That the rotations of Furlough for the Current year 1836 are in favor of Chief Traders Robert Cowie and Donald Ross.

Resolved 4. That Chief Trader Robert Cowie avail himself of his rotation of furlough accordingly and that Chief Trader Donald Ross be permitted to transfer his Rotation of Furlough to Chief Trader Richard Grant.

In order to guard against any misapprehension with respect to the Furloughs for the 3 ensuing years It is

Resolved 5. That they be considered as in favor of Chief Factors Allan McDonell, Peter W. Dease and John Lee Lewes with Chief Traders John Work and William Todd for 1837/38; in favor of Chief Factors Roderick McKenzie, Duncan Finlayson, and Peter Skene Ogden with Chief Traders James Hargrave and Nicol Finlayson for 1838/39; and in favor of Chief Factors J. P. Pruden, Alexr Rodk McLeod and Colin Robertson with Chief Traders Richard Hardisty and John Tod for 1839/40; But as Chief Factor Allen McDonell in 1834/35 Peter W. Dease and J. Lee Lewes 1835/36, likewise C. T. John Tod in 1835/36 have been absent from the Service either on exchanges of Furlough or on account of ill health they be not allowed to take advantage of the rotation of Furlough above stated.

Resolved 6. That an extension of Furlough or leave of absence be accorded to Chief Factors Colin Robertson, John Stuart, James Keith and Joseph Bewley and to Chief Trader Todd until the 25th April 1837 when they are hereby required to present themselves at Lachine for the purpose of proceeding to such Wintering grounds as they may hereafter be appointed to, either by the Governor and Committee or by Governor Simpson in the absence of further instruction from either the Council of the Northern or Southern Department on this subject and with regard to Chief Factor Colin Robertson it is to be understood and intimated to him that should his services not be available next season at the date aforementioned he will be considered as having retired from the Fur Trade.

Resolved 7. That an extension of Furlough for the Current Outfit 1836/37 be afford to Chief Factor William McKintosh in

consideration of his having given his resignation from the service to commence with the 1st June 1837 say Outfit 1837/38.

Resolved 8. That as Chief Factor John Lee Lewes and Chief Trader Francis Hieron will be coming out by the Ship arrive too late to render their services available for the Current Outfit they be allowed leave of absence until the 1st June 1837 and that they be provided with passages to Red River there to Winter at their own expense.

Resolved 9. That the following appointments take place.

Athabasca	Edward Smith C. F.	Colin Campbell C. F.
	Alexr R. McLeod	
McKenzies River		M. McPherson
English River	Rodk McKenzie	
Saskatchewan	J. Rowand	J. E. Harriott
Districts	Chief Factors	Chief Traders
Saskatchewan	J. P. Pruden	
Swan River		William Todd
R. River Settlement	Alexr Christie	
Lac la Pluie	Allan McDonell	
Jack River		Donald Ross
Island Lake	John Charles	
York Factory	James Hargrave C. T.	
		George Gladman
Columbia	John McLoughlin	Saml Black
	Duncan Finlayson	Archd McDond
		John Work
		J. McLeod, Jnr.
		Jas. Douglas
New Caledonia	P. S. Ogden	Alexr Fisher
Arctic Exploring)		
Expedition)	P. W. Dease	

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 10. That the following arrangement take place Viz

Athabasca	Fort Chippewyan	Edwd Smith C. F.
		Fras Butcher Clk.
	Dunvegan	Colin Campbell C. T.
	Vermilion	Chas. Roussin P. M.
	Gt. Slave Lake	A. R. McLeod C. F.

Resolved 11. That 4 Boats 29 men including a Guide and about 250 pieces Goods constitute the Current Outfit for this District.

Resolved 12. That Chief Factor Smith accompany his Brigade to Norway House Depot Summer 1837 for the purpose of attending to the business of the District and that the Commissioned Gentlemen, Clerks and Postmasters remain inland and be appointed C. F. Smith may consider expedient.

The encouragement afforded by Athabasca and McKenzies

River Districts for the assembling of Indians in large bodies at Portage la Loche being found exceedingly injurious to English River District and likely to become dangerous to the passing Brigades It is

Resolved 13. That the Gentlemen in charge of Brigades belonging to those Districts be strictly prohibited from affording any such encouragement in future either by payment on public account or by private payments on the part of the people for assistance in transporting the Outfits or returns on that Portage.

Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 14. Athabasca

Fort Chippewyan	3	men	incg	Intr.
Dunvegan	2	"	"	do
Vermilion	2	"	"	do
Gt. Slave Lake	2	"	"	do

Resolved 15. That Chief Trader Hargrave take the necessary measures to prepare and forward about 200 pieces Goods to Norway House for Athabasca Outfit 1837 by Indians or Red River Carriers.

Resolved 16. That encouragement be afforded for collecting as much dressed Leather, Sinews, Babiche and Packcords as possible and that what cannot be brought to the Depot be carefully laid past inland as a large quantity will be required in the course of 2 or 3 years for New Caledonia.

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 17. McKenzies River

Fort Simpson	Murh McPherson C. T.
	Robt. Campbell P. M.
	Adam McBeath P. M.
Rivire au Laird	Chas. Brisbois Clk
Fort Norman	William Mowat P. M.
Ft. Good Hope	John Bell Clk.
Fort Halkett removed to Deases Lake	

John Hutchison Clk

Resolved 18. That about 250 pieces Goods in 4 Boats navigated by 32 men including the Guide, 25 of whom are Red River men hired for the Trip and 8 men under contract as regular Servants who are intended for the District in order to replace retiring & deceased Servants constitute the Current Outfit.

The Governor and Committee being desirous that a Post should be established as early as possible on Pelly's (supposed Stikine River falling into the Pacific, for the purpose of intercepting the valuable trade which now finds its way to the Coast and there falls into the hands of the Russians and Americans It is

Resolved 19. That an Officer and 6 men be forwarded with Outfit 1837 in order to enable Chief Trader McPherson to establish a post to be called Fort Drew in the Summer of 1838 down that River at a distance of at least 200 miles from Deases Lake.

Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 20. McKenzies River

Ft. Simpson	2	men	ineg.	Intr.
Rivire au Laird	2	"	"	do
Ft. Halkett	3	"	"	do
Ft. Norman	1	"	"	do
Ft. Good Hope	2	"	"	do

Resolved 21. That Chief Trader McPherson accompany his Brigade to Portage la Loche Summer 1837 and that Clerks and Postmasters attached to the District remain inland and be appointed as C. T. Murdoch McPherson may consider expedient.

Resolved 22. That Chief Trader James Hargrave take the necessary measures to prepare and forward in the course of the Summer about 250 pieces Goods to Norway House for McKenzies River Outfit 1837; the same to be transported thence for Portage la Loche in 4 Boats to start on or before the 15th June manned by a Guide and 32 men; of whom 24 are to be engaged for the Trip at Red River; 4 Servants under engagements of not less than 3 years to replace retiring Servants and the remaining 4 to form part of the Establishment of Fort Drew as provided in the 19th Resolved.

In order to save the heavy expense incurred by Canadian Servants coming out too late to retire to Canada the same season It is

Resolved 23. That in future European Servants only be sent into McKenzies River who when they retire will always reach York Factory in time to return to England by the Ship.

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 24. English River

Isle a la Crosse	Rodk McKenzie C. F.
Rapid River	Geo. Deschambeault Clk
Green Lake	Thos. Hodgson
Cumberland	Chas. Ross Clerk
Moose Lake	John Ballendine P. M.

Resolved 25. That about 120 pieces Goods for the three first Posts and 50 pieces for the two last Posts constitute the Current Outfit for this District to be taken inland by 3 Boats navigated by 17 servants including the Guide 13 of whom to be distributed among the 3 first Posts and the remaining 4 to be attached to Cumberland and Moose Lake and as 4 Boats and 20 men will be required for the transport of the returns; the remaining 3 men to be made by Indians hired for the Trip.

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 26. English River

Isle a la Crosse Geo. Deschambeault and 2 men

Rapid River 1 man

Cumberland Ho. Clerk & 1 man

Resolved 27. That a quantity of dried Provisions equal to 80 Bags Pemican be provided and forthcoming for the use of the outward and inward bound Northern Craft Spring and Summer 1837.

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 28. Saskatchewan

Edmonton

John Rowand C. F.

William Thew Clerk

Carlton

J. P. Pruden C. T.

Rocky Mtn Ho.

J. E. Harriott do

Patk Small Clerk

Fort Assiniboine

John Rowand Junior P. M.

Jaspers House

An Interpreter

Lesser Slave Lake

Geo. McDougall Clk

Fort Pitt

Henry Fisher do

Resolved 29. That about 500 pieces Goods in 9 Boats manned by 40 servants belonging to the District constitute the Current Outfit and that the Crews be made up by ingoing servants belonging to the Columbia and New Caledonia Districts and as be the foregoing arrangements; the Saskatchewan Brigade is relieved of the Cumberland transport, the cargoes from York to be made up to 70 pieces Goods per Boat in freight to Norway House.

Resolved 30. That 600 Bags Pemican be provided by the Saskatchewan District for the service of next year 100 Bags of which to be left at Cumberland and the remainder taken to Norway House and that all the surplus Grease collected in the District be brought to the Depot in a clean and rendered state for exportation.

Resolved 31. That a Boat and 2 men be left at York for the purpose of conveying 12 of the Servants coming from Europe by the Ship inland where it is intended they shall pass the Winter and be brought to the Depot next Summer for general distribution.

Resolved 32. That the New Caledonia Requisition for Leather &c. be provided at Jaspers House; to be taken thither in the course, of next Summer by six of the recruits coming by the Ship and to be forwarded as supernumeraries this ensuing Fall these men to remain inland and to be appointed to the Columbia Department next year, the Leather to be transported from Jaspers House by the Columbia Portage to Okanagan.

Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 33. Saskatchewan

Edmonton	J. E. Harriott C. T.) Patk Small Clk.) & 12 men)
Carlton	J. P. Pruden C. F. & 7 men
Ft. Assiniboine	An Interpr & 1 man
Lesser Slave Lake	William Thew Clk 2 do
Fort Pitt	Henry Fisher do 4 do

Resolved 34. That all commissioned Gentlemen, Clerks and Postmasters attached to this District remain inland and be appointed as the Chief Factor superintending the District may consider expedient unless the services of one or more Clerks be required to accompany the Brigade to the Depot.

Resolved 35. That the requisite number of Horses be provided at Edmonton for the transport of the Columbia property to Fort Assiniboine; the charge of transport to be 5/— for each piece of 90 lbs. weight; and that Craft be always in readiness at Fort Assiniboine and the Rocky Mountain House for the convenience of people and property belonging to the Columbia Department.

Resolved 36. That Chief Factor Rowand be instructed to provide 12 new Boats of not less than 28 feet Keel for general distribution at Norway House.

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 37. Swan River

Fort Pelly	William Todd C. T. Chas. Goulet P. M.
Fort Ellice	J. R. McKay do
Manitobah	Frs Richard do
Shoal River	A Labourer

Resolved 38. That about 200 pieces Goods constitute the Current Outfit for this District with 15 voyaging Servants 100 Pieces of these Goods to be taken from the Depot in 2 Boats for the trade of Fort Pelly, Manitobah and Shoal River Posts and the remainder to be forwarded to Red River Settlement for the trade of Fort Ellice; the Crews of these Boats to be made up to 6 men each by Trippers and the Cargoes to 70 pieces p. Boat by Goods on freight to Norway House.

Resolved 39. That Chief Trader Todd take the necessary steps to provide 300 bushels of salt for the use of Red River Settlement deliverable at the north end of Manitobah Portage from whence it will be removed in the course of the season; price not to exceed 8/— p. Bushel, and 50 Bushels to be delivered at Norway House for general distribution.

Summer Arrangements.

- Resolved 40. Swan River
 Fort Pelly Charles Goulet P. M. & 2 men
 Fort Ellice J. R. McKay P. M. & 7 do
 Manitobah Frs. Richard P. M.
 Shoal River A Labourer

Resolved 41. That greater encouragement than heretofore be given for the trade in Buffalo Robes which from the want of such encouragement falls into the hands of the American Traders on the Missouri.

Winter Arrangements.

- Resolved 42. Red River Sett.
 Fort Garry Alexr Christie C. F.
 John Ballenden Clk.
 Hector McKenzie do
 Pierre LeBlanc P. M.
 George Taylor Surveyor
 New Fort George Setter P. M.
 Warden of the Plains Cuthbert Grant

Resolved 43. That supplies for the use of the Colony Shop and Indian trade amounting to about 160 pieces be provided and forwarded on Freight, and that the Establishment of Servants be as follows Viz

Fort Garry 3 servants
 New Fort 2 do

Resolved 44. That tradesmen and Laborers be employed in erecting and completing the necessary building of the New Establishment of Fort Garry and that a sufficient quantity of stone be quarried and hauled in the Winter for the Bastions and surrounding Walls.

Resolved 45. That agreeably to the second Paragraph of the Governor and Committee's Dispatch of 9th March last; the necessary measures be taken to form an Agricultural Establishment on a large scale for the purpose of rearing Sheep and for the growth of Flax and Hemp (with a view of an Export trade) under the management of Mr. Carey, and that Chief Factor Christie concert measures with Chief Trader Hargrave for the conveyance of the Gentleman and the people who may accompany him to the Settlement and for providing iron-works and implements of Agriculture &c. &c. for the object noticed in that Dispatch.

Resolved 46. That the following supplies be provided at The Colony for exportation to Norway House Summer 1837 made up in sound & transportable Packages, at the annexed prices Viz

10 Cwt Beef 3d p. lb.

Resolved 52. That the sum of Three hundred Pounds Sterling be paid by draft on the Governor and Committee to William A. Aitken Esqre of the American Fur Company in consideration of the opposition having been withdrawn during the past Outfit from the frontiers of the Lake Superior, Lac la Pluie, Winipeg and Red River Districts conformably to the terms of an agreement entered into between Governor Simpson and Mr. Aitken as per correspondence dated Red River 21st March

1833; the said amount to be charged to the Lac la Pluie department.

Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 53. Lac la Pluie

Fort Frances

Thos Taylor P. M.
Chastellain Intr & 2 men

Ft. Alexander

Dond McKenzie Clk.
J. Isbister Intr & 2 men

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 54. Jack River

Norway House

Dond Ross C. T.
Thos Isbister P. M.)
and 6 men)

Berens River Robt. Cummings P. M. & 2 men

Nelson River John Isbister P. M. & 3 men

Resolved 55. That 4 voyaging Servants belonging to the District assisted by 20 Indians to be engaged for that purpose be employed in making one trip between York and Norway House with 3 Boats carrying 80 pieces each pr. trip upward or 240 pieces in all, 70 pieces of which to form the Outfit for the 1st and 2nd Posts and 50 pieces for the 3rd Post the remaining 120 pieces Goods on freight. These Outfits to be taken on the different Posts by the servants of the District assisted by Indians.

Summer Arrangements

Resolved 56. Jack River

Norway House

Donald Ross C. T.)
Thos Isbister P. M.
and 6 men)

Berens River Robt. Cummings P. M. & 1 man

Nelson River John Isbister P. M.

Resolved 57. That with the exception of Red River produce no supplies of any description be given either to Districts or Servants from this Establishment.

Resolved 58. That Norway House be considered as the Depot for Athabasca District and that the Outfit and supplies for servants be forwarded from York Factory the freight thereof to be chargeable to Athabasca District and that Norway House be allowed 12½ p. Cent advance upon York or Inventory prices, on sales to Servants in order to cover all charges of Storage Packings &c.

As it is found much irregularity and inconvenience arise from the circumstance of Gentlemen in charge of Brigades making up the ladings of Craft, going from Norway House to York without consulting or being influenced by the Gentleman in charge of Norway House who is in regular communication with the Gentleman in charge of York Depot, on that subject It is,

Resolved 59. That in order to guard against a recurrence of such irregularity and inconvenience, the ladings of all down-going Craft from Norway House to York be regulated in regard to the description of Cargo by the Gentleman in charge of Norway House who must prepare correct Bills of Lading of all such Cargoes amounting to 65 pieces, from Norway House; 5 of which to be left at Oxford and the remaining 60 to be delivered at York; one Copy of the Bills of Lading to be forwarded with the Craft to York and another to be retained at Norway House.

Resolved 60. That the two decked Vessels be laid up the ensuing Winter at Norway House there to undergo a thorough repair and that the Crews be employed as may be required.

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 61. Island Lake

Oxford House

Island Lake

J. Charles C. F.

Wm. McKay P. M.

Resolved 62. That about 80 pieces Goods to be transported from the Depot in a Boat manned by 7 men constitute the Current Outfit of this District.

Summer Arrangements

Resolved 63. Island Lake

Oxford House

Island Lake

Wm. McKay P. M. & 1 man

1 do

Resolved 64. That Chief Factor Charles be directed to employ 4 Boats manned by 32 Indians and a Guide in performing a double trip between the Depot and Norway House and the transport of Goods and Returns; the lading of each Boat upwards to be 80 and downwards 70 pieces, 5 of which to be left at Oxford House and the remaining 65 pieces p. Boat to be delivered at York.

Winter & Summer Arrangements

Resolved 65. York

York Factory

Churchill

Severn

James Hargrave C. T.

George Gladman do

E. H. Whiffen Surgeon

Wm. McTavish Clk

George Rendall P. M.

Robert Harding Clk

Robert Wilson P. M.

Resolved 66. That Chief Factor Charles be appointed to the management of the Fur Stores during the ensuing Summer; and Chief Trader Hargrave be authorized to avail himself of the services of the most efficient Clerks who may visit York this season to attend to the business of the sale shops.

Resolved 67. That 30 men including Mechanics and the crew of the Schooner Frances constitute the Winter and Summer Establishment of York Factory.

Resolved 68. That 6 men constitute the Winter & Summer Establishment of Churchill with an Outfit amounting to about 100 pieces Goods and provisions to be transported from York during the summer by the Frances Schooner.

Resolved 69. That 60 pieces Goods and Provisions with 3 Servants constitute the Current Outfit of Severn and that Robert Wilson Postmaster with one of these Servants remain at the Post during the Summer and the other two proceed to York early in June for the purpose of being employed there during the Summer.

Resolved 70. Columbia Arrangements

Fort Vancouver	John McLoughlin C. Factor
	Duncan Finlayson do
	James Douglas C. Trader
	The Revd Mr. Beaver Chaplain
	George T. Allan Clerk
	Benjm McKenzie do
	Meredith Gardner M. D.
Fort, Colville	Archd McDonald C. Trader
Coutonais	Wm. G. Rae Clerk
Flat Heads	Fras Ermatinger do
Thompsons River	Samuel Black C. Trader
Okanagan	An Interpreter
Nez Perceez	P. C. Pambrun Clerk
Nasqually	William Kittson do
Fort Langley	J. M. Yale do
Ft. Simpson (Nass)	James Birnie do
	John Kennedy Surgeon
Ft. McLoughlin (Milbank)	Dond Manson Clk
	Wm. F. Tolmie Surgeon
Umpqua Expedition	John McLeod Jnr C. T.
	Michel Leframboise Intr
Coasting Trade	John Work C. Trader
Shipping Beaver Steamer	Captn D. Holme
	1st Mate
	2nd do
Nereide	Commander
	1st Mate
	2nd do
Lama	Wm. H. McNeil Commr
	Jas. Scarborough 1st Mate
	Alexr Lattey 2nd do
Cadboro	Commander

Wm. Heath 1st Mate

Jas. Sangster 2nd do

Resolved 71. That it be discretionary with Chief Factor McLoughlin to make the appointments of those Gentlemen as he may consider expedient.

Resolved 72. That 20 men be provided for this District to accompany the Saskatchewan Brigade under the charge of Chief Factor Rowand until they reach Edmonton and from thence proceed under the charge of Mr. Benjamin McKenzie to Vancouver unless he may receive further instructions from Chief Factor McLoughlin en route by which he will regulate his movements.

Resolved 73. That Chief Factor McLoughlin take the necessary steps to employ the Shipping on the Coasting and Timber trade and to carry into effect the objects noticed in the Governor and Committee's Dispatches of 28th August, 8th December 1835 and 10th Feby 1836 and in Governor Simpson's Letter of 25th June 1836.

Resolved 74. New Caledonia Arrangements

Stuarts Lake	Peter S. Ogden Chief Factor
	Alexr Anderson Clerk
Frasers Lake	Archd McKinley do
McLeods Lake	Paul Fraser do
Alexandria	Alexr Fisher Chief Trader
Chilcotins	Wm. F. Lane Clerk
Babines	Wm. McBean Postmaster
Conollys Lake	John McKintosh Clerk
Fort George	John McLean do

Resolved 75. That it be discretionary with Chief Factor Ogden to make the appointments of those Gentlemen as he may consider expedient.

Resolved 76. That men be provided for this District to be forwarded by the Columbia Brigade to replace the retiring Servants from this District and that they proceed via Okanagan, Thompsons River and Alexandria.

Resolved 77. That Chief Factor Ogden's requisition for Leather &c. be provided at Jaspers House by Chief Factor Rowand and be forwarded by the Columbia Postage to Okanagan.

With reference to further arrangements connected with the Columbia department generally

Resolved 78. That the same be determined by Letters to be written by Governor Simpson to the Gentlemen superintending the Columbia and New Caledonia affairs.

The delineations of the unexplored portions of the Arctic Coast westward of McKenzies River and Eastward of Point-turnagain being an object that has for a long time excited the

most lively interest in the public mind and has called forth the energies of many enterprising and scientific men whose exertions have neverthe-less been unsuccessful It is

Resolved 79. That Expedition be fitted out for that purpose by The Honourable Hudsons Bay Company to consist of Chief Factor Warren Dease and Mr. Thomas Simpson with a party of 12 men and that they be provided with such Craft, Provisions and other supplies as may be required to accomplish that desirable object agreeably to the plans submitted by these Gentlemen to Council.

Resolved 80. That the Gentlemen in charge of the Districts and Posts of Athabasca and McKenzies River comply with any demands whatsoever connected with their respective charges that may be made upon them by Chief Factor Dease or in his absence by Mr. Thomas Simpson.

Mr. Chief Trader Herons intemperate habits having of late become so notorious as to be the subject of general remark among all classes throughout the Country It is

Resolved 81. That a circular be addressed to the different Gentlemen in charge of Districts to state in writing what may have come to their knowledge in regard to his habits in that respect and to produce evidence with a view to substantiate such statements, and that Mr. Heron be provided with a copy of this Minutes in order to prepare himself to meet such charge as may be preferred against him before the Council of the Northern Department at its sitting of next year.

Resolved 82. That the usual allowance of £100 with the usual allowance of Tea, Sugar, &c. be made to the Catholic Mission of Red River for the Current Outfit.

Resolved 83. That an allowance of £100 be made to Dr. Bunn for Medical attendance on the Honourable Company's Establishments at Red River; the retired Servants who cannot afford to pay for such and all other pauper Settlers for the Current Outfit.

Resolved 84. That an allowance be made to the Revd Mr. Jones of £100 in aid of the Boarding Schools under his direction for the Current Outfit.

Resolved 85. That the Engagements of the undermentioned Clerks and Postmasters be renewed for a term of 3 years from the date and salaries affixed to their names respectively, Viz

William G. Rae	from 1st June 1835 at	£100 p. annum
Alexr C. Anderson	from 1st June 1836 at	75 p. annum
Henry Fisher	" " " " "	100 " "
William Kittson	" " " " "	100 " "
George McDougall	" " " " "	100 " "
John McKintosh	" " " " "	75 " "

Thomas McKay	"	"	"	"	"	100	"	"
John McKay	"	"	"	"	"	60	"	"
Adam McBeath P. M	"	"	"	"	"	35	"	"
George Setter	"	"	"	"	"	60	"	"
John Ballenden Clk					1837	100	"	"
John Bell Clk				"	"	100	"	"
John J. Bird	"			"	"	100	"	"
Geo. Deschambeault	"	"	"	"	"	100	"	"
Fras Ermatinger	"	"	"	"	"	100	"	"
Paul Fraser	"	"	"	"	"	100	"	"
Donald McKenzie	"	"	"	"	"	100	"	"
Archd McKinley	"	"	"	"	"	75	"	"
Donald Manson	"	"	"	"	"	100	"	"
P. C. Pambrun	"	"	"	"	"	100	"	"
Thomas Simpson	"	"	"	"	"	100	"	"
William Sinclair	"	"	"	"	"	100	"	"
George Taylor	"	"	"	"	"	100	"	"
Thomas Taylor P.M.	"	"	"	"	"	50	"	"
James McKenzie Agent Quebec	"	"	"	"	"	250	"	"

Resolved 86. That the amount of Requisition from England for Shipment 1837 Outfit 1838 do not exceed the sum of Twenty Five thousand Pounds Sterling.

Resolved 87. That 20 Orkney Servants be indented for the Northern Department on Engagements of Five Years as follows Viz
 10 young laboring Servants at not exceeding £16 p. annum
 5 men accustomed to Boating, Fishing & Slooping £20 p. annum
 2 experienced Boatbuilders at not exceeding 25 "
 1 Cooper at not exceeding 25 "
 2 Blacksmiths at not exceeding 25 "

Resolved 88. That 20 Canadian Servants be indented for the Northern Department on Engagements of not less than 3 years as follows, 18 young Servants at £17 Wages, 2 Blacksmiths at £25 Wages

Resolved 89. That no Servants be permitted to settle at Red River Colony unless they become purchasers from the proprietors of the soil of at least 50 acres of Land at 7/6 p. acre; payment thereof to be deposited with the Gentleman in charge of the Depot to which they have been attached previous to their departure for the Settlement.

Resolved 90. That all inland Boats be at least 28 ft. Keel with proportionable beam, so as to stow 80 pieces assorted Cargo and if of less dimensions no credit to be allowed for them in Transfers.

Resolved 91. That no common Cub Bear Skin be traded as in the English Market they barely fetch the duties and that the Indians be instructed not to scrape the Swan skins so much as

they have been in the habit of doing which deteriorates their value about 25 p. Cent.

Resolved 92. That the Esquimaux Brig which is to be sent back from York factory to Ungava with the Outfit and for the Returns of that District be fitted up Deals, Bark and about 50 pieces of Flour, Grease, Pemican or such other provisions as can be spared, and any old ironworks or other unsaleable Goods at York factory which are likely to find a market among the Esquimaux with 4 active servants under Engagements of not less than 3 years to fill up Vacancies.

With reference to the 7th Paragraph of the Governor and Committees Dispatch of 9th March last in regard to Mr. Simon McGillivray's request for re-admission into the service in the capacity of Clerk at a salary of £150 p. annum with an understanding that favorable consideration will be given to any recommendation that may be made by the Councils of the Northern and Southern Departments to appoint him to the first vacancy that may occur in the class of Chief Traders.

Resolved 93. That the Gentleman's case as above stated be recommended to the favorable consideration of The Governor & Committee accordingly.

With reference to the 24th Resolution of the Standing Rules and Regulations; the following lists of Servants whose wages for Outfit 1834 exceeded the standard scale and were accordingly debited to the private accounts of the Gentlemen authorizing them Viz

Debited Mr. C. F. Cameron

John Cromartie engaged at £30 as House Carptr)

his former wages being only £25) £5

Frs. X Richard Gratuity for extra services 3—£8

Debited Mr. C. F. McKenzie

Joseph Roy Gratuity in addition to former wages of £30—£5

Debited Mr. C. F. Rowand

Philip Brien dit Derocher Gratuity for extra services £1

Hugh Fraser do 1

Edouard Gilbault do 2

Richard Layland do 3

Wm. McMillan do 2

Augustin Racette Extra Wages p. Engagement 3

Augustin Valle do 5—£17

Debited Mr. C. T. Donald Ross

Thomas Harper Gratuity as Steersman £2

Joseph Laverdure Gratuity as Fisherman £2

John Spence " " " £2

Edward Moody " " " 2—£8

Debited Mr. C. F. Charles

Francois McRedi extra wages as Fisherman	£3
Debited Mr. C. F. Smith	
Antoine Cataphaeir Gratuity	£3
Emanuel Cournoyer (6) "	2—£5
Debited Mr. C. F. Stuart	
Charles Forrest extra wages as Postmaster	£10
John Norquay " " as Fisherman	1—£11

The foregoing having been duly considered It is

Resolved 94. That Chief Factor J. D. Cameron's private account be charged with £5 for Outfit 1834 paid to John Cromartie; such extra wages being considered unnecessary. That Chief Factor John Rowand's private account be charged with to paid to Augustin Valle such extra wages being given without consulting the Governor and Council contrary to the Standing Rules and Regulations; but that the said Augustin Valle be re-engaged from 1st June 1835 at £30 p. annum wages; That Chief Factor John Stuart's private Account be charged with £10 for Outfit 1834 paid to Charles Forrest; such extra wages having been given without the authority of the Governor and Council and contrary to the Regulations of the Service.

That the different other charges noticed in that list as being charged to private account for Outfit 1834 be written back and credited to the parties satisfactory reasons having been given for such deviations from the established Regulations.

Chief Factor Stuart having without any authority from the Council and without any necessity for so doing, engaged Charles Forest a labourer in capacity of Postmaster for a term of 3 years at a salary of £40 p. an. It is

Resolved 95. That the said Charles Forrest be credited with the amount of his wages p. Engagement for Outfits 1835/36 & 1836/37; and that the same be debited to the private account of Chief Factor Stuart giving him credit for the value of any services he may render during Outfit 1836/37 while attached to Lac la Pluie District.

With reference to the 20th Resolution of the Standing Rules and Regulations It is

Resolved 96. That the Wages of Fishermen employed at such Posts as are dependent entirely or principally on Fish be £19 instead of £17 p. annum wages; but that no more than one person at each Post so maintained shall be allowed such extra pay and that Blacksmiths at inland Posts be allowed £25 p. annum instead of the wages of the Steersmen of the District.

With reference to the 23rd Resolution of the Standing Rules and Regulations It is

Resolved 97. That the wages of a Servant acting in the capacity of Cook or Gentleman's waiting man shall in no case be al-

lowed to exceed £17 p. annum or the usual wages of a Middleman of the District in which he serves and that the additional Gratuity heretofore given to persons acting in that capacity shall in future be allowed only to servants who on the Summer Voyage to and from the Wintering grounds act in the capacity of Cook or waiting man independent of his duty as one of the regular crew of the Craft in which he may be employed except the Cooks or waiting men employed at the Depot of York Factory, Vancouver, Moose and Norway House and at Fort Garry Red River Settlement.

With further reference to the 24th Resolution of the Standing Rules and Regulations It is

Resolved 98. That the accountant of the different Depts instead of debiting the private account of Gentlemen deviating from the instructions contained in the Resolutions on the subject of Servants Wages Gratuities &c. with extra wages or Gratuities be instructed to forward to the Governor & Council annually a list of such extra wages or Gratuities to be considered and determined on by the Council previous to being charged to private Account.

Resolved 99. That a Winter Express from the Depot and the interior be appointed to meet at Carlton; the one to proceed northward via Isle a la Crosse and Athabasca and the other southward via Fort Pelly and Norway House; and that all private Letters conveyed by the Ship be forwarded from the Depot to Norway House or Cumberland before the closing of the navigation.

Resolved 100. That the Gentleman in charge of Lake Superior Department be instructed to forward a Packet from the Sault St. Marys to Red River on the 1st of February with all Letters and Papers that may be collected at the Sault or elsewhere within his charge previous to that date and that no other Express be forwarded unless rendered necessary by very important circumstances.

That a Packet to England from Red River be sent on the 1st November via St. Peters and that a Duplicate Dispatch together with any subsequent information that may occur be forwarded by Lac la Pluie on the 1st December.

Resolved 101. That this arrangement be understood as not interfering with the usual Winter communications by the Coast which should be alternately from the Depots of Moose and York on the 1st December.

Resolved 102. That the annexed revised Standing Rules and Regulations be considered in force and acted upon accordingly until recinded.

Resolved 103. That this Council do now adjourn.

(Signed)	George Simpson	Governor
	John Charles	Chief Factor
	John Rowand	do
	Peter W. Dease	do
	Allan McDonell	do
	Donald Ross	Chief Trader
	William Todd	do
	Richard Grant	do

Norway House 24th June, 1836.

Minutes of Council 1837

Minutes of a Council held at Norway House Northern Department of Ruperts Land which commenced on the 27th day of June, One Thousand Eight hundred and Thirty seven for the purpose of establishing such Rules and Regulations as may be considered expedient for conducting the business of said department; and in order to investigate the trade of last year conformably to the Provisions of a Deed Poll under the seal of the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudsons Bay bearing date the 6th day of June One Thousand Eight hundred and Thirty Four, at which were present the following members.

George Simpson	Governor in Chief
John Charles	Chief Factor
John Rowand	Do
Allan McDonell	Do
John Lee Lewes	Do
Roderick McKenzie	Do
Duncan Finlayson	Do
Donald Ross	Chief Trader

Resolved 1. That the other Chief Traders be invited to attend and in consequence the following were present, William Todd and James Hargrave.

Resolved 2. That the rotations of Furlough for the Current year 1837 are in favor of Chief Factors Allan McDonell, P. W. Dease and John Lee Lewes.

Resolved 3. That Chief Factors Allan McDonell, P. W. Dease and John Lee Lewes having been permitted to enjoy the benefit of their rotations in anticipation, they are no longer at liberty to avail themselves thereof; that of Allan McDonell is therefore afforded to Edward Smith; that of P. W. Dease to Duncan Finlayson and that of John Lee Lewes to James McMillan.

Resolved 4. That the rotations of Furlough for the current year 1837 are in favor of Chief Traders John Work and William Todd

who do not avail themselves thereof; they are therefore transferred to James Hargrave and Nicol Finlayson.

Resolved 5. That an extension of Furlough or leave of absence be afforded to Chief Factor John Stuart, and to Chief Traders Hugh Faries, Cuthbert Cummings, Francis Heron and John Tod until 25th April 1838 when they are hereby directed to present themselves at Lachine for the purpose of proceeding to such Wintering Grounds as they may hereafter be appointed to, either by the Governor & Committee or by the Governor and Council in the absence of further instructions from either the Council of the Northern and Southern Departments on this subject.

In order to guard against any misapprehension with regard to the Furloughs for the three ensuing years It is

Resolved 6. That they be considered as in favor of Chief Factors Roderick McKenzie, Duncan Finlayson and Peter S. Ogden with Chief Traders James Hargrave and Nicol Finlayson for 1838/39; in favor of Chief Factors Alexr R. McLeod, Colin Robertson and John George McTavish with Chief Traders Richard Hardisty and John Tod for 1839/40, and in favor of Chief Factors George Keith, J. D. Cameron and John Charles with Chief Traders John McLeod Junr. and Murdoch McPherson for 1840/41 but that as Chief Factors Duncan Finlayson in 1837/38, Colin Robertson in 1832/33, 1833/34, 1834/35, 1835-36 and 1836/37 and J. D. Cameron in 1835/36, likewise Chief Traders James Hargrave, Nicol Finlayson and John Tod in 1837/38 have been absent from the service either on exchange of Furlough or on account of ill-health, they be not allowed to take advantage of the rotations of Furlough aforesated.

Resolved 7. That Chief Factor John McLoughlin be instructed to proceed to England via Cape Horn agreeably to the instructions contained in the 4th Paragraph of the Governor & Committees Dispatch of Feby. 1837.

Resolved 8. That the following appointments take place:

Districts	Chief Factors	Chief Traders
Athabasca	Alexr R. McLeod	Colin Campbell
McKenzies River		Murdoch McPherson
English River	Rodk McKenzie	
Saskatchewan	John Rowand	J. E. Hariott
	John Lee Lewes	
Swan River	William Todd	
Red River	Alexr Christie	
Lac la Pluie	Allan McDonell	
Norway House		Donald Ross
York	John Charles	Geo. Gladman
		Richard Grant

James Douglas
 John Work
 Robert Cowie
 John McLeod Jr.
 Samuel Black
 Archd McDonald
 Alexr Fisher

New Caledonia P. S. Ogden
 Artic Expedition P. W. Dease

Resolved 9. That the following arrangements take place/

Athabasca	Dunvegan	A. R. McLeod C. F.
	Fort Chippewyan	Colin Campbell C. T.
	Vermilion	Chas. Roussain P. M.
	Great Slave Lake	Francis Butcher Clk.

Resolved 10. That 4 Boats, 29 men including the Guide and about 250 pieces Goods constitute the Current Outfit of this District.

Resolved 11. That Chief Factor Alexr R. McLeod accompany his Brigade to Norway House Summer 1838 for the purpose of attending to the business of the District and that the Commissioned Gentlemen, Clerks and Postmasters attached to the District remain inland and be appointed as Chief Factor McLeod may consider expedient.

The encouragement afforded by Athabasca and McKenzies River Districts for the assembling of Indians in large bodies Portage la Loche being found exceeding injurious to the interests of English River District, and likely to become dangerous to the passing Brigade it is

Resolved 12. That the Gentlemen in charge of Brigades belonging to those District be strictly prohibited from affording such encouragement in future either by payment on public account or by private payment on the part of the people for assistance in transporting the Outfits or Returns on that Portage.

Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 13. Athabasca.

Dunvegan	2 men incg.	Interpreter
Ft. Chippewyan	3 do	do
Vermilion	2 men incg	Interpreter
Gt. Slave Lake	2 do	do

Resolved 14. That Chief Factor Charles take the necessary measures to prepare and forward about 200 pieces Goods to Norway House for Athabasca Outfit 1838 by Indians or Red River Carriers.

Resolved 15. That encouragement be afforded for collecting as much dressed Leather, Sinews, Babiche and Pack Cords as possible; and that what cannot be brought to the Depot be carefully laid past inland, as a large quantity will be required in the the course of two or three years for New Caledonia.

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 16. McKenzies River

Ft. Simpson

Rivre au Laird

Fort Norman

Fort Good Hope

Deases Lake

Murdk McPherson C. T.

Chas. Brisbois Clk.

Adam McBeath P. M.

John Bell Clk.

Robt. Campbell Clk.

A. R. McLeod Jnr.

Resolved 17. That about 250 pieces Goods in 4 Boats navigated by 33 men including the Guide, 27 of whom to be Red River men hired for the trip and 6 men under contract as regular Servants who are intended for the District in order to replace retiring and deceased Servants constitute the Current Outfit.

The extraordinary statement made by Mr. Hutchinson respecting the failure of his Mission on the west branch of the Laird River for the purpose of establishing Deases Lake having been attentively perused and considered to be founded on groundless apprehension It is

Resolved 18. That Chief Trader McPherson take the necessary steps to establish that Post without delay; and that he be instructed to convey to Mr. Robert Campbell the approbation of Council for his spirited offer to conduct that service.

Summer Arrangements

Resolved 19. McKenzie's River

Ft. Simpson

Rivre au Laird

Fort Norman

Ft. Good Hope

Deases Lake

Murdk McPherson C. T.

Chas. Brisbois Clk

Adam McBeath P. Mr.

John Bell Clk.

Robt. Campbell

A. R. McLeod Jnr. Clk

Resolved 20. That Chief Trader McPherson accompany the Brigade to Portage la Loche Summer 1838, and that the Clerks and Postmasters attached to the District remain Inland and be appointed as Chief Factor McPherson may consider expedient.

Resolved 21. That Chief Factor Charles take the necessary measures to prepare and forward in the course of the Summer about 250 ps. Goods to Norway House for Outfit 1838, the same to be transported thence from Portage la Loche in 4 Boats to start on or before the 15th June 1838 manned by a Guide and 28 men, of whom 22 are to be engaged for the trip at Red River, and 6 Servants under engagements of not less than three years to replace retiring Servants.

In order to save the heavy expense incurred by Canadiar Servants coming out from this District too late to retire to Canada the same season It is

Resolved 22. That in future European Servants only be sent to McKenzies River who, when they retire will always reach York Factory in time to return to England by the Ship,

Winter Arrangements

Resolved 23. English River

Isle a la Crosse

Rodk McKenzie C. F.

Rapid River

G. Deschambeault Clk.

Green Lake

Thos. Hodgson Intr

Resolved 24. That 120 pieces Goods in 2 Boats manned by 13 men including the Guide constitute the current Outfit for this District.

Summer Arrangements

Resolved 25. English River

Isle a la Crosse

G. Deschambeault & 2 men

Rapid River

1 man

Resolved 26. That a quantity of dried provisions equal to 80 Bags Pemican be provided and forth coming for the use of the outward and inward bound Northern Craft, Spring and Summer 1838.

Winter Arrangements

Resolved 27. Saskatchewan

Edmonton

John Rowand C. F.

William Thew Clk.

Carlton

Patk Small do

Rocky Mountn Ho.

J. E. Harriott C. T.

Ft. Assiniboine

John Rowand Junr. Clk

Jaspers House

An Interpreter

Lesser Slave Lake

Geo. McDougall Clk

Fort Pitt

Henry Fisher

Cumberland

John Lee Lewes C. F.

Moose Lake

An Interpreter

Resolved 28. That 550 pieces Goods in 9 Boats manned by 46 Servants belonging to the District constitute the Current Outfit and that the Crews be made up by voyaging Servants belonging to the Columbia and New Caledonia Districts.

Resolved 29. That 600 Bags Pemican be provided by the Saskatchewan District for the service of next year; 100 Bags of which to be left at Cumberland and the remainder taken to Norway House; and that all the surplus Grease collected in the District be brought to the Depot in a clean and rendered state for exportation.

Resolved 30. That a Boat and 2 men be left at York for the purpose of conveying 12 of the Servants coming from Europe by the Ship inland; where it is understood they shall pass the Winter. 6 of whom to be brought to the Depot next Summer for general distribution.

Resolved 31. That the New Caledonia requisition for Leather, &c. be provided at Jaspers House to be taken thither in course of next Summer by 6 of the recruits coming by the Ship and to be forwarded as supernumeraries this ensuing Fall, the rest to remain inland and be appointed to the Columbia department next Summer. The Leather &c. to be transported from Jaspers House by the Columbia Portage to Okanagan.

Summer Arrangements

Resolved 32. Saskatchewan

Edmonton	J. E. Harriott C. T.
	J. Rowand Jnr. Clk. & 12 men
Carlton	Patk Small Clk. & 7 men
Ft. Assiniboine	An Interpreter & 1 man
Lesser Slave Lake	Geo. McDougall Clk.
Fort Pitt	Henry Fisher Clk. & 4 men
Jaspers House	An Interpreter and 1 man
Cumberland	J. Lee Lewes C. F. & 2 men

Resolved 33. That the Commissioned Gentlemen, Clerks & Postmasters attached to the District remain inland and be appointed as the Chief Factor superintending the District may consider expedient, unless the services of one or more Clerks be required to accompany the Brigade to the Depot.

Resolved 34. That Chief Factor Rowand be instructed to provide 14 new Boats of not less than 28 feet Keel for general distribution at Norway House.

Winter Arrangements

Resolved 35. Swan River

Fort Pelly	William Todd C. T.
Fort Ellice	J. R. McKay P. M.
Manitobah	Fras Richard do
Shoal River	An Interpreter

Resolved 36. That about 200 pieces Goods constitute the Current Outfit for this District with 15 voyaging Servants, 100 pieces of these Goods to be taken up, from the Depot in 2 Boats for the trade of Fort Pelly, Manitobah and Shoal River Posts and the remainder taken up for the trade of Fort Ellice, the crews of these Boats to be made up of 6 men by Trippers and the Cargoes to be 70 pieces p. Boat by Goods on freight to Norway House.

Resolved 37. That Chief Trader Todd be instructed to take the necessary steps to provide 300 Bushels Salt for the use of Red River Settlement deliverable at the north end of Manitobah Portage from whence it will be removed in course of the season, price not to exceed 8/p. Bushel; and 50 Bushels to be delivered at Norway House for general distribution.

Summer Arrangements

Resolved 38.	Swan River	3 men incg Interpr
	Fort Pelly	J. R. McKay P. M. & 7 men
	Fort Ellice	Frs. Richards P. M.
	Manitobah	A Labourer
	Shoal River	

Winter Arrangements

Resolved 39.	Red River	
	Fort Garry	Alexr Christie C. F.
		John Ballenden Clk/
		Allan McMillan Clk.
	Lower Fort	Hector McKenzie Clk.
		Pierre LeBlanc P. M.
	Warden of the Plains	Cuthbert Grant
	Expermt Farm	Geo. Cary & 15 men

Resolved 40. That the necessary buildings for establishing a Distillery be erected at the Lower Fort.

In order to simplify the accounts of this District which have heretofore been rendered complicated by a variety of Tariffs It is

Resolved 41. That all Goods sold to Officers and Servants likewise such as may be supplied to Districts be charged at the Retail Tariff of the Settlement.

Resolved 42. That Chief Factor Christie be instructed either to hire Tripmen or to contract with Carriers for the transport of Goods for the use of the Settlement between York Factory and Norway House; and in either case that no Indians be employed under any circumstances or any consideration as a means of discouraging the migration of Indians to the Settlement which has of late years taken place to a dangerous extent.

Resolved 43. That supplies for the use of the Colony Shop and Indian Trade amounting to about 1600 pieces be provided and forwarded on Freight; and the Establishment of Servants be as follows.

Forks	3 servants
Lower Fort	2 Do

Resolved 44. That tradesmen and labourers be employed in erecting and completing the necessary buildings for the new Establishment of Fort Garry.

Resolved 45. That the following supplies be provided at the Colony for exportation to Norway House Summer 1838 made up in sound and transportable packages at the annexed prices Viz

10 Cwt Beef @ 3d p. lb.
20 Cwt Bisenit @ 3d p. lb.
50 Firkins Butter @ 7d p. lb.
3 Cwt Cheese @ 6d p. lb.

1000 Cwt 1st & 2nd Flour (kiln dried) 12/— p. Cwt incg
packing

30 Pork Hams @ 6d pr. lb.

10 Cwt Pork @ 3d pr. lb.

15 Assortments Garden Seeds @ 18/— ea.

100 Portage Straps 2/—

Resolved 46. That a Guide and 22 men be engaged for the McKenzies River District transport and the Fall Freight from York to Red River at £25 to the Guide £16 to the Steersman £14 to the Bowsman and £12 to the Middleman.

Resolved 47. That in all cases of payments in Canada for Goods or Cash supplied in Red River; an exchange of 7 p. Cent be added to the Sterling amount before converting it into Halifax Currency.

Winter Arrangements

Resolved 48. Lac la Pluie

Fort Frances

Lac du bois Blanc

Rat Portage

Ft. Alexander

William Sinclair Clk

James Isbister Intr

Dond McKenzie Clk

Allan McDonald C. F.

Charles Forrest P.M.

Resolved 49. That about 300 pieces Goods with a complement of 12 voyaging servants constitute the Current Outfit; 140 pieces of these to be taken from York to Norway House in two Boats manned by 12 voyaging Servants, and the remaining 120 pieces to be transported to Norway House on Freight; and from Norway House the whole to be transported in 4 Boats manned by 3 men each with the assistance of Indians. The usual quantity of Country produce to be supplied from Red River.

Resolved 50. That the sum of Three hundred pounds Sterling be paid by draft on the Governor & Committee to William Aitken Esqre of the American Fur Company in consideration of the opposition having been withdrawn during the past Outfit from the frontiers of Lake Superior, Lac la Pluie, Winipeg and Red River Districts conformably to the terms of an arrangement entered into between Governor Simpson and Mr. Aitken as p. correspondence dated 31st March 1833, the said amount to be charged to Lac la Pluie District Outfit 1836.

Summer Arrangements

Resolved 51. Lac la Pluie

Fort Frances

Ft. Alexander

Rat Portage

Wm. Sinclair & 3 men incl. Intr

A Clk or P. M. & 2 men

do do do

Winter Arrangements

Resolved 52. Norway House

Norway House

Dond. Ross C. T. & 5 men

	& an Appce Clk. from England
Berens River	Robt Cummings P. M. & 2 men
Nelson River	John Isbister do & 3 do

Resolved 53. That 2 voyaging Servants belonging to the District assisted by 22 Indians to be engaged for that purpose be employed in making one trip between York and Norway House with 3 Boats carrying 80 pieces each p. trip upwards; 240 pieces in all; 70 pieces of which to form the Outfits for the first and second Posts and 50 pieces for the third Post; the remaining 120 pieces Goods on Freight, these Outfits to be taken on the different Posts by the Servants of the District assisted by Indians.

Summer Arrangements

Resolved 54. Norway House	
Norway House	Dond Ross C. T. & 5 men
Berens River	Robt. Cummings & 1 man
Nelson River	John Isbister

Resolved 55. That with the exception of Red River produce no supplies of any description be given either to Districts or Servants from this Establishment.

Resolved 56. That the two decked Vessels be laid up for the ensuing Winter at Red River; and that the Crews be employed as may be required.

Winter & Summer Arrangements

Resolved 57. York.	
York Factory	John Charles C. F.
	Richard Grant C. T.
	E. H. Whiffen Surgeon
	William McTavish Clk
	John Randall P. M.
	An Appce Clk from England
Churchill	Robert Harding Clk.
Severn	Robert Wilson P. M.
Oxford House	Geo. Gladman C. T.
Island Lake	Wm. McKay P. M.

Resolved 58. That notwithstanding the appointment of Mr. Gladman to Oxford House it is to be understood his principal duty is that of accountant at York where he is to remain until after the departure of the Ship for England and return to the Establishment by the first craft in Spring.

Resolved 59. That Chief Factor Charles avail himself of the Services of the most efficient person he can find at York for the management of the Fur Store during the Summer.

Resolved 60. That 30 men including Mechanics and the Crew of the Frances Schooner constitute the Summer and Winter Establishment of York Factory.

Fort Colville	Archd McDonald C. T.
Coutonais	Charles Ross Clk.
Flat Heads	Frs. Ermatinger do
Thompsons River	Samuel Black C. T.
Okunagan	An Interpreter
Nez Perce	P. C. Pambrun Clk.
River Roussie	Thomas McKay do
Snake Expedition	John McLeod C. T.
	Dond McLean P. M.

Resolved 67. That it be discretionary with Chief Trader Douglas to make the appointments of the Gentlemen attached to Fort Vancouver and the lower establishments of the Columbia; likewise the Coasting Trade, Expeditions, Shipping &c. as he may consider expedient; and also that it be discretionary with the Senior Commissioned Officer in the upper part of the Columbia to make the appointments of the Gentleman attached to that branch of the business as he may find necessary.

Resolved 68. That 20 men be provided for this District to accompany the Saskatchewan Brigade under the charge of Chief Factor Rowand until they reach Edmonton and from thence proceed under the Charge of Charles Ross to Colville; thence to Vancouver under the charge of John McLoughlin unless these Gentlemen may receive further instructions from Chief Trader Douglas en route by which they will regulate their movements.

Resolved 69. That Chief Trader Douglas take the necessary steps to employ the Shipping in the Coasting & Timber Trades and to carry into effect the objects noticed in the Governor and Committee's Dispatch of 25th January 1837 and in Govr Simpson's letter of 1837.

New Caledonia Arrangements

Resolved 70.

Stuarts Lake	P. S. Ogden C. F. & Archd McKinlay Clk
Frazers Lake	Alexander Anderson Clerk
McLeods Lake	Paul Frazer do
Alexandria	Alexr Fisher C. T.
Chilcotines	Wm. F. Lane, Clk.
Conollys Lake	John McKintosh do
Fort George	Porteous do
Babines	Wm. McBean do

Resolved 71. That it be discretionary with Chief Factor Ogden to make the appointments of those Gentlemen as he may consider expedient.

Resolved 72. That a Blacksmith be provided for the District and that he proceed with Mr. Porteous via Okanagan, Thompson's River and Alexandria.

Resolved 73. That Chief Factor Ogden's requisition for Leather &c be provided at Jaspers House by Chief Factor Rowand and be forwarded by the Columbia Portage to Okanagan.

With reference to further arrangements connected with the District It is

Resolved 74. That the same be determined by Letter to be written C. F. Ogden by Governor Simpson.

Ungava Arrangements

Resolved 75. Ungava.

John McLean Clerk
Erland Erlandson do

Resolved 76. That the Brig Eagle be dispatched as early as the navigation opens with instructs to touch at Ungava; there to land an Outfit for that District and afterwards proceed with the Returns that may be shipped on board of her there for England, taking as passengers to Ungava Mr. McLean and 6 Servants, and from thence any servants retiring to Europe.

Resolved 77. That the Gentlemen in charge of the Districts and Posts of Athabasca and McKenzies river comply with any demands whatsoever connected with their respective charges that may be made by Chief Factor Dease or, in his absence by Mr. Thomas Simpson in aid of the Artic Discovery Expedition.

Chief Factor Heron having obtained leave of absence during the Current year on the ground of indisposition and thereby unable to appear and answer the charges of intemperance brought against him It is

Resolved 78. That the enquiry and examination of that case be deferred until next year.

Resolved 79. That an allowance of £100 with the usual supplies of Tea, Sugar &c. be made to the Catholic Mission of Red River Settlement for the Current Outfit.

Resolved 80. That an allowance of £100 be made to Dr. Bunn for medical attendance on the Honble Company's Establishments at Red River, the retired servants who cannot afford to pay for such and other pauper settlers for the Current Outfit.

Resolved 81. That an allowance be made to the Revd M. Jones in aid of the Boarding Schools under his management for the Current Outfit.

The Revd Mr. Jones having by his letter of 17th June 1837 given notice of his intention to discontinue the management of the Red River boarding School, and Mr. McCallum having expressed a willingness to undertake that charge provided the Company become the Purchasers of the buildings and will grant him a lease of the same for a term of five years at a rent of 10 P. Cent per annum on the purchase money; and it being highly desirable that that institution should not be broken up It is

Resolved 82. That Chief Factor Christie be authorized to purchase the said buildings on account of the Fur trade from the Revd Mr. Jones at a sum not exceeding £500 provided Mr. McCallum enters into an agreement to lease the same from the Company for a term of five years at the rent proposed; and to keep and deliver them in thorough repair at the expiration of his Lease.

Resolved 83. That the engagements of the undermentioned Clerks and Postmasters be renewed for a term of 3 years from the date and at the salaries affixed to their names respectively Viz.

John Ballenden Clk. 3 years from 1st June /37 @	£100 p. annum
John Bell Clk. 3 years from 1st June /37 @	100 p. annum
Charles Brisbois Clk.	100 p. annum
Robert Campbell do	60 p. annum
Geo. Deschambeault do	100 p. annum
Frs Ermatinger do	100 p. annum
Paul Fraser do	100 p. annum
Dond McKenzie do	100 p. annum
Wm. McBean do	60 p. annum
A. R. McLeod Jnr App. Clk. 5 years @ 20, 25, 30, 40 & 50	
Benjn McKenzie Clk. 3 years	100 p. annum
John McLoughlin Jnr Clk. & Surgn 5 yrs. 3 first 60 and 2 last	100
Archd McKinlay 3 years	75
Allan McMillan Appe 5 yrs. £20, 25, 30, 40, & 50	
Donald Manson 3 years	100
P. C. Pambrun 3 years	100
Charles Ross 3 years	100
Francois Richard P. M. 3 years from 1 June /37 @	25 p. annum
John Rowand Jnr Clk. 3 years from 1 June /37	50
Thomas Simpson Clk. 3 years	100
William Sinclair do	100
Geo. T. Allan Clk. 3 yrs. from June /38 @	100 p. annum
Francis Butcher do	75
James Birnie do	100
Robert Cummings P. M.	
John Dunn do	
Henry Fisher Clk.	100
Colin Fraser P. M.	40
John Kennedy, Surgn & Clk.	150
Pierre LeBlanc P. M.	75
Wm. F. Lane Clk.	100
Michel Leframboise P. M.	100
Hector McKenzie Clk.	75
Wm. McTavish do	75

John R. McKay P. M.	60
Wm. McKay do	50
John McLean Clk.	100
Frs Payette P. M.	75
John Randall Do	60
Charles Roussain P. M.	50
William G. Rae Clk.	100
Patrick Small do	100
Wm. F. Tolmie do & Surgeon	150
Robert Wilson P. M.	40
James M. Yale Clk.	100

Resolved 84. That the amount of requisition for Shipment 1838 Outfit 1839 do not exceed the sum of Seventeen Thousand Pounds Sterling.

Resolved 85. That the following servants be engaged for the Northern Department on five years Contracts Viz from Europe
1 better class Seaman capable of taking an observation, to command a small Craft and take charge of the naval stores at at York.

	Wages £40
2 Blacksmiths	25
2 Boatbuilders	25
1 Experienced Cooper	30
4 men accustomed to Slooping, boating & small Craft	20
20 labourers	16

30 Servants from Europe,

from Canada on 3 years Contracts

1 Blacksmith	£25
1 Cooper	25
1 House Carpenter	30
1 Joiner	30
36 Voyageurs	17

40 Servants from Canada

Resolved 86. That George Setter P. M. be permitted to retire from the Service to Red River Settlement and in consideration of his long and faithful servitude in course of which he has sustained considerable personal injury that he be allowed to retain his present salary of 60 Pounds during Outfit 1837.

Resolved 87. That no Servants be permitted to settle at Red River Colony unless they become purchasers from the proprietors of the soil, of at least 50 acres of Land at 7/6 p. acre. payment thereof to be deposited with the Gentlemen in charge of the Depots to which they have been attached previous to their departure for the settlement.

Resolved 88. That no Common Cub Bearskins be traded; as in

the English market they barely fetch the duties and that the Indians be instructed not to scrape the Swan skins so much as they have been in the habit of doing which deteriorates their value about 25 p. Cent.

With reference to the 22nd paragraph of the Gov. and Committees Dispatch of 15th Feby. 1837 on the subject of interest Resolved 89. That the principal accountant at York Factory hand to the different Gentlemen superintending Districts a copy of that paragraph for the purpose of being made public.

The Governor & Committee having been pleased to remit the charges made to private account last year for deviating from the Rules and Regulations in force in regard to Wages &c

Resolved 90. That the same be intimated by the Accountant to the different parties and written back to their Credits.

Resolved 91. That the Wages of Fishermen employed at such posts as are dependent principally or entirely on Fish be £3 more than the standard wages of Middlemen and that no Blacksmiths at inland Posts be allowed more than £25.

Resolved 92. That the wages of a servant acting in the capacity of Cook or Gentlemans waiting man shall in no case be allowed £17 p. annum; and that the additional gratuity heretofore given to persons acting in that capacity shall in future be allowed only to such servants as on the Summer voyage to and from their Wintering Grounds act in the capacity of Cook or waiting man independent of his regular duty as one of the Crew of the Craft to which he belongs, except the Cooks or waiting men employed at the Depots of York, Vancouver, Moose & Norway House and Fort Garry, Red River Settlement.

Resolved 93. That Thomas Anderson Labourer at Norway House be fined £5 for deserting from the Artic Discovery Expedition last year.

Resolved 94. That John Ritch Boatbuilder be fined £5 for wanton destruction of the Company's property at Norway House last year.

Resolved 95. That Liquor be not made an article of trade or medium of barter with Indians for furs in any part of the Country and that not more than 2 Gallons of spirituous Liquor and 4 Gallons Wine be sold at the Depots to any individual in the Company's service of what rank soever he may be.

With reference to the 12th paragraph of the Governor and Committee's Dispatch of 19th March 1836 in respect to the case of Andrew Wilson wherein it is expressed that the evidence of Garcon affords strong grounds for suspecting that Chief Trader Tod is not so temperate in his habits as could be wished the Council from what they know of Mr. Tod's habits consider it due to

that Gentleman to express their opinion in this public manner, that the imputation is unfounded.

Resolved 96. That Gentlemen in charge of Districts and Posts on both sides of the Mountains be instructed to forward as accurate a statement as possible of the Indian population within their Districts; as the Governor and Committee are desirous of obtaining a Census of the whole Country through which their operations extend.

Resolved 97. That Gentlemen in charge of Districts and Posts be instructed to keep a thermometrical Journal agreeably to directions that will be forwarded to the different Districts.

Resolved 98. That a Winter Express from the Depot and the interior be appointed to meet at Carlton; the one to proceed northward via Isle a la Crosse and Athabasca, and the other southward via Fort Pelly and Norway House; and that all private Letters conveyed by the Ship be forwarded from the Depot to Norway House or Cumberland before the closing of navigation.

Resolved 99. That the Gentleman in charge of Lake Superior Department be instructed to forward a Packet from the Sault St. Marys to Red River on the 1st Feby. with all Letters and papers that may be collected at the Sault or elsewhere within his charge previous to that date; and that no other express be forwarded unless rendered necessary by very important circumstances.

That a packet for England be sent from Red River on the 21st October via St. Peters if anything particular occurs and that a duplicate dispatch together with any subsequent information that may occur be forwarded by Lac la Pluie on the 21st December.

Resolved 100. That this arrangement be understood as not interfering with the usual Winter communication by the Coast which should be alternately forwarded from the Depots of York and Moose on the 1st December.

Resolved 101. That the Standing Rules and Regulations from time to time issued be considered in force and acted upon accordingly until recinded.

Resolved 102. That this Council do now adjourn.

(Signed)	George Simpson	Govr in chief
	John Charles	Chief Factor
	John Rowand	do
	Allan McDonell	do
	John Lee Lewes	do
	Rodk McKenzie	do
	Duncan Finlayson	do
	Donald Ross	Chief Trader

Minutes of Council 1839.

Minutes of a Council held at Red River Settlement, Northern Department of Ruperts Land which commenced on the sixth day of June, One Thousand, Eight Hundred and Thirty Nine, for the purposes of establishing such rules and Regulations as may be considered expedient for conducting the business of said Department and in order to investigate the result of the trade of last year conformably to the provisions of a Deed Poll under the seal of the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudsons Bay bearing date the sixth day of June, One Thousand, Eight Hundred and Thirty-four, at which were present the following members Viz:—

George Simpson,	Governor in chief
John Charles	Chief Factor
John McLoughlin	Do
Alexander Christie	Do
John Rowand	Do
Allan McDonell	Do
Duncan Finlayson	Do
Donald Ross	Chief Trader

Resolved 1. That the other Chief Traders be invited to attend and in consequence the following were present William Todd and James Hargrave.

Resolved 2. That the rotations of Furlough for the current year 1839 are in favor of Chief Factors Alexander Roderick McLeod, John George McTavish and George Keith with Chief Traders Richard Hardisty and John Tod.

Resolved 3. That Chief Factor A. R. McLeod avail himself of his rotation of Furlough for the Current Outfit; that the rotations of Chief Factor George McTavish be transferred to C. F. Alexr Christie, and that C. F. George Keith having been permitted leave of absence last year is not entitled to avail himself of his present rotation. The rotation of C. T. Richard Hardisty is transferred to C. T. James Hargrave; and C. T. John Tod having been permitted to enjoy the benefit of his Furlough in anticipation is no longer entitled to avail himself thereof.

In order to guard against any misapprehension with regard to the Furlongs for the ensuing year It is

Resolved 4. That they be considered as in favor of Chief Factors J. D. Cameron, John Charles & John McLoughlin with Chief Traders John McLeod Jnr. & M. McPherson.

Resolved 5. That the following appointments take place Viz

Districts	Chief Factors	Chief Traders
Athabasca	John Charles	Colin Campbell
McKenzies River		M. McPherson

English River	Rodk McKenzie	J. E. Harriott
Saskatchewan	John Rowand	
	J. Lee Lewes	
Swan River		William Todd
Red River	Duncan Finlayson	
Lac la Pluie	Allan McDonell	
Norway House		Donald Ross
York		Nicol Finlayson
		Geo. Gladman
		Richard Grant
Columbia	J. McLoughlin	Archd McDonald
	Samuel Black	John Work
		John Tod
		John McLeod
		James Douglas
		Donald Manson
		Alexr Fisher
New Caledonia	P. S. Ogden	
Hudsons Bay)		
Discovery Expon)	P. W. Dease	Thomas Simpson Clk.

Winter Arrangements

Resolved 6. Athabasca

Dunvegan

Colin Campbell C. T.

Wm. McMurray App. P. M.

Ft. Chippewyan

John Charles C. F.

Vermilion

Wm. Shaw P. M.

Gt. Slave Lake

Frances Butcher Clk.

Resolved 7. That 4 Boats and 29 men including the Guide & 250 ps. Goods constitute the Current Outfit for this District. and that an extra Boat and 7 men for this season only be employed in taking to the District deficiencies on the Outfits of the last & Current years and supplies for the Artic Discovery Expedition.

Resolved 8. That C. F. Charles accompany his Brigade to Norway House Summer 1840 where in consequence of his having intimated his intention of proceeding to Europe on Furlough he will be relieved in charge of the District and that previous to his departure from Athabasca next Spring he will make the necessary appointments of the Commissioned Gentlemen, Clerks, & Postmasters remaining inland for the Summer.

Summer Arrangements

Resolved 9. Athabasca

Dunvegan

3 men incl. Intr & App. P. M.

Ft. Chippewyan

2 do incl. Intr.

Vermilion

2 do do do

Gt. S. Lake

2 do do

Resolved 10. That C. T. Finlayson take the necessary measures to prepare and forward to Norway House about 220 pieces Goods for Athabasca Outfit 1840 by Indians or R. R. Carriers.

Resolved 11. That C. F. Charles & C. T. Ogden concert measures for conveying to New Caledonia the dressed Leather, Parchment &c. required for the use of the latter District as it is intended that those should be provided in future say commencing with 1840 from the Athabasca instead of the Saskatchewan District as heretofore.

Winter Arrangements

Resolved 12. McKenzies River.

Ft. Simpson

M. McPherson C. T.

Alexr Isbister App. P. M.

Rivire au Laird

Chas. Brisbois Clk.

Fort Norman

Adam McBeath P. M.

Fort Good Hope

John Bell Clk.

Wm. Mowat P. M.

Deases Lake

R. Campbell Clk.

A. R. McLeod Jnr. App. Clk.

Resolved 13. That about 250 pieces Goods in 4 Boats navigated by 31 men including the Guide, 25 of whom are Red River men hired for the trip and 6 men under contracts as regular servants who are intended for the District constitute the Current Outfit.

Resolved 14. That C. T. McPherson take the necessary steps to establish in the Summer of 1840 a Post on Peels River under the direction of Mr. Bell and in 1841 another Post on the headwaters of Colville River and as the recent arrangement with the Russian American Fur Company renders it unnecessary to extend the trade down Stikine River from the East side of the mountains as formerly contemplated that Mr. Campbell and people intended for that service be employed in assisting Mr. Bell to extend the trade from Peels River to Colvilles River in 1841; and that H. McKenzie App. P. M. be sent by the Athabasca Brigade to the District this season and 6 recruits next year to enable the Gentleman in charge of McKenzies River to carry the projected extension of Trade into effect as early as possible.

Summer Arrangements

Resolved 15. McKenzies River

Fort Simpson	2 men incl.	Intr
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Rivire au Laird	2 do	do
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Deases Lake	3 do	do
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Fort Norman	1 do	do
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Fort Good Hope	2 do	do
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Resolved 16 That C. T. McPherson accompany the Brigade to Portage la Loche Summer 1840, and thence proceed so as to avail himself of his rotation of Furlough; and that in the absence of any arrangements hereafter to the Contrary A. R. McLeod proceed in the Express Canoe from Canada to Fort William where two North Canoes will be manned by the Crew of the Canada Express Canoe; One of these to proceed to Red River and the other with Mr. McLeod direct, there to embark with the Brigade proceeding with the McKenzies River Outfit to Portage la Loche in order to relieve Mr. McPherson in the charge of that District.

Resolved 17. That C. T. McPherson make the necessary appointment of Clerks & Postmasters for Summer 1840 previous to his departure for McKenzies River.

Resolved 18. That C. T. Finlayson take the necessary measures to prepare and forward in course of the Summer about 250 pieces Goods to Norway House for Outfit 1840; the same to be transported thence to Portage la Loche to start in 4 Boats on or before the 15th June 1840 manned by a Guide and 28 men, of whom 25 including the Guide are to be engaged for the trip at Red River and 4 Servants under engagements of not less than 3 years to replace retiring Servants.

Winter Arrangements

Resolved 19. English River

Isle a la Crosse

Rapid River

Green Lake

Dears Lake

R. McKenzie C. F.

An Interpreter

Thos. Hodgson P. M.

Geo. Deschambeault Clk.

Resolved 20. That about 150 pieces Goods in 3 Boats manned by 16 men including the Guide and Indians hired for the Trip at English River constitute the Current Outfit for this District.

Resolved 21. English River

Summer Arrangements

Isle a la Crosse Geo. Deschambeault Clk. & 2 men

Rapid River One man

Resolved 22. That the usual quantity of dried Provisions be provided and forthcoming for the use of the Outward and inward bound Northern Craft Spring and Summer 1840.

Winter Arrangements

Resolved 23. Saskatchewan

Edmonton

Carlton

R. Mountn Ho.

John Rowand C. T.

Robt. Clouston Clk.

Patk Small do

J. E. Harriott C. T.

Ft. Assiniboine
 Jaspers House
 Lesser Slave Lake
 Fort Pitt

J. Rowand Clk.
 Colin Frazer P. M.
 Geo. McDougall Clk.
 Henry Fisher Clk.
 P. Ogden App. P. M.
 J. Lee Lewes C. F.

Cumberland
 Moose Jaw

An Interpreter

Resolved 24. That 550 pieces Goods in 9 Boats manned by 46 servants belonging to the District constitute the Current Outfit and that the Crews be made up by ingoing servants belonging to the Columbia & New Caledonia Districts.

Resolved 25. That the following provisions and other Country Produce be provided by this District and brought to Norway House next season.

8 New Boats of 28 feet Keel
 3500 lbs Grease
 150 Bales Dried Meat 90 lb. ea.
 450 Bags Com. Pemican 90 lb. ea.
 80 Bags fine do 45 ea.
 100 Pairs tracking Shoes
 30 Leather Tents
 500 Buffalo Tongues

Resolved 26. That 100 Bags Pemican and the usual quantity of other Country produce be deposited at Cumberland House next season for the use of passing Brigades; and that all the surplus Grease collected in the District be brought to the Depot in a clean and rendered state for exportation.

Resolved 27. That a Boat and 2 men be left at York for the purpose of conveying 12 of the servants coming from Europe by the ship inland where it is understood they shall pass the Winter and be brought to the Depot next Summer for general distribution.

Summer Arrangements

Resolved 28. Saskatchewan

Edmonton
 Carlton
 Ft. Assiniboine
 L. Slave Lake
 Fort Pitt
 Jaspers House
 Cumberland

J. E. Harriott C. T. & 12 m.
 Patk Small Clk. & 7 men
 An Intr. & 1 man
 Geo McDougall Clk. & 2 men
 Henry Fisher Clk. & 4 do
 An Intr & 1 do
 J. Rowand Jr. Clk. & 2 do

Winter Arrangements

Resolved 29. Swan River

Fort Pelly
 Fort Ellice
 Manitobah
 Shoal River

William Todd C. T.
 J. R. McKay P. M.
 Frs Richard P. M.
 An Interpreter

Resolved 30. That about 200 pieces Goods, 3 Boats and 15 Voyaging servants constitute the Outfit of this District; 100 pieces of those Goods for the Posts of Fort Pelly, Manitobah and Shoal River, and the remainder to be forwarded partly on freight to Red River Settlement for the trade of Fort Ellice; the crews of the Boats to be made up to 6 men each by Trippers hired for the voyage.

Resolved 31. That C. T. Todd take to Norway House next Spring 300 lbs. Gum, 30 bushels salt and 15 Leather Tents for distribution together with all the Grease collected in the District in a clean and marketable state for exportation, and that he take the necessary steps to provide 300 Bushels Salt for the use of Red River Settlement deliverable at the North End of Manitobah Portage the price not to exceed 8/— p. Bushel.

Summer Arrangements

Resolved 32. Swan River

Fort Pelly

3 men incg. Intr.

Fort Ellice

J. R. McKay P. M. & 7 m.

Manitobah

Frs. Richard P. M.

Shoal River

A Labourer

Winter Arrangements

Resolved 33. Red River

Fort Garry

Duncan Finlayson C. F.)

John Ballenden Clk.)

Allan McMillan do)

and 6 men

Lower Fort

H. McKenzie Clk & 2 men

Surveying

George Taylor do

Warden of the Plains

Cuthbert Grant

Expermtl Farm

Geo. Cary & 11 men

Resolved 34. That the necessary buildings for establishing a distillery be erected at the Lower Fort if distillation in the settlement be considered an advisable measure by the Council of Assiniboia

Resolved 35. That the Lake Winnipeg Vessels winter in Red River; the crews to be employed as C. F. Finlayson may find expedient and that he be authorized to employ additional tradesmen and Labourers for erecting the requisite buildings at the Lower Fort.

Resolved 36. That the arrangement entered into last year with settlers for the transport of Goods from York to Norway House and Red River be confirmed, say

1839 from York Factory to Norway House 13/— p. p.

From York Factory to Red River 17/—

1840 From York Factory to Norway House 13/—

From York Factory to Red River 16/—

1841 the same as 1840 with the express condition that no Indians are to be employed in such transport.

Resolved 37. That the following supplies be provided at the Colony for exportation to Norway House Summer 1840 made up in sound and transportable packages and purchased at the usual prices.

30 Bushels rough Barley
 12 Cwt. good Corned Beef
 20 Cwt. Biscuit
 42 Oak Boards
 50 Firkins of Butter 56 lb. ea.
 10 Half Firkins of Butter 28 lb. ea.
 6 Maccaroons Butter
 80 lb. Cheese
 15 Kegs Eggs
 650 Cwt. Kiln dried Flour
 70 well cured Hams
 50 Bales dried Meat 90 lb. ea.
 400 Bags Com. Pemican
 35 Cwt. Salted Pork
 40 Kegs Potatoes
 3 Bushels Onions
 800 prs. tracking Shoes
 8750 Oak Staves
 150 Portage Straps
 2 Kegs Salted Suet
 12 Assortments Garden Seeds

Resolved 38. That a Guide and 24 men be engaged for the McKenzie's River transport and the Fall freight from York Factory to Red River at £25 to the Guide, £16 to the Steersmen and £14 to the Bowsmen and £12 to the Middlemen.

Resolved 39. That the price of Dollars in Red River be $\frac{4}{3}$ each during the Current Outfit and hereafter $\frac{4}{1}$; and English Gold Coin at the Standard value.

Winter Arrangements

Resolved 40. Lac la Pluie

Fort Frances

Allan McDonell C. F.

Wm. Sinclair Clk.

Lac du bois blanc

James Isbister P. M.

Rat Portage

Dond McKenzie Clk.

Ft. Alexander

Andw McPherson do

Resolved 41. That about 260 pieces Goods with a complement of 12 voyaging servants constitute the Current Outfit; 140 of these to be taken from York to Norway House in 2 Boats manned by 12 voyaging servants. and the remaining 120 pieces to be transported to Norway House on freight. and from Nor-

way House the whole to be transported in 4 Boats manned by 3 men each with the assistance of Indians.

Resolved 42. That no spirituous Liquors be introduced into Lac la Pluie District after this date but that 40 pieces Provisions be supplied in addition to the usual supply of Country produce from Red River.

Resolved 43. That the sum of £300 Sterling be paid by draft on the Governor & Committee to Ramsay Crooks Esqre in consideration of the opposition having been withdrawn from the frontiers of the Lake Superior, Lac la Pluie and Red River Districts conformably to the terms of an arrangement entered into between the Hudsons Bay Company and the American Fur Company, the said amount to be charged to Lac la Pluie District Outfit 1838.

Resolved 44. That the following Country produce be brought to Norway House next season.

40 Rolls good Birch Bark
3 Cases Cedar Canoe Splinters
3 Bundles Cedar Canoe Timbers

Summer Arrangements

Resolved 45. Lac la Pluie

Fort Frances	3 men incg	Intr.
Ft. Alexander	2 do	do
Rat Portage	2 do	do

Resolved 46. That Chief Factor McDonell make the Summer appointments in regard to Clerks and Postmasters.

Winter Arrangements

Resolved 47. Norway House

Norway House	Dond Ross C. T.
	John Finlayson Clk. and 6 men
Berens River	R. Cummings P. M. & 2 men
Nelson River	J. Isbister P. Mr & 2 men

Resolved 48. That 2 voyaging servants belonging to the District assisted by 30 Indians to be engaged for that purpose be employed to make one trip between York and Norway House with 4 Boats carrying 80 pieces each per trip upwards or 320 pieces in all; 120 of which to form the District Outfit, the remaining 200 pieces Goods on Freight.

Resolved 49. That with the exception of Red River and other Country produce, no supplies of any description be given or sold to servants or Districts at Norway House.

Resolved 50. That an additional store be built at Norway House and that six of the recruits coming by the Ship and intended for McKenzies River next be stationed at Norway House during the Winter for the purpose of assisting in erecting the building

and that the remaining 4 men intended for McKenzies River Outfit 1840 be sent from York so as to arrive at Norway House about the 1st April next.

Summer Arrangements

Resolved 51. Norway House

Norway House

Dond Ross C. T.

John Finlayson App. Clk. & 6 men

Berens River

R. Cumming P. M. & 1 man

Nelson River

J. Isbister P. M. & 1 do

Winter & Summer Arrangements

Resolved 52. York.

York Factory

Nicol Finlayson C. T.

George Gladman C. T.

John Cowie Surgeon

Wm. McTavish, Clerk

Richard Lane App. Clk.

Wm. B. Philpin P. M.

Robert Wilson P. M.

Churchill

Robert Harding Clk.

Severn

John Cromartie Intr.

Oxford House

Richard Grant C. T.

Island Lake

Wm. McKay P. M.

Resolved 53. That not withstanding the appointment of Mr. Grant to Oxford House it is understood that he shall be at York during the Summer for the purpose of attending the Sale Shops.

Resolved 54. That 30 men including Mechanics and the crew of the Frances Schooner constitute the Summer & Winter Establishment of York Factory.

Resolved 55. That 80 pieces Goods transported in a Boat manned by 6 Servants and one Indian tripman constitute the Current Outfit for Oxford House and Island Lake Outposts.

Resolved 56. That the Outpost of Island Lake be removed to a better fishery about 30 miles distance from the present Establishment.

Summer Arrangements

Resolved 57. Island Lake

Oxford House

Wm. McKay P. M. & 1 man

Island Lake

One man

Resolved 58. That C. T. Grant be directed to employ 4 Boats manned by 32 Indians & a Guide in performing a double trip between the Depot and Norway House in the transport of Goods and Returns: the lading of each Boat upwards to be 80 & downwards 70 pieces, 5 of which to be left at Oxford and the remaining 65 pieces to be delivered at York Factory.

Resolved 59. That .6 men constitute the Winter and Summer Establishment of Churchill with an Outfit amounting to about 100 pieces Goods and Provisions to be transported from York during the Summer by the Frances Schooner.

Resolved 60. That 60 pieces Goods and Provisions with 3 Servants constitute the Current Outfit for Severn and that John Cromartie Intr. with one of these Servants remain at the Post during the Summer and the other two proceed to York early in June for the purpose of being employed there during the Summer.

Resolved 61. That preparatory arrangements be made to re-establish the Post of Trout Lake Outfit 1840.

As a means of reducing the consumption of Sugar in the Department which is now an article so much in demand as to occupy a considerable portion of the freight from England. **It is**

Resolved 62. That the requisition on England in that article be curtailed by 25 P. Cent & that the Sale prices be increased 25 p. Cent.

Columbia Arrangements

Resolved 63. Columbia

Fort Vancouver	John McLoughlin C. F. Dugald McTavish Clk. G. T. Allan do W. F. Tolmie Surgeon
Fort George	David McLoughlin App. Clk.
Nisqually	Geo. B. Roberts, P. M.
Ft. Langley	James Birnie Clk.
Ft. Simpson	Wm. Kittson, do J. M. Yale do John Work C. T. Alexr Anderson Clk.
Fort McLoughlin	John Kennedy Surgn Courtney Walker Clk. Chas. Forrest P. M. Gagnon Intr.
Umpqua	Michel Leframboise
Bonaventura Expedn	Archd McKinlay Clk.
Shipping Beaver Steamer	W. H. McNeil Supercargo Jas. Sangster Commr Walr Stoddart Mate
Schooner Cadboro	James Scarboro Commr Charles Dodd Mate
Ship Vancouver	Alexr Duncan Comr Alexr Lattie Mate
Ft. Colville	Archd McDonald C. T.

Flat Heads	Angus McDonald App. Clk.
Coutonais	An Interpreter
Thompsons River	Samuel Black C. F.
Okanagan	An Interpreter
Nez Perce	P. C. Pambrun Clk.
Snake Expedn ineg)	Frs. Ermatinger Clk.
Fort Hall & Ft. Boisse)	Frs Fayette P. M.
	Dond McLean P. M.
	Angus McDonald Intr.
Stikine	W. G. Rae Clk.
	John McLoughlin Jnr. & Surgn
	Rodk Kinlayson App. Clk.
Sandwich Islands	George Pelly
	Alexr Simpson

Resolved 64. That it is discretionary with C. F. McLoughlin to make the appointments of the Commission Gentlemen, Clerks and Postmasters likewise of the Officers of Marine as he may consider expedient.

With reference to an agreement entered into with the Russian American Company under date the 6th Feby. 1839 It is

Resolved 65. That either the ship to arrive at the Columbia next year from England or the Ship Vancouver accompanied by the Beaver Steam Vessel proceed with C. T. Douglas, Mr. Wm. Glen Rae, Mr. John McLoughlin Junr. & Mr. Roderick Finlayson with a complement of 20 laboring servants and a sufficient Outfit of Goods and Provisions to take possession of the Russian American Company's Establishment at the entrance of the River Stikine where Mr. Rae is to be left in charge assisted by the other Clerks before mentioned.

Resolved 66. That immediately after the Post at Stikine be taken possession of Mr. C. T. Douglas shall proceed to the River Tacou about 100 miles north of Stikine and select an eligible situation for establishing a Post there and afterwards return to Fort McLoughlin for the purpose of removing that Establishment and reforming it on the banks of the Tacou River 12 marine leagues inland if possible under the command of Mr. John Kennedy assisted by C. Walker Clerk and Charles Forrest Postmaster with a complement of 30 laboring Servants.

Resolved 67. That measures be taken to establish Outposts in the interior country of both the Stikine & Tacou Rivers in the year 1841 if possible.

Resolved 68. That 45 laboring Servants be provided from York Depot for the Columbia Department including New Caledonia which with 25 Sandwich Islanders requested by the Ship from England of next year will be sufficient to meet all demands in that way for the ensuing Outfit on the west side of the Mountains.

- With further reference to the said agreement It is
- Resolved 69. That the quantity of Country produce there specified be provided also.
- Resolved 70. That the 2000 seasoned Land Otters traded on the west side the Mountains and agreed to be paid as rent for the Russian territory ceded be delivered on or before the 1st June every commencing with 1841.
- Resolved 71. That all the remaining seasoned Land Otter Skins traded on the West side the Mountains not exceeding 2000 annually be delivered previous to the same date in every year commencing with 1841. and
- Resolved 72. That 3000 seasoned Land Otter Skins excluding Cub, damaged & staged be provided from the East side the Mountains to comple the Contract entered into with the Russian American Company to be taken across the Mountains commencing with 1840 in the Columbia Brigade so as to be delivered by the 1st February every year commencing with 1841 in order to obtain payment by Bills on St. Petersburg in time to be remitted by the Spring Express. That Chief Trader Ross be authorized to communicate with the different Districts in the Northern Department as to the mode of collecting the Otters, and that his attention be specially directed to the selection & Packing of the same; that Gentleman being furnished with a copy of the agreement for his information and guidance.
- Resolved 73. That 500 seasoned Otter Skins be retained at York Factory this season 1839 and be forwarded to Norway House by the first trip of Oxford House freight Boats Summer 1840; and that all the seasoned Otters procured at Churchill & Severn be hereafter retained at York and forwarded to Norway House the succeeding Summer in like manner so as to make up the stipulated number without the necessity of importing any from the Southern Department.
- Resolved 74. That an Indent of Goods intended for the Sandwich Island trade be transmitted to the Governor & Committee with a request that the same may be forwarded to Woahoo by the Ship of 1840 and that Mr. Alexander Simpson be sent from the Columbia to the Islands next year 1840, for the purpose of assisting Mr. Pelly in forming a commercial Establishment there and previous to proceeding thither to make a voyage to California for a Cargo of Sheep; and while there direct his attention to the Commercial operations of that Coast with a view of enabling us to form a Commercial Establishment there hereafter.
- Resolved 75. That C. F. McLoughlin be directed to give his particular attention to the affairs of the Puget Sound Agricultural

Company as pointed out, in the Prospectus, instructions from the Agents and other Documents handed him connected with that important object.

Columbia Arrangements continued

Resolved 76. New Caledonia

Stuarts Lake	P. S. Ogden C. F.
	Wm. Thew Clerk
Frazers Lake	Chas. Ross do
McLeods Lake	Paul Frazer do
Alexandria	John Tod C. T.
Chilcotins	Wm. F. Lane Clk
Conollys Lake	John McKintosh do
Ft. George	Wm. Porteous do
Babines	Wm. McBean P. M.

Resolved 77. That C. F. Ogden make the appointment of the Gentlemen in New Caledonia as he may consider expedient.

Resolved 78. That C. F. Ogden's requisition for Leather &c. be furnished at Dunvegan agreeably to the 11th Resolve of the Minutes of Council.

Resolved 79. That C. F. Samuel Black and C. T. Donald Manson be allowed leave of absence for the benefit of their health if they continue to require such and that C. T. Alexander Fisher be permitted to come to the east side the Mountains in 1840 or 1841 should he desire it.

Resolved 80. That with reference to further arrangements connected with the Columbia Department including New Caledonia, the same to be determined by Governor Simpson's Letters to Chief Factors McLoughlin & Ogden.

Resolved 81. That C. F. Dease & Mr. Thomas Simpson Clerk be instructed to prosecute their discoveries in the Artic Regions agreeably to Instructions received from time to time from the Governor & Committee and Governor Simpson, and that the necessary complement of Servants & Supplies in Goods, provisions &c. be furnished for the use of the Expedition under their command.

Resolved 82. That Widow Taylor the mother of the late Peter Taylor be allowed an annuity of £5 yearly; her son Peter who lost his life while attached to the Expedition having been her principal support.

Resolved 83. That the Gentlemen in charge of the Districts & Posts of Athabasca and McKenzies River comply with any demands whatsoever connected with their respective charges that may be made by Chief Factor Dease or in his absence by Mr. Thomas Simpson in aid of the Discovery Expedition.

Resolved 84. That an allowance of £100 with the usual supplies of Tea, Sugar &c. be made to the Catholic Mission of Red River Settlement for the Current Outfit.

Resolved 85. That the sum of £50 be given in aid of the School of Industry unfortunately burned down this season, and the same to be placed at the disposal of the Right Revd the Bishop of Juliopolis.

Resolved 86. That a gratuity of £100 be made to the Revd Wm. Cochrane in consideration of his zealous and arderous exertions while officiating in the Upper as well as the lower Parish in the absence of the Revd Mr. Jones and his successor.

Resolved 87. That allowance of £100 to Dr. Bunn for medical attendance on the Honbl Company Establishments at Red River, the retired Servants who cannot afford to pay for such, and other pauper Settlers for the Current Outfit.

Resolved 88. That an allowance of £100 be made to Mr. John McAllum in aid of the Boarding School under his management for the Current Outfit.

Resolved 89. That the usual contribution of £100 p. annum towards maintaining the Police Establishment of Red River be continued.

Resolved 90. That no Servants be permitted to settle at Red River Colony unless they become purchasers from the Proprietors of the soil of at least 50 acres of Land at 7/6 p. acre, payment thereof to be deposited with the Gentleman in charge of the Depot to which they have been attached previous to their departure for the Settlement.

Resolved 91. That all furs killed by Commissioned Gentlemen, Clerks and Servants and their families be considered the property of the Company, and paid for at the Indian Standard of the District, and that no Furs of any description be permitted to be used in or sent out of the Country on Private Account, except such as are purchased from the Stores in the manner described in the Standing Rules and Regulations of the Service.

Much loss in Postages and other inconveniences being incurred from the Practise of unnecessarily covering public and private Letters with Envelopes It is

Resolved 92. That in future all Gentlemen in the Country be instructed to discontinue this practise, and not to use detached covers or Envelopes except in cases where such may be absolutely necessary to cover the contents of their Letters or other communication.

Resolved 93. That the Engagements of the following Clerks and Postmasters be renewed for a term of 3 years from the date & at the salaries affixed to their name respectively Viz From 1st June 1839

Robert Harding Clerk	£100
George McDougall Clerk	100
Alexr Anderson Clerk	100
Wm. Kittson Clerk	100
John McKintosh Clerk	100
Wm. Thew Clerk	60
Courtney Walker Clerk	100
J. R. McKay P. M.	60
Robert Cummings P. M.	50
Adam McBeath P. M.	40
Wm. Mowatt P. M.	35
Francois Richard P. M.	30
Donald McLean Clerk	60

Resolved 94. That the amount of requisition from England Ship-
ment 1840 do not exceed the sum of £20000.

Resolved 95. That the following Servants be engaged for the
Northern Department on 5 years Contracts Viz.

From Europe

2 Blacksmiths	£25 to £30 p. an.
2 Coopers, Fish curers	25 to 30 p. an.
4 Sloopers	20
1 Plasterer	30
1 Joiner	30
30 Labourers	16

40 Servants from Europe

From Canada on 3 years Contracts

50 Voyageurs Prix du Posts or £17 p. annum

Resolved 96. That Resolves 88, 91, 92, 95, 98, 99, 100 and 101 of June
1837 be considered as forming part of the Standing Rules and
Regulations of the Service and be added thereto.

The low price at which Musk rats are now sold in the English
Market renders it necessary to reduce the prices paid for that
description of Fur throughout the Country, It is therefore

Resolved 97. That in the purchase of Musk Rats throughout
the Northern Department except Red River, 12 Large Rat Skins
be considered equal to a made Beaver, that in Red River 10
large Rat Skins be considered equal to a made Beaver; and
that no small Rats be purchased at any price.

Resolved 98. That the price of Cattle, Sheep and Horses trans-
ferred from the Columbia Department to the Puget Sound Agri-
cultural Company be as follows Viz

Horned Cattle of all descriptions ineg Calves)	20/— ea.
Sheep of all kinds including Lambs	5/— ea.
Horses of all kinds including Mares with Colts	40/— ea.

Resolved 99. That this Council do now adjourn.

(Sgd)	George Simpson	Governor
	John Charles	Chief Factor
	John McLoughlin	do
	Alexr Christie	do
	John Rowand	do
	Allan McDonell	do
	Duncan Finlayson	do
	Donald Ross	Chief Trader

Red River Settlement)

12th June 1839.)

COPY

Red River Settlement
14th Jany. 1839.

To

John Rowand)

J. L. Lewes)

Donald Ross)

William Todd)

James Hargrave)

Esqres

Gentlemen

Since the breaking up of the Council: the subject of continuing the use of Spirituous Liquors in the Indian trade at several Districts and Posts in the Northern Department to which that Article still continues to be imported has been fully discussed in Committee with Chief Factors McLoughlin, Christie, Rowand and Finlayson and Chief Traders Hargraves and Nicol Finlayson and I am happy to say that those Gentlemen unanimously coincide with me in opinion that no serious difficulty or inconvenience is likely to arise from immediately and henceforth interdicting the use of Spirituous Liquors in the Indian Trade throughout the Lac la Pluie and Jack River Departments, at the Posts of Cumberland and Moose Lake, in the Saskatchewan Department at the Posts on Shoal River and Manitobah, in the Swan River Department, and at the Posts of Oxford and Island Lake in the York Department. I have therefore to desire that no Spirituous Liquors be issued to Indians at any of the said Posts from henceforward without special authority from the Governor & Committee or Council.

I remain

Gentlemen

Your most obedt humble Servant

(Sgd) George Simpson

Minutes of the Council 1840.

Minutes of a Council held at Norway House, Northern Department of Ruperts Land which commenced on the Eighteenth day of June, One thousand, Eight Hundred and Forty, for the purpose of establishing such Rules and Regulations as may be considered expedient for conducting the business of said Department and in order to investigate the result of the trade of the last year and to determine the Outfits and general arrangements for the trade of the Current year conformably to the Provisions of a Deed Poll under seal of the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudsons Bay bearing date the 6th day of June, One Thousand, Eight Hundred and Thirty Four at which were present the following members Viz

Duncan Finlayson C. Factor President

John Charles Do

John Rowand Do

Peter W. Dease Do

Roderick McKenzie Do

Donald Ross Do

Alexr Fisher Chief Trader

William Todd Do

Donald Manson Do

Resolved 1. That the rotations of Furlough 1840 are in favor of Chief Factors I. D. Cameron, John Charles and John McLoughlin with Chief Traders John McLeod Jr. and Murdoch McPherson.

Resolved 2. That Chief Factor John Charles with Chief Trader John McLeod Jr. and Murdoch McPherson avail themselves of their rotations for the Current Outfit; and that the rotations of I. D. Cameron and John McLoughlin be transferred to C. F. Alexr Christie and A. R. McLeod.

Resolved 3. That Chief Factor P. W. Dease with Chief Traders Donald Manson, William Nourse, & Thomas Simpson be permitted leave of absence for the Current Outfit, but, in the event of Chief Factor Dease not availing himself thereof that his services be considered disposable for the Current Outfit.

In order to guard against any misapprehension with regard to the Furloughs for ensuing year It is

Resolved 4. That they be considered in favor of Chief Factors James Keith, Joseph Beioley and Alexander Christie with C. Ts. Thomas Frazer, & George Gladman.

Resolved 5. That the following appointments take place.

Districts	Chief Factors	Chief Traders
Athabasca	P. W. Dease	Colin Campbell
McKenzies River	John Lee Lewes	Simon McGillivray
English River	Rodk McKenzie	

Saskatchewan	John Rowand	J. E. Harriott
Swan River		Wm. Todd
Red River	Duncan Finlayson	
Lac la Pluie	Allan McDonell	Nicol Finlayson
Norway House	Donald Ross	
York		James Hargrave
		Alexr Fisher
		George Gladman
		Richard Grant
Columbia	John McLoughlin	Archd McDonald
	Samuel Black	John Work
	James Douglas	Wm. H. McNeil
		P. C. Pambrun
New Caledonia	P. S. Ogden	John Tod
Winter Arrangements		
Resolved 6. Athabasca		
	Dunvegan	Colin Campbell C. T.
		Wm. McMurray, App. P. M.
	Ft. Chippewyan	P. W. Dease C. T.
		Hector McKenzie App. P. M.
	Vermilion	Wm. Shaw P. M.
	Great Slave Lake	Fras Butcher Clerk
Resolved 7. That 4 Boats and 29 men including the Guide and 250 pieces Goods constitute the Current Outfit for this District.		
Resolved 8. That Chief Factor Dease accompany his Brigade to Norway House Summer 1841 for the purpose of attending to the business of the District; and that the Commissioned Gentlemen, Clerks & Postmasters remain inland & be appointed as he may consider expedient.		
Summer Arrangements		
Resolved 9. Athabasca		
	Dunvegan	3 men incl. Intr. and App P. M.
	Ft. Chippewyan	3 men incl. Intr
	Vermilion	2 men incl. Do
	Great Slave Lake	2 men Do
Resolved 10. That Chief Trader Hargrave take the necessary steps to prepare and forward to Norway House about 200 pieces Goods for Athabasca Outfit 1841 by Indians or Red River Carriers.		
Resolved 11. That C. Factors Dease and Ogden concert measures for conveying to New Caledonia the necessary quantities of dressed Leather, Parchment &c. &c. for the use of the latter District.		
Winter Arrangements.		
Resolved 12. McKenzies River		
	Fort Simpson	J. Lee Lewes C. F.

	Alexr Isbister App. P. M.
Rivire au Laird	Simon McGillivray C. T.
Fort Halkett	Chas. Brisbois Clk
Fort Norman	Adam McBeath P. M.
Ft. Good Hope	Allan Cameron Clk
Peels River)	John Bell Clk
Colviles River)	Wm. Mowat P. M.

Resolved 13. That about 220 pieces Goods in 4 Boats manned by 33 men including the Guide: 24 of whom are Red River men hired for the trip and 9 men under contracts as regular Servants who are intended for the District constitute the Current Outfit.

Resolved 14. That C. Factor Lewes take the necessary steps to establish in the summer of 1841 a Post on the head waters of Colviles River, should the discoveries to be made in that quarter this Summer render such a measure advisable; and that Robert Campbell and A. R. McLeod Jnr. be employed in extending the trade in that direction.

Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 15. McKenzies River.

Fort Simpson	2men incl. Intrap.		
Rivire au Laird	2	do	do
Fort Halkett	3	do	do
Fort Norman	1	do	do
Fort Good Hope	2	do	do
Peels & Colviles River			

Resolved 16. That Chief Factor Lewes accompany his Brigade to Portage La Loche Summer 1841 and that the Commissioners, Gentlemen, Clerks & Postmasters attached to the District remain inland; and be appointed as he may consider expedient; and that it be discretionary with him to leave such a number of men at the newly established Posts as he may consider necessary for the safety.

Resolved 17. That Allan Cameron Clerk be permitted to leave the District sufficiently early, Summer 1841 to reach Norway House in time to accompany the last Canoe to Canada, he having intimated his intention to retire from the Service.

Resolved 18. That Chief Trader Hargrave take the necessary steps to prepare and forward in course of the Summer about 250 pieces Goods to Norway House for Outfit 1841; the same to be transported then to Portage La Loche in 4 Boats to start on or before the 10th June 1841 manned by a Guide and 30 men: of whom 25 including the Guide are to be engaged for the trip at Red River, and 6 Servants under engagements of not less than 3 years to replace any that may retire.

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 19. English River

Isle a la Crosse	Roderick McKenzie C. F.
	Pierie Bruce Intr
Rapid River	An Interpreter
Green Lake	Thos. Hodgson P. M.
Deer's Lake	Geo. Deschambeault Clk.

Resolved 20. That 140 pieces Goods in 3 Boats manned by 16 men including the Guide and Indians hired for the trip from English River constitute the Current Outfit for that District.

Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 21. English River

Isle a la Crosse	Geo. Deschambeault Clk and 2 men
Rapid River	1 man

Resolved 22. That the usual quantity of dried provisions be provided and forthcoming for the use of the outward and inward bound Northern Craft. Spring and Summer 1841.

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 23. Saskatchewan

Edmonton	John Rowand C. F.
	Robt Clouston Clk
Carlton	Patrick Small do
Rocky Mountn Ho.	J. E. Harriott C. T.
Ft. Assineboine	John Rowand Jnr Clk
Lesser Slave Lake	Geo. McDougall do
Fort Pitt	Henry Fisher do
	Peter Ogden App. P. M.
Jasper House	An Interpreter
Cumberland	Andrew McPherson Clk
Moose Lake	An Interpreter

Resolved 24. That about 500 pieces Goods in 11 Boats manned by Servants belonging to the District constitute the Current Outfit: and that the Crews be made up by ingoing Servants belonging to the Columbia and New Caledonia Districts.

Resolved 25. That the following provisions and other Country Produce be provided by this Districts and brought to Norway House next season Viz

- 8 new Boats of 28 feet Keel
- 150 Bales dried Meat lb. each
- 450 Bags Com. Pemican 90 lb
- 80 Bags Fine Pemican Do 45 lb
- 1000 pairs Tracking shoes
- 30 Leather Tents
- 500 Buffalo Tongues

Resolved 26. That a 120 Bags Pemican and the usual quantity of other Country Produce be deposited at Cumberland House next season for the use of passing Brigades.

Resolved 27. That a Boat and 2 men be left at York for the purpose of conveying 12 of the Servants coming from Europe by the Ship inland, where it is understood they are to pass the Winter, and that they be brought to the Depot next Summer for general distribution.

Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 28. Saskatchewan

Edmonton

John Rowand Jr. Clk

(& 12 men.

Carlton

Patrick Small Clk & 7 men

Ft. Assineboine

An Interpreter & 1 man

Lesser Slave Lake Geo. McDougall Clk & 2 men

Fort Pitt

Henry Fisher Clk & 4 men

Jaspers House

An Interpreter & 1 man

Cumberland Andw McPherson Clk & 2 men

As Mr. Rowand's presence will be required to attend a Council at Red River Spring 1841 It is

Resolved 29. That Chief Trader J. E. Harriott assisted by Robert Clouston Clerk accompany the Brigade to and from the Factory, and that the Clerks & Postmasters, remaining inland be appointed as Chief Factor Rowand may consider expedient.

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 30. Swan River

Fort Pelly

William Todd C. T.

Fort Ellice

Jno. R. McKay P. M.

Manitobah

Fras Richard P. M.

Shoal Lake

An Interpreter

Resolved 31. That about 190 pieces Goods, 3 Boats and 15 voyaging Servants constitute the Outfit for this District; 100 pieces of those Goods for the Posts of Fort Pelly, Manitobah and Shoal River, and the remainder to be forwarded, partly on freight to Red River Settlement for the trade of Fort Ellice; the crews of the Boats to be made up to 6 men each by trippers hired for the voyage.

Resolved 32. That Chief Trader Todd take to Norway House next Spring 300 lb. Grease, 30 Bushels Salt & 20 Leather tents for distribution; and that he take the necessary steps to provide 300 Bushels Salt for the use of Red River Settlement deliverable at the North End of Manitobah Portage, the price not to exceed 8/ per Bush;

Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 33. Swan River

Fort Pelly

3 men including Interpr

Fort Ellice
Manitobah
Shoal River

J. R. McKay P. M. & 7 men
Fras Richard P. M.
A Labourer

Winter & Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 34. Red River

Fort Garry

Duncan Finlayson C. F.

Hector McKenzie Clk

Allan McMillan App. Clk. & 6 men

Lower Fort

John Black Clk & 2 men

Surveying

George Taylor Clerk

Warden of the Plains

Cuthbert Grant

Expermtl Farm

Geo. Carey & 6 men

Resolved 35. That the Lake Winnipeg Vessels winter in Red River; the crews to be employed as Chief Factor Finlayson may find expedient, and that he be authorized to employ additional Tradesmen and Labourers for erecting the requisite buildings at the Lower Fort.

Resolved 36. That the arrangements entered into in 1838/39 with Settlers for the transport of Goods from York to Norway House and Red River be confirmed, say 1839 from York factory to Norway House 13/— per piece

From Yorkfactory to Red River 17/— per piece

1840 From Yorkfactory to Norway House

From Yorkfactory to Red River

1841 the same as 1840 with the express condition that no Indians are to be employed in such transport.

Resolved 37. That the following supplies be provided at the Colony for exportation to Norway House Summer 1841, made up in sound and transportable packages and purchased at the usual prices Viz—

30 Bushels Rough Barley

12 Cwt. Corn Beef

30 Cwt. Biscuit

42 Oak Boards

40 Firkins Butter 56 lbs. ea.

10 half Firkins Butter 28 lbs. ea.

6 Maccarons do

80 lbs. Cheese

15 Kegs Eggs

650 Cwt. Kiln dried Flour

70 well cured Hams

50 Bales dried Meat 90 lbs. ea.

400 Bags Com. Pemican

45 Cwt. Salted Pork

40 Kegs Potatoes

3 Bushels Onions

1000 pairs tracking Shoes
 200 Portage Straps
 2 Kegs Salted Suet
 15 assortments Garden Seeds

Resolved 38. That a Guide and 24 men be engaged for the McKenzie's River transport and the fall freight from York-factory to Red River at \$25 to the Guide, \$16 to the Steersman, \$14 to the Bowsman and \$12 to the Middleman.

Resolved 39. That the price of Dollars in Red River during the Current Outfit be at the rate of 4/9 per ounce or Sterling per Dollar and English Coins at the standard value.

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 40. Lac la Pluie

Fort Frances

Allan McDonell C. F.

Wm. Sinclair Clk.

Lac du bois Blanc

James Isbister P. M.

Rat Portage

Dond McKenzie Clk.

Fort Alexander

Nicol Finlayson C. T.

Resolved 41. That about 250 pieces Goods with a complement of 12 voyaging Servants constitute the Current Outfit, 140 of these to be taken from York to Norway House in 2 Boats manned by 12 voyaging Servants; and the remaining 110 pieces to be transported to Norway House on freight; and from Norway House the whole to be transported in 4 Boats manned by 3 men each, with the assistance of Indians.

Resolved 42. That 40 pieces provisions be supplied from Red River in addition to the usual quantity of Country Produce.

Resolved 43. That the sum of \$300 Sterling be paid by Draft on the Governor & Committee to Ramsay Crooks, Esquire, in consideration of the opposition having been removed from the frontiers of the Lake Superior, Lac la Pluie, and Red River District, conformably to the terms of an arrangement entered into between the Hudsons Bay Company and the American Fur Company the said amount to be charged to Lac la Pluie Outfit 1839.

Information having been received through Mr. Keith from Ramsay Crooks Esquire, President of the American Fur Company intimating the probability of Mr. W. A. Aitkins establishing a trading Post on the borders of the Lac la Pluie District near Vermilion Lake with a view of carrying on a trade with the natives of that quarter, and Mr. Crooks having requested permission to oppose Mr. Aitkin in order to restrain his encroachments upon the trade of Lac la Pluie District. It is

Resolved 44. That Mr. Crooks be requested to oppose him accordingly.

Resolved 45. That Chief Factor Mr. Donell be instructed to make the necessary arrangements for meeting the expected opposition with vigour; and that any additional supplies in men and Goods required for that purpose be furnished him from Red River by C. F. Finlayson.

Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 46. Lac la Pluie

Fort Frances 3 men including Intr

Fort Alexander 2 men including Intr

Rat Portage 2 men including Intr

Resolved 47. That Chief Factor McDonell make the necessary Summer appointments of Clerks & Postmasters for this District.

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 48. Norway House

Norway House Dond Ross C. F.

John Finlayson App. Clk. and 7 men.

Berens River Robt. Cummings P. M. & 2 men

Nelson River John Isbister P. M. & 2 men

Resolved 49. That 2 voyaging Servatns belonging to this District assisted by 30 Indians to be engaged for that purpose be employed to make one trip between Norway House and York with 4 Boats carrying 80 pieces each per trip upwards or 320 pieces in all, 110 pieces of which to form the District Outfit and the remaining 210 pieces Goods on freight.

Resolved 50. That with the exception of Red River and other Country Produce, no supplies of any description be given or sold to Servants or Districts at Norway House.

Resolved 51. That the 6 new hands intended for the McKenzies River 1841 be stationed at Norway House during the Winter together with any supernumeraries that can be supplied from York in the Fall for the purpose of erecting the necessary buildings at that place.

Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 52. Norway House

Norway House Donald Ross C. F.

John Finlayson Clk. & 7 men

Berens River Robt. Cumminngs P. M. & 1 man

Nelson River John Isbister P. M. & 1 man

Winter & Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 53. York

Yorkfactory

James Hargrave C. T.

Geo. Gladman C. T.

Surgeon

Wm. McTavish Clerk

Churchill
Severn
Trout Lake
Oxford House
Island Lake

John McLoughlin C. F
James Douglas Do
Dugald McTavish Clerk
George T. Allan Do
Wm. F. Tolmie Surgeon

	David McLoughlin App. Clk
	Geo. B. Roberts P. M.
Fort George	James Birnie Clerk
Nisqually &)	Wm. Kittson Clerk
Cowlitz Portage)	James Steile do
Fort Langley	James M. Yale do
Fort Simpson	John Work C. T.
	Angus McDonald App. Clk
Fort McLoughlin	Alexr C. Anderson Clerk
Umpqua	Jn B'te Gagnon Interpreter
Buenaventura Expedn	Michel Leframboise P. M.
	Archd McKinlay Clerk
Snake Expedn)	
incl. Fort Hall)	Francis Ermatinger Clk.
	Courtney Walker Do
	Charles Forrest P. M.
	Angus McDonald Intr
Boissi	Fras Payette P. M.
Fort Colville	Archd McDonald C. T.
Flat Heads	Donald McLean Clerk
Coutonais	An Interpreter
Thompsons River	Samuel Black C. Factor
Okanagan	An Interpreter
Nez Perceez	P. C. Pambrun C. Trader
Stikine	Wm. G. Rae, Clerk
	John McLoughlin do & Surgn
Tacou &)	John Kennedy Do Do
Upper Stikine Posts)	Rodk Finlayson App Clk
Disposable)	Forbes Barclay Surgeon
	John O'Brien Clerk
	Henry Maxwell Do
	A. Lee Lewes App do
Disposable	William Wood App. Clk.
	John McPherson Appr P. M.
Sandwich Islands	Geo. Pelly Agent
	Alexr Simpson Clerk
Beaver Steamer	Wm. H. McNeil C. Trader
	James Sangster Commander
	Walter Stoddart Mate
	Jos. Carless 1st Engineer
Barque Vancouver	Alexr Duncan Master
	Wm. Mitchell Mate
Schooner Cadboro	James Scarborough Master
	Alexr Lattey Mate
New Caledonia	
Stuarts Lake	P. S. Ogden C. Factor
	Wm. Shaw Clerk

Fraser's Lake	Charles Ross Clerk
McLeods Lake	Paul Fraser Clerk
Alexandria	John Tod C. F.
Chileotins	Wm. F. Lane Clk.
Conollys Lake	John McKintosh do
Fort George	Wm. Porteous App Clk
Babines	Wm. McBean Do Clerk

Resolved 62. That it be discretionary with Chief Factor McLoughlin to make the appointments of the Commissioned Gentlemen, Clerks and Postmasters in the Columbia Department which is understood to comprehend New Caledonia, the Sandwich Islands and the Marine Department; it being also however understood that it be discretionary with Chief Factor Orden to make the appointments of the Gentlemen in New Caledonia as he may consider expedient.

With reference to the agreement entered into with the Russian American Fur Company It is

Resolved 63. That Chief Factor McLoughlin take the necessary measures for carrying into full effect the instructions of the Committee on the subject, and for completing our contract with that association.¹

Resolved 64. That steps be taken to establish Outposts in the interior Country of both the Stikine and Tacou Rivers in the year 1841.

Resolved 65. That Messrs. O'Brien and Maxwell Clerks and Mr. McPherson Apprentice Postmaster with labouring Servants and Mechanics (3 of whom including a Blacksmith are intended for the New Caledonia District) to be provided from York Depot accompany the Saskatchewan Brigade under the charge of Chief Factor Rowand to Edmonton and from thence proceed under the charge of Mr. Dugald McTavish to Fort Vancouver unless he may receive further instructions from C. F. McLoughlin by which he will regulate his movements.

From the want of judgment and foolhardiness of many of our Guides in running Rapids which has already been productive of such melancholy results in the loss of both lives and property, particularly in the Columbia, It is

Resolved 66. That no Guide or Steersman be hereafter permitted to run any rapid or Fall where the least danger is to be apprehended; and that any contravention or evasion of this resolution be visited with the most severe punishment which the Governor & Council can legally inflict and that no Gentleman in charge of Brigades be allowed to absent themselves from such charge until they reach their destination.

Resolved 67. That all Gentlemen in charge of Districts, Posts and

1. For text of this agreement, see appendix, p. 853.

Brigades be directed to give publicity to the foregoing Resolution.

Resolved 68. That Chief Factor McLoughlin be directed to give his particular attention to the affairs of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company; and that every facility be afforded towards placing the affairs of that association on as favourable a footing as possible.

Resolved 69. That Chief Factor Ogden make the necessary requisition for Leather &c., agreeably to the 11th Resolution of these Minutes.

Resolved 70. That Chief Factor Ross be directed to take the necessary steps to provide and forward 3000 prime Otters by the Columbia Brigade this season, for the purpose of meeting our Contract with the Russian American Company; and that Chief Factor Rowand and Mr. Dugald McTavish Clerk be particularly enjoined to take the most watchful care of these skins from soil or damage of any kind during the voyage.

In order to ensure the due fulfilment of our Contract with the Russian American Fur Company It is

Resolved 71. That Chief Factor Ross be authorized to order from the Posts of Lake Superior District to be taken to the Northern Department by the Montreal Brigade Spring 1841 as many prime Otter Skins as he may find necessary to complete the said Contract; and that he be directed to make any other arrangements he may think requisite for the accomplishment of this object.

In order to afford every facility to Governor Simpson on his intended arduous journey across the Continent it is

Resolved 72. That Chief Factor Rowand be directed to provide the necessary Horses and appointments for crossing the plains from Red River to Edmonton and thence to Fort Assineboine;— and the requisite Craft for ascending the Athabasca river to Jaspers House together with horses from thence to the Boat Encampment, and that Chief Factor McLoughlin be directed to provide two Good Boats with the necessary Guides Boutes and Provisions; all to be in readiness at the Boat Encampment on or before but not later than the 20th August 1841.

In order to give full effect to the laudable and benevolent views of the Governor & Committee towards the diffusion of Christianity and civilization among the natives of this Country It is

Resolved 73. That three Missions be established in the Northern Department this season—say one at Norway House under the charge of the Revd Mr. Evans, one at Lac la Pluie under the charge of Revd Mr. Mason, and one at Edmonton under the charge of the Revd Mr. Rundle; that every facility be afforded

them for successfully conducting their spiritual labours; and that a Copy of the 9th Paragraph of the Governor & Committee, Dispatch of 4th March 1840 on this subject be furnished to each of the Gentlemen in charge of the above District for the purpose of giving full effect to their Honor's instructions

Resolved 74. That the Gentlemen in charge of Yorkfactory be directed to send an extra Commissioned Gentleman's allowance to Norway House, Lac la Pluie and Saskatchewan for the use of the Mission.

Resolved 75. That an allowance £100 with the usual supplies of Tea, Sugar &c. be made to the Catholic Mission of Red River for the Current Outfit.

Resolved 76. That an allowance of £100 be made to Dr. Bunn for medical attendance on the Honble Company's Establishment at Red River, the retired Servants who cannot afford to pay for such and other pauper Settlers for the Current Outfit.

Resolved 77. That an allowance of £100 be made to Mr. John MacCallum, in aid of the Boarding School under his management for the Current Outfit.

Resolved 78. That the usual contribution of £100 per annum towards maintaining the Police Establishment of Red River be continued.

Resolved 79. That no Servants be permitted to settle at Red River Colony, unless they become purchasers from the proprietors of the soil of at least 50 acres of Land at 7/6 per acre; an order for the payment thereof to be deposited with the Gentleman in charge of the Depot to which they have been attached previous to their departure for the settlement.

Resolved 80. That all Furs killed by Commissioned Gentlemen, Clerks & Servants and their families be considered the property of the Company, and be paid for at the Indian Standard of the District, and that no Furs of any description be permitted to be used in, or sent out of the Country on private account except such as are purchased from the Stores; and that Furs so purchased for private or family use in the Country be always purchased for 10 per cent on the last nett average Sales, but that all Furs purchased for sending out of the Country be charged at the highest price obtained in England for such description of Furs during the preceding year.

With reference to the 20th Paragraph of the Govr & Committee's Dispatch of this season, regarding the expense incurred by the present mode of packing and sending home the Furs, It is

Resolved 81. That all Gentlemen superintending Districts be requested to give directions that the Beaver and Bear Skins procured in their respective Districts be well beaten and dusted

previous to their being packed, to instruct the Indian hunters to stretch and dry the Lynx Skins with the fur outside, to remove the genitals of the Male Martens, and to see that no Beaver or prime Bear Skins be used as wrappers or covers for packs in future.

Resolved 82. That the sum of £300 be annually set aside from the profits of the Fur trade, commencing with the last Outfit, as a fund from which to grant pensions to retiring meritorious Officers whose length of servitude and limited circumstances give them expectations which could not otherwise be realized.

Resolved 83. That agreeably to the recommendation of the Governor & Committee the sum of £100 be allowed to Mr. Colin Robertson, late Chief Factor, out of the above fund at their pleasure.

Resolved 84. That from want of the necessary information, it is not expedient at present to enter on the subject of renewing the Engagements of such Clerks and Postmasters whose Contracts have expired with the past Outfit, until the next sitting of Council; it is however understood that this resolution is not to operate to the prejudice of any of those entitled to increase of salary which will of course commence with the Current Outfit.

Resolved 85. That the amount of Requisition from England for shipment '41, do not exceed the sum of £——

Resolved 86. That the following Servants be engaged for the Northern Department on 5 years Contracts Viz

From Europe

- 2 Blacksmiths @ from £25 to £30 per anm
- 2 Coopers (Fisheurers) @ from £25 to £30 per anm
- 3 Masons @ from £25 to £30 per anm
- 2 Joiners @ £25 to £30 per anm
- 6 Sloopers @ £20
- 30 Labourers @ £16

—
45

From Canada 3 years Contracts

50 Voyageurs @ prix du Poste or £17 Ster. per annm.

Resolved 87. That Resolutions 88, 91, 92, 95, 98, 99, 100 and 101 of Council June 1837 be considered as forming part of the Standing Rules and Regulations of the Service and be added thereto—

Resolved 88. That in the purchase of Musk Rats throughout the Northern Department, except at Red River 12 large Rat Skins be considered *each* to a made Beaver; that in Red River 10 large Rat Skins be considered equal to a made Beaver; and that no small Rats be purchased at any price,

To prevent a recurrence of the inaccuracies found of late years in the Depot Fur Packing Accts It is

Resolved 89. That a Commissioned Gentleman or Clerk of correct habits of business be intrusted with the management of that branch of the Depot duties hereafter who will check the accounts of his subordinates by passing every skin through his own hands and that C. Trader Donald Manson be appointed to that duty this Summer at Yorkfactory.

With reference to the 32nd Paragraph of the Govr & Committee's Dispatch of 4th March last, on the subject of simplifying the Accounts by equalizing the percentages on Inland Inventories It is

Resolved 90. That an advance of 25 per cent be added to the York Depot Tariff (of 331/3 per cent on prime cost) on all inventories of imported Goods in the interior Districts to commence with the Inventories at the close of Outfit 1839 and that the District transfers be priced accordingly; but that the Sale of Tariff to Servants and Settlers be continued as heretofore throughout the Country.

With reference to the said Paragraph It is

Resolved 91. That Country made Articles of every description both at the Depot & Inland, and all Articles valued on the inventory of the Experimental Farm at Red River Settlement be hereafter included in the same Account with the Country Produce, at the fixed or established prices of the Department and form a transfer between the Outfits.

Resolved 92 That half the wages of all supernumerary Servants excepting Invalids be hereafter charged to the Depot or or District at which they may winter, and the remaining half to the General Expenses of the Department.

Resolved 93. That Chief Factors Finlayson and Ross and Chief Trader Todd take the necessary steps for carrying into effect the Governor & Committee's wishes in regard to the improvement of the roads on the Portages and Tracking Ground between York and Norway House.

In consequence of the great depreciation in the prices of Lynx and Musquash It is

Resolved 94. That not more than half the quantities shipped from York and Moose last year be sent to England this season.

Resolved 95. That this Council do now adjourn.

(Sgd)	Duncan Finlayson	C. F. President
	John Charles	Do
	John Rowand	Do
	Rodk McKenzie	Do
	Dond Ross	Do

Alexr Fisher	C. Trader
William Todd	Do
Donald Manson	Do

Minutes of Council
1841

Minutes of a Council held at Red River Settlement, Northern Department of Rupert's Land which commenced on the Fourteenth day of June, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty one, for the purpose of establishing such Rules and Regulations as may be considered expedient for conducting the business of the said Department, and in order to investigate the result of the trade of last year, conformably to the provisions of a Deed Poll under the seal of the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudsons Bay, bearing date, the sixth day of June, One Thousand, Eight Hundred and Thirty Four, at which were present the following members Viz

Sir George Simpson	Govr in chief
John Rowand	Chief Factor
Allan McDonnell	Do
Duncan Finlayson	Do
Donald Ross	Do
William Todd	Do Trader
Nicol Finlayson	Do
George Gladman	Do

Resolved 1. That the Rotations of Furlough for the Current Outfit 1841 are in favor of Chief Factors James Keith, Joseph Beioley and Alexander Christie with Chief Traders Thomas Frazer and George Gladman. That Chief Factor Joseph Beioley and Chief Traders Thomas Frazer and George Gladman avail themselves thereof; and that the rotations of Chief Factors James Keith and Alexander Christie be transferred to Chief Factors Wm. Connolly and Allen McDonell.

Resolved 2. That leave of absence for the Current Outfit be afforded to Chief Factor John Charles and Peter W. Dease with Chief Traders Thomas McMurray, John McLeod Jnr. and Alexander Simpson.

Resolved 3. That the rotations of Furlough for the ensuing year Outfit 1842 be considered in favor of C. Factors John Rowand, J. Lee Lewes and Rodk McKenzie, with Chief Traders W. H. McNeill and P. C. Pambrun.

In order to prevent any difficulty or misunderstanding hereafter in regard to Rotation of Furlough It is

Resolved 4. That no Commissioned Gentleman shall be entitled to Furlough, until the expiration of 7 years after his last Furlough or leave of absence.

Resolved 5. That the following appointments take place Viz

Districts	Chief Factors	Chief Traders
Athabasca		Colin Campbell
McKenzies River	J. Lee Lewes	Alexr Fisher
		John Bell
English River	R. McKenzie	
Saskatchewan	John Rowand	J. E. Harriott
Swan River		Wm. Todd
Red River	Duncan Finlayson	
Lac la Pluie		Nicol Finlayson
Norway House	Donald Ross	
Yorkfactory		James Hargrave
Columbia	John McLoughlin	Archd McDonald
	James Douglas	John Work
		Richard Grant
		Dond Manson
		W. H. McNeill
		P. C. Pambrun
New Caledonia	P. S. Ogden	John Tod

Winter Arrangements

Resolved 6. Athabasca

Fort Chippewayan	C. Campbell C. F.
	Wm. McMurray App. P. M.
Dunvegan	F. Butcher
Vermilion	Wm. Shaw P. M.
Great Slave Lake	G. Deschambeault Clk

Resolved 7. That 4 Boats and 29 men including the Guide and 250 pieces Goods constitute the Current Outfit for this District.

Resolved 8. That C. T. Campbell accompany his Brigade to Norway House Summer 1842 for the purpose of attending to the business of the District, and that the Clerks and Postmasters remain inland and be appointed as he may consider expedient.

Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 9. Athabasca

Fort Chippewyan	3 men inclu. Interpr
Dunvegan	3 " " Do
Vermilion	2 " " Do
Great Slave Lake	2 " " Do

Resolved 10. That C. T. Hargrave take the necessary steps to prepare and forward to Norway House about 220 pieces Goods for Athabasca Outfit 1842 by Indians or Red River Carriers.

Resolved 11. That C. T. Campbell and C. F. Ogden concert measures for conveying to New Caledonia the necessary quantity of dressed Leather, Parchment &c., for the use of the latter District; and that a Boat be furnished by Athabasca for the transport of the Leather to Rocky Mountain Portage.

Serious loss and inconveniences having arisen from the employment of Indians on Portage la Loche; and the absenting himself from his Brigade of the Gentleman in charge, contrary to repeated Resolutions on that subject, It is

Resolved 12. That any expense or loss hereafter incurred through such irregularities shall be charged to the private account of the Gentleman conducting the Brigade with a fine not exceeding Ten Pounds for such contumacy.

Winter Arrangements

Resolved 13. McKenzies River

Ft. Simpson

J. L. Lewes C. F.

P. C. Pambrun App. P. M.

Rivres au Laird

Chas. Brisbois Clk

Ft. Good Hope

A. Fisher C. T.

Fort Halkett

A. Isbister App. P. M.

Fort Norman

A. McBeath P. M.

Peels River

John Bell C. F.

H. McKenzie App. P. M.

Frances Lake &)

R. Campbell Clk

Extension of)

A. Christie App Clk

trade)

Resolved 14.—That 300 piece Goods in 5 Boats manned by 43 men including the Guide; 24 of whom are Red River men hired for the trip, and 19 men under Contracts as regular Servants who are intended for the District constitute the Current Outfit.

Resolved 15. That C. F. Lewes take the necessary steps to establish a Post at, or in the neighborhood of Frances Lake, supposed to be the head waters of Colville River falling into the Arctic Sea; should the discoveries made in that direction render such a measure advisable.

Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 16. McKenzies River

Ft. Simpson

2 men incl. Inter.

Rivres au Laird

2 " " Do

Fort Good Hope

2 " " Do

Fort Halkett

2 " " Do

Fort Norman

1 " " Do

Peels River 8) Summer &

Frances Lake 5) Winter

Resolved 17. That C. F. Lewes accompany his Brigade to Portage la Loche Summer 1842; and that the Commissioned Gentlemen, Clerks and Postmasters remain inland and be appointed as he may consider expedient.

Resolved 18. That Charles Brisbois Clerk be permitted to retire from the service, and accompany the Portage Brigade to Nor-

way House, Summer 1842 for the purpose of embarking in the last Canoe of the season for Canada.

Resolved 19. That C. T. Hargrave take the necessary steps to prepare and forward in the course of the present Summer, about 250 pieces Goods to Norway House for Outfit 1842; the same to be transported thence to Portage la Loche in 4 Boats to start on or before the 15th June 1842 manned by a Guide and 28 men, of whom 23 including the Guide are to be engaged for the trip at Red River; and 6 Servants under engagements for not less than 3 years to replace any that may retire from the District.

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 20. English River

Isle a la Crosse

Rapid River

Green Lake

Deers Lake

R. McKenzie C. F.

An Interpreter

J. Hodgson P. M.

An Interpreter

Resolved 21. That 150 pieces Goods in 3 Boats manned by 16 men including the Guide; and the Indians hired for the Trip from English River constitute the Current Outfit for this District.

Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 22. English River

Isle a la Crosse

Rapid River

T. Hodgson P. M. & 2 men

1 man

Resolved 23. That the usual quantity of dried provisions be provided and forthcoming for the use of the outward and inward bound Crafts Spring and Summer 1842.

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 24. Saskatchewan

Edmonton

Carlton

R. Mountn Ho.

Ft. Assineboine

Lesser Slave Lake

Fort Pitt

Jasper House

Cumberland

Moose Lake

J. Rowand C. F.

A. E. Petty App Clk

Patk Small Clerk

J. E. Harriott C. T.

Patk McKenzie App P. M.

John Rowand Clk

G. McDougall do

Henry Fisher Do

Colin Frazer P. M.

A. McPherson Clk

An Interpreter

Resolved 25. That about 550 pieces Goods in 10 Boats manned by 46 Servants belonging to the District constitute the Current Outfit; and that the Crews be made up by ingoing Servants belonging to the Districts of Columbia and New Caledonia.

Resolved 26. That the following Provisions and other Country Produce be provided by this District and brought to Norway House next season.

12 new Boats
 100 Bales dried meat
 400 Bags Com; Pemican 90 lb. ea.
 70 Bags fine Do 45 lb. ea.
 100 pairs tracking Shoes
 27 Leather Tents
 500 Buffalo Tongues

Resolved 27. That 120 Bags Pemican and the usual quantity of Country Produce be deposited at Cumberland House next season for the use of the Brigades passing.

Resolved 28. That a Boat and 2 men be left at York Factory for the purpose of conveying 12 of the servants coming from Europe by the Ship, inland, where, it is understood they are to pass the Winter; and that these 12 men be brought to the Depot next Summer for general distribution.

Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 29. Saskatchewan

Edmonton

J. E. Harriott C. T.

John Rowand Clk & 12 men

Patrick Small Clk & 7 men

An Interpr & 1 man

Carlton

Ft. Assiniboine

Lesser Slave Lake

G. McDougall Clk & 2 men

Fort Pitt

H. Fisher Clk & 4 men

Jasper House

C. Fraser P. M. & 1 man

Cumberland

A. McPherson Clk & 2 men

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 30. Swan River

Fort Pelly

Wm. Todd C. T.

Fort Ellice

J. R. McKay P. M.

Manitobah

An Interpreter

Shoal River

An Interpreter

Resolved 31. That about 200 pieces Goods, 3 Boats and 15 voyaging Servants constitute the Outfit for this District; one hundred pieces of these Goods for Fort Pelly, Manitobah and Shoal River; and the remainder to be forwarded partly on freight to Red River Settlement for the trade of Fort Ellice; the crews to be made up to 6 men each by Trippers hired for the voyage.

Resolved 32. That C. T. Todd take to Norway House next Spring 300 lb. Gum, 30 Bushels Salt and 20 good Leather Tents for distribution; and that he take the necessary steps to provide 300 Bushels Salt for the use of Red River Settlement; deliverably at the north end of Manitobah Portage; the price not to exceed 8/— per Bushel.

Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 33. Swan River

Fort Pelly

3 men incl. Interpreter

Fort Ellice

J. R. McKay P. M. & 7 men

Manitobah

An Interpreter

Shoal River

A Labourer

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 34. Red River

Fort Garry

D. Finlayson C. F.

Hector McKenzie Clk

Hector Lane App. Do

R. Ballantyne do

Lower Fort

John Black Clk

Recorder of Ruperts Land

Adam Thom

Warden of the Plains

Cuthbert Grant

Surveyor

George Taylor

Resolved 35. That the following supplies be provided at the Colony for exportation to Norway House Summer 1842 made up in sound and transportable packages and purchased at the usual price Viz

30 Bushel rough Barley

12 Cwt. good cured Beef

30 Cwt. Biscuit

30 Oak Boards 13 ft. long 7 x 1¼ in.

6 Oak Boards 15 ft. long 8 x 1¼ in.

55 Firkins Butter 56 lb ea.

10 half do do 28 lb ea.

6 Maccarons do

80 lb. Cheese

13 Kegs Eggs

6000 Cwt. best Flour

70 well cured Hams

50 Bales dried Meat

400 Bags Com; Pemican

46 Cwt. salted Pork

3 Bushels Onions

200 Portage Straps

3 Kegs salted Suet

12 Assortments Garden Seeds

Resolved 36. That a Guide and 22 men be engaged for the McKenzies River Transport and the Fall freight from Yorkfactory to Red River at £25 to the Guide, £16 to the Steersman, £14 to the Bowsman and £12 to the Middleman.

Resolved 37. That the price of Dollars in Red River during the Current Outfit be at the rate of 4/9 per ounce, or 4/1 Sterling per Dollar, and English Coins at the standard value.

Resolved 38. That the Lake Winnipeg Vessels be laid up at Norway House for the Winter for the purpose of undergoing a thorough repair.

Resolved 39. That C. F. Finlayson be authorized to renew the Contracts with Red River Carriers for the transport of the Outfit from Yorkfactory to the Settlement for a period of three years at a freight per piece not exceeding the terms of the last Contract.

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 40. Lac la Pluie

Fort Frances)	N. Finlayson C. T.
Fort Alexander)	Wm. Sinclair Clk
Rat Portage	D. McKenzie Do
Lac du bois Blanc	Jas Isbister P. M.

Resolved 41. That about 260 pieces Goods with a complement of 12 voyaging Servants constitute the Current Outfit; 140 of these to be taken from York to Norway House in 2 Boats manned by 12 voyaging Servants the remaining 120 pieces to be transported from York to Norway House on freight and from Norway House the whole to be transported in 4 Boats manned by 3 men each with the assistance of Indians.

Resolved 42. That the sum of £300 be paid by draft on the Governor & Committee to Ramsay Crook, Esquire in consideration of the opposition having been withdrawn from the frontiers of Lake Superior, Lac la Pluie and Red River Districts conformably to the terms of an arrangement entered into between the Hudsons Bay and American Fur Companies; the said amount to be charged to Lac la Pluie Outfit 1840.

As it is found that the Indians of this District will not furnish the requisite quantity of Rice for the use of the Posts unless they be indulged with a small quantity of spirituous Liquor; and as the want of such supplies would necessarily be productive of the most serious privation It is

Resolved 43. That in order to avert such privation, a quantity of Liquor not exceeding 8 Kegs be furnished Lac la Pluie District for the Current Outfit to be given as gratuities to the Indians of Fort Frances, Rat Portage and Lac du bois Blanc.

Resolved 44. Lac La Pluie

Fort Frances	3 men incl. Interpr
Fort Alexander	2 " " Do
Rat Portage	2 " " Do

Resolved 45. That Mr. William Sinclair proceed to York Factory by the first conveyance in Spring for the purpose of attending the sale shops; and that C. T. Finlayson make the necessary arrangements of the Clerk & Postmaster remaining Inland.

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 46. Norway House

Norway House	Donald Ross C. F.
	John Finlayson App Clk and 7 men
Berens River	R. Cummings P. M. & 2 men
Nelson River	J. Isbister P. M. & 2 men

Resolved 47. That 2 voyaging Servants belonging to this District assisted by 30 Indians, to be engaged for that purpose be employed to make one trip between Norway House and Yorkfactory with 4 Boats carrying 80 pieces each per trip upwards or 320 pieces in all; 120 pieces of which to form the District Outfit and the remaining 200 pieces Goods on freight.

Resolved 48. That with the exception of Red River and other Country produce, no supplies of any description be given or sold to servants or Districts at Norway House.

Resolved 49. That the 6 new hands intended for McKenzies river 1842 be stationed at Norway House during the Winter together with any supernumeraries that can be supplied from York in the Fall.

Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 50. Norway House

Norway House	Donald Ross C. F.
	John Finlayson App Clk and 7 men
Berens River	R. Cummings P. M. & 1 man
Nelson River	J. Isbister P. M. & 1 do

Winter Arrangements

Resolved 51. Yorkfactory

Yorkfactory	James Hargrave C. T.
	Wm. McTavish Aect.
	W. D. Gillespie Surgn
	G. Hamilton App. Clk
	R. Wilson P. M.
	A Sloopmaster
Churchill	R. Harding Clk
Severn	An Interpreter
Oxford House	R. Clouston App Clk
Island Lake	Wm. McKay P. M.

Resolved 52. That notwithstanding the appointment of Mr. Clouston to Oxford House, it is understood that he shall be at York during the summer for the purpose of attending to the Fur Store.

Resolved 53. That 30 men including Mechanics and the crew of the Frances Schooner constitute the Winter & Summer Establishment at Y'Factory.

Resolved 54. That 6 men constitute the Winter and Summer Establishment of Churchill with an Outfit amounting to about 90 pieces Goods and Provisions to be transported from York during the Summer by the Frances Schooner.

Resolved 55. That 60 pieces Goods and Provisions with 3 Servants constitute the Current Outfit for Severn; and that John Cromartie Interpreter and one of the Servants remain at the Post during the Summer, and the other two proceed to York early in June for the purpose of being employed there during the Summer.

Resolved 56. That Mr. Clouston be directed to employ 4 Boats manned by 32 Indians and a Guide in performing a double trip between the Depot and Norway House, in the transport of Goods & Returns; the lading of each Boat upwards to be 80 and downwards 70 pieces; 5 of which to be left at Oxford, and the remaining 65 pieces per Boat to be deliverable at Yorkfactory.

Resolved 57. That 75 pieces Goods transported in a Boat manned by 6 Servants and an Indian constitute the Current Outfit for Oxford & Island Lake.

Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 58.	Island Lake	
	Oxford House	Wm. McKay P. M. & 1 man
	Island Lake	1 man

Columbia Arrangements.

Resolved 59. Fort Vancouver

	J. McLoughlin C F
	James Douglas C F
	D. McTavish Clk
	G. T. Allen do
	G. B. Roberts P. M.
	F. Barclay Surgeon
	D. McLoughlin App Clk
	D. Cameron P M
	J. Birnie Clk
	Wm. McKintosh Clk
	J. M. Yale
	John Work C T
	Angus McDonald App Clk
	Charles Ross Clk
	J. B'te Gagnon Intr
	D. Manson C T
	F. Ermatinger Clk
	F. Payette P M
	Angus McDonald Intr
	Archd McDonald Intr

Fort George	
Nasqually	
Fort Langley	
Fort Simpson	
Fort McLoughlin	
Umpqua	
Bonaventura Expedn	
Snake Expedition &)	
Fort Hall)	
Fort Colville	

Flat Heads	D. McLean Clk
Contanais	J. McPherson P M
Thompsons River	Archd McKinlay Clk
Okanagan	An Interpreter
Nez Perceez	P. C. Pambrun C T
Stikine	Alexr Anderson Clk
	R. Finlayson App Clk
Tacoo	John Kennedy Clk & Surgeon
	J. O'Brien Clk
Disposable	Richard Grant, C T
	J. McLoughlin Jnr. Clk
	Charles Forrest P M
	Wm. Wood App Clk
	App Clk per Ship
	P. Ogden Clerk
	A. Lee Lewes do
Beaver Steamer	W. H. McNeil C T
	J. Carless Engineer
	Wm. Heath 1st mate
	C. Newell 2nd do
Ship Columbia	C. Humphries Master
	A. Lattey 1st mate
	G. Barton 2nd Do
Cadboro	J. Scarborough Master
	Wm. Mitchell 1st Mate
Cowelitr	Wm. Brochie Master
Sandwich Islands	P. S. Ogden C F
Stuarts Lake	H. Maxwell Clerk
Frazers Lake	Wm. McBean do
McLeods Lake	Paul Frazer
Alexandria	John Tod C F
Chilcotin	W. F. Lane Clk
Conollys Lake	J. McKintosh do
Fort George	Wm. Porteous App Clk
Babines	Wm. Thew Clk

Resolved 60. That C. T. Grant, C. T. Manson and Clerks Allan and Ogden with 50 Servants be forwarded to the Columbia District, and accompany the Saskatchewan Brigade under the charge of C. T. Harriott from the Depot to Edmonton, from thence proceed under the charge of C. T. Manson to Vancouver unless he may receive further instructions from C. F. McLoughlin en route; by which he will regulate his movements.

From the want of judgment and foolhardiness of many of our Guides in running Rapids which has already been productive of such melancholy results, in the loss of both lives & property particularly in the Columbia It is

Resolved 61. That no Guide or Steersman be hereafter permitted to run any rapid or Fall where the least danger is to be apprehended; and that any contravention or evasion of this Resolution be visited with the most severe punishment which the Governor and Council can legally inflict; and that no Gentlemen in charge of Brigades be allowed to absent themselves from such charge until they reach their destination.

Resolved 62. That all Gentlemen in charge of Districts, Posts and Brigades be directed to give publicity to the foregoing Resolution.

Resolved 63. That C. F. Ross be directed to take the necessary steps to provide and forward 3000 prime Otters by the Columbia Brigade this season for the meeting of our Contract with the Russian American Co. and that C. T. Harriott and C. T. Manson be particularly enjoined to take the most watchful care of those Skins from soil or damage of any kind during the voyage.

In order to ensure the due fulfilment of our Contract with the Russian American Company It is

Resolved 64. That C. F. Ross be authorized to order from the Posts in the Albany District, 800 Prime Otters annually, to be brought to Fort Alexander by men or Indians attached to those Posts, sufficiently early each Spring to be brought to Norway House by the outcoming Lac La Pluie Brigade.

Resolved 65. That C. F. Hargrave take measures to get conveyed to Y'Factory next Spring all the prime Otters procured at Severn during the Current Outfit for the purpose of being sent to the Columbia by the Saskatchewan Brigade.

Resolved 66. That an allowance of £100 with the usual supplies of Tea, Sugar &c., be made to the Catholic Mission of Red River Settlement for the current Outfit.

Resolved 67. That an allowance of £100 be made Dr. Bunn for medical attendance on the Companys Establishments at Red River, the retired Servants who cannot afford to pay for such and other pauper Settlers for the Current Outfit.

Resolved 68. That an allowance of £100 be made to Mr. John McCallum in aid of the boarding Schools under his management for the Current Outfit.

Resolved 69. That the usual contribution of £100 per annum towards maintaining the Police Establishment of Red River be continued.

Resolved 70. That Wm. McKay P. M. be furnished with 3 or 4 Indians, and the necessary implements for the improvement during the Summer of the Portages and River communications between Y'Factory and Norway House.

Resolved 71. That all Furs killed by Commissioned Gentlemen, Clerks and Servants and their families be considered the property of the Company, and be paid for at the Indian standard of the District; and that no Furs of any description, either made up or not made up shall be sent or taken out of the Country by any Individual on any pretence whatsoever under a penalty of Fifty Pounds Sterling. That Furs purchased on private account for personal or family use in the Country be charged at 10 per cent on the last nett average sale prices.

Resolved 72. That throughout the Country, except at Red River, none but Spring Rats shall hereafter be traded, and that 12 such Rats be considered equal to a made Beaver at all the Posts in the Northern and Southern Departments.

Resolved 73. That transfers to Districts and Posts from Fort Garry shop be at the regular sale Tariff to Servants & Settlers.

Resolved 74. That all unsaleable Goods remaining on hand at the Depots of York and Norway House, Red River Shop and Inland Districts be transferred and sold at fixed prices determined on by the Governor & Council as per accompanying list; and that all damaged Goods be disposed of at whatever prices they may fetch.

In consequence of the great depreciation in the price of Musquash It is

Resolved 75. That only half the Musquash retained at York last season together with the McKenzies River Return of that Article for the past Outfit be shipped for Europe this fall.

Resolved 76. That the usual Winter Packet between Moose and Yorkfactory be discontinued; and that the papers necessary for settling the Accounts between the Northern and Southern Departments be forwarded from York for the purpose of being sent on by the Sault St. Marys About the 20th January, and from Moose in sufficient time to be at Michipicoton on the 1st February.

Resolved 77. That the Gentleman in charge of Lake Superior Department be instructed to forward a Packet from the Sault St. Marys to Red River on the 1st February with all Letters and Papers that may be collected at the Sault or elsewhere within his charge previous to that date, and that no other Express be forwarded unless rendered necessary by very important circumstances. That a Packet for England be sent from Red River on the 1st November via St. Peters, if anything particular occurs; and that a duplicate Dispatch together with any subsequent information that may be considered worthy of notice, be forwarded by Lac La Pluie on the 20th January.

Resolved 78. That all Gentlemen superintending Districts be requested to give directions that the Beaver and Bear Skins

procured in their respective Districts be well beaten and dusted previous to their being packed; to instruct the Indians and Hunters to remove the genitals of the Male Martens and to see that no Beaver or prime Bear Skins be used as wrappers or covers for Packs in future.

Resolved 79. That the amount of Requisition from England for Shipment 1842 do not exceed the sum of £15000

Resolved 80. That the following Servants be engaged for the Northern Department on 5 years Contracts Viz—

From Europe

2 Blacksmiths @ from £25 to £30 per ann
 3 Boatbuilders @ from £25 to £30 per ann
 4 Sloopers @ £20 per ann
 11 Labourers @ £16 per ann

—
 20

From Canada on 3 years Contracts

40 Labourers at Prix du Poste
 From Red River on 3 years Contracts
 20 Labourers at Prix du Poste

To prevent a recurrence found of late years in the Depot Fur Packing Accounts It is

Resolved 81. That a Commissioned Gentleman or Clerk of correct habits of business be intrusted with the management of that branch of the Depot duties hereafter, who will check the accounts of his subordinates by passing every Skin through his own hands, and that W. F. Tolmie be appointed to that duty this Summer at Yorkfactory.

Resolved 82. That half the wages of all supernumerary Servants, except Invalids be hereafter charged to the Depot or District where they may Winter; and the remaining half to the general Expenses of the Department.

Resolved 83. That Chief Factors Finlayson and Ross and Chief Trader Hargrave take the necessary steps for carrying into effect, the Governor and Committee's wishes in regard to the improvement of the roads on the Portages and Tracking Grounds between York and Norway House.

Resolved 84. That the different Districts be supplied at York for the Current Outfit agreeably to a scheme of distribution approved by the Govr and Council, and forwarded to the Depot; except such Articles as may be required for the repairs of the Lake Winnipeg Vessels at Norway House.

Resolved 85. That a permanent Benefit Fund be established in aid of disabled, aged and retired Servants of the Honble Hudsons Bay Company, whose means may be inadequate for their

support; and that the following scale of contributions be adopted throughout the Service to commence on the 1st June 1841, and to be continued annually Viz

On all salaries of £20 and under	4/—
Between £20 and £30	5/—
30 " 40	6/—
40 " 50	7/—
50 " 60	8/—
60 " 70	9/—
70 " 80	10/—
80 " 90	11/—
90 " 100	12/—

and so on progressively; 1/— for every £10 of advanced salary.

In order to remove any misapprehension that may exist as to the footing on which the Gentlemen connected with the Wesleyan Missionary Society are intended to be placed at the Companys Establishments It is

Resolved 86. That Board and Lodging be afforded to the different Missionaries at the Establishments at which they are stationed in like manner as is provided for Commissioned Gentlemen in the Honble Companys Service. If single, to eat at the public Mess table where the Gentleman in charge of the Establishment presides, or if a family man, to live apart in a House to be provided specially for the accommodation of the Missionary and his family; each Missionary to be provided with the like allowances as are given to Commissioned Gentlemen in the Service; paying for such articles as he may require from the shops or Stores as are usually charged to the private accounts of Commissioned Gentlemen. And the services of the Companys Interpreters to be available to the Missionary in communication with the natives. That passages in the Companys Craft be afforded from one part of the Country to another, and when necessary to provide them with a special conveyance; that conveyance to be a half sized canoe manned 3 persons; The superintendent only to be provided with the means of conveyance for Winter traveling.

Resolved 87. That a place of public worship be erected at the Indian village in the vicinity of Norway House for the Wesleyan Mission; the dimensions of which to be 40 feet in length by 30 feet in width with a School house of 30 ft. by 24, and a residence for Mr. Jacobs the Schoolmaster; and that accommodations be provided for the Rev. Mr. Evans within the Establishment at Norway House.

Resolved 88. That a Commissioned Gentleman's allowance be forwarded from Yorkfactory to each of the undermentioned Wesleyan Missionaries Viz

Mr. Evans at Norway House

Mr. Jacobs at Norway House

Mr. Mason at Lac la Pluie

Mr. Rundle at Edmonton

Resolved 89. That the Engagements of the undermentioned Clerks and Postmasters be renewed for the term and at the salary affixed to their names respectively.

3 years from the 1st June 1840

Robert Campbell Clerk	£75
George Deschambeault Clerk	100
Francis Ermatnger Clerk	100
Paul Frazer Clerk	100
Wm. McBean Clerk	75
Donald McKenzie Clerk	£100
Archd McKinlay Clerk	100
Charles Ross Clerk	100
John Rowand Jnr Clerk	75
William Sinclair Clerk	100
Peter Ogden Clerk	50
Charles Forrest Postmaster	50
James Isbister Postmaster	40
John Isbister Postmaster	40
G. B. Roberts Postmaster	60
William Shaw Postmaster	40

3 years from 1st June 1841

G. T. Allan Clerk	£100
James Bunce Clerk	100
Francis Butcher Clerk	100
Henry Fisher Clerk	100
John Kennedy Surgeon & Clerk	150
W. F. Lane Clerk	100
Hector McKenzie Clerk	100
Andrew McPherson Clerk	135
Dugald Mactavish Clerk	100
W. G. Rae Clerk	100
John O'Brien Clerk	75
Patrick Small Clerk	100
James M. Yale Clerk	100
Colin Fraser Postmaster	40
Wm. McKay Postmaster	50
Robert Wilson Postmaster	40

3 years from 1st June 1842

Alexander Anderson Clerk	£100
Robert Harding Clerk	100
George McDougall Clerk	£100 per anm
John McKintosh Clerk	100
Dugald McLean Clerk	75

John McLoughlin Jnr. Clerk	100
John Finlayson Clerk	75
William Porteous Clerk	60
Angus McDonald Clerk	75
William Wood Clerk	60
Robert Cummings P. M.	50
Thomas Hodgson P. M.	40
Adam McBeath do	50
J. R. McKay do	60

From 1st June 1841

P. C. Pambrun Jnr. App. P. M.	5 years @ £20
William Todd Jnr. App P. M.	5 years @ £20
John Garrioch Intr	3 years @ £30

The impoverishments of the County in the article of Beaver is increasing to such an alarming extent that it becomes necessary to take effectual measures for providing an immediate remedy; to that end It is

Resolved 90. That the Gentlemen in charge of Districts and Posts be strictly enjoined to discourage the Hunting of Beaver by every means in their power; and that not more than half of the number collected Outfit 1839 be traded during the Current and two ensuing Outfits at the undermentioned Districts and Posts Viz

Northern Department

Athabasca	Fort Chippewyan
	Dunvegan
	Vermilion
	Great Slave Lake
McKenzies River	Fort Simpson
	Fort du Laird
	Fort Good Hope
	Fort Norman
English River	Isle a la Crosse
	Green Lake
	Deer Lake
	Rapid River
Saskatchewan	Fort Assineboine
	Jaspers House
	Lesser Slave Lake
	Cumberland
	Moose Lake
Swan River	Shoal River
Norway House	Norway House
	Nelson River
Yorkfactory	Yorkfactory
	Churchill
	Severn

	Oxford House
	Island Lake
	Southern Department
Albany	Albany Factory
	Martins Falls
	Osnaburg
	Lac Saul
Moose	Moose Factory
Ruperts River	Ruperts House
	Big River

and as a further remedy for the evil; if it be found that Gentlemen disregard this instruction as they have done many others issued from time to time for the same object, It is

Resolved 91. That the Governor & Committee be respectfully advised to give notice of retirement from the Service to such Gentlemen as may not give effect to the spirit and letter of the Resolutions now passed for the preservation of Beaver. In order to encourage the Indians to greater exertions in hunting other Furs, and that they may not suffer any privation in consequence of the proposed restrictions, It is

Resolved 92. That all Indians and Posts where this restriction exists and who do not kill Beaver be paid in Goods the value of 10 Skins or made Beaver for every 9 Skins in small Furs they trade in course of the year.

Resolved 93. That all Servants who are or who may hereafter be received into the Service at Wages exceeding £17 Sterg per ann or Prix du Poste be charged for all purchases made in his country at an advance of 50 per Cent on the usual sale Tariff to Servants, Summer and Winter.

In furtherance of the important object of discontinuing the use of spirituous Liquor throughout the Country where it can be done with safety, It is

Resolved 94. That no Liquor be given to the Indians of the following Posts Viz Yorkfactory, Churchill, and Severn; and that in lieu of their usual presents in that Article, quantities of Provisions, Ammunition and Tobacco of equal value be presented to the Indians of those Posts.

In order to simplify the business of Yorkfactory and to ascertain more correctly the result of each branch of the business thereof It is

Resolved 95. That in future the accounts of the Indian Shop or Fur trade, and the Depot business be kept separate and distinct.

Resolved 96. That dressed Leather and Parchment be supplied the Southern Department as follows; to be packed and Invoiced separately at Yorkfactory and shipped for England.

1500 Dressed Moose and Red Deer Skins @ 5/6
 100 Dressed Reindeer do @ 2/6
 200 Parchment Moose and Red Deer do @ 3/6
 500 Parchment Reindeer do @ 2/—

Resolved 97. That all purchases made by Wesleyan Missionaries from the Company's Shops or Stores be charged at the Tariff used for Sales to Servants.

Resolved 98. That in valuing the Returns of all Districts throughout the Northern, Southern and Montreal Departments, the annexed average Price List be adopted.

In order the more accurately to ascertain the result of the arrangement with the Russian American Fur Company under the provisions of the Agreement of and of any other transaction with that association It is

Resolved 99. That all such transactions be considered as forming parts of the operations of a District, in like manner as New Caledonia or any other District in the Columbia Department and be styled "Russian American Transactions."

Resolved 100. That an Indent for the supply for Red River Settlement from Europe be prepared distinctly from the Northern Department General Indent; the former to be made up in transportable packages under the mark of "R. R. S." agreeably to the notes appended to the Indent. As many of those Goods to be forwarded after the arrival of the Ship in the fall of the year as possible.

Resolved 101. That Resolutions 88, 91, 92, 95, 98 and 101 of Council June 1837 be considered as forming part of the Stand-the Rules and Regulations of the Service and be added thereto.

Resolved 102. That this Council do now adjourn.

(Sgd) George Simpson Governor
 John Rowand C. F.
 Allan McDonell do
 Duncan Finlayson do
 Donald Ross do
 William Todd C. T.
 Nicol Finlayson do
 George Gladman do

Minutes of Council
 1842.

MINUTES of a temporary COUNCIL, held at NORWAY HOUSE, Northern Department of Rupert's Land, which commenced on the 21st June, 1842, for the purpose of establishing such Rules and Regulations as may be considered expedient for conducting the business of the said Department, and in order to investigate the result of the Trade of last year, conformably to

the provisions of a Deed Poll under the seal of the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay, bearing date the 6th June, 1834, at which the following members were present, viz:—

Duncan Finlayson,	Chief Factor, President.
Roderick McKenzie,	Do
Donald Ross,	Do
J. E. Harriott,	Chief Trader
William Todd,	Do
George Gladman,	Do

Resolved 1. That the rotations of furlough for the current outfit, 1842, be in favour of Chief Factors John Rowand, J. Lee Lewis, and Roderick McKenzie, with Chief Traders W. H. McNeil and George Barnstone.

Resolved 2. That Chief Factors John Rowand and Roderick McKenzie, and Chief Traders W. H. McNeil and George Barnstone having given no intimation of their intention to avail themselves of their rotations this season, their services be considered disposable for the current outfit.

Resolved 3. That Chief Factor Lewis cannot avail himself of his rotation of furlough for the current outfit; such being contrary to the tenor of the 4th Resolution of last year's Council, which declares that no commissioned officer shall be entitled to furlough until the expiration of 7 years after his last furlough or leave of absence.

Resolved 4. That leave of absence for the current outfit be afforded to Chief Factors John Charles, Joseph Beioley, William Conolly, Allan McDonell, and P. W. Dease, with Chief Traders Thomas McMurray, and John McLean.

Resolved 5. That the rotations of furlough for the ensuing year, Outfit 1843, be considered in favour of Chief Factors Duncan Finlayson and P. S. Ogden, and Chief Traders John Bell, Thomas Corcoran and John McLean.

In order to prevent any difficulties or misunderstandings hereafter in regard to the rotation of Furlough It is

Resolved 6. That no Commissioned Gentleman shall be entitled to Furlough until the expiration of 7 years after his last Furlough or leave of absence.

Resolved 7. That the following appointments take place:—

Districts	Chief Factors	Chief Traders
Athabasca		C. Campbell
McKenzie's River	J. Lee Lewis	Alexr. Fisher
		John Bell
English River	R. McKenzie	
Saskatchewan	J. Rowand	J. E. Harriott

Swan River		William Todd
Red River	D. Finlayson	
Lac La Pluie		N. Finlayson
Norway House	Donald Ross	
York Factory		J. Hargrave
		Geo. Gladman
Columbia	J. McLoughlin	John Work
	J. Douglas	Richard Grant
	Arch'd McDonald	Donald Manson
		W. H. McNeil
		Wm. Glen Rae
		Fras. Ermatinger
New Caledonia	P. S. Ogden	John Tod

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 8. Athabasca

Fort Chippewyan	Colin Campbell C. T.
William McMurray,	Apprentice Postmaster
Dunvegan	Francis Butcher, Clerk.
Vermilion	William Shaw, P. M.
Great Slave Lake.	George Deschambeault, Clerk

Resolved 9. That 3 boats and 22 men, including the Guide, and 190 pieces of Goods constitute the Current Outfit for this district.

Resolved 10. That C. T. Campbell accompany his Brigade to Norway House, summer 1843, for the purpose of attending to the business of the district; and that the clerks and postmasters remain inland and be appointed as he may consider expedient.

Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 11. Athabasca.

Fort Chippewyan.	3 men,	including interpreter
Dunvegan	3	do
Vermilion	2	do
Great Slave Lake	2	do

Resolved 12. That C. T. Hargrave take the necessary steps to prepare and forward to Norway House about 190 pieces of Goods for Athabasca, Outfit 1843, by Indians or Red River Carriers.

Resolved 13. That a boat be furnished by Athabasca District and conveyed to the Rocky Mountain Portage early in the Fall of 1843 for the transport of the Leather &c. for New Caledonia; and that as Chief Factor Ogden has intimated that no leather or Country Produce be required for that district that none be sent thither for the current Outfit.

The encouragement afforded by Athabasca and McKenzie's River Districts for the assembling of Indians in large bands at Portage La Loche being found exceedingly injurious to the

interests of English River District and likely to become dangerous to the passing brigades IT IS

Resolved 14. That the Gentlemen in charge of Brigades belonging to those Districts be strictly prohibited from affording such encouragement in future, either by payment on public account, or by private payment on account of the people for assistance in transporting the Outfit or Returns on that Portage.

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 15. McKenzies River.

Fort Simpson	J. Lee Lewis, C. F.
	James Pruden, Apprentice P. M.
Riviere aux Liards.	Alexander Christie, Clerk
Fort Good Hope,	Alexander Fisher, C. T.
Fort Halkett.	William Hardisty, Appce. P. M.
Fort Norman,	Adam McBeath, P. M.
Peel's River,	John Bell, C. T.
Frances Lake,	Robert Campbell, Clerk
	P. C. Pambrun, Appce P. M.

Resolved 16. That 300 pieces Goods in 5 boats, manned by 36 men, including the Guide, 30 of whom are Red River men hired for the trip and 6 men under contracts as regular servants who are intended for the district constitute the current outfit.

Resolved 17. That C. F. Lewis be directed to prosecute and extend the trade in the newly discovered countries to the West, as far as the means at his disposal may permit.

Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 18. McKenzie's River.

Fort Simpson	2 Men including interpreter.
Riviere au Liard	2 Do
Fort Good Hope	2 Do
Fort Halkett	
Fort Norman	1 Do
Peel's River	8 Men Summer & Winter
Frances Lake	5 Men Summer & Winter

Resolved 19. That C. F. Lewis accompany his Brigade to Portage La Loche, summer 1843, and that the Commissioned Gentlemen, Clerks and Postmasters attached to the District remain inland and be appointed as he may consider expedient.

Resolved 20. That Hector McKenzie, Apprentice Postmaster, be permitted to retire from the Service, Summer 1843, and that he be furnished with a passage to Red River Settlement.

Resolved 21. That C. T. Hargrave be directed to prepare and forward in the course of the present summer, about 250 pieces Goods to Norway Horse for Outfit 1843: the same to be transported thence to Portage La Loche in 4 Boats, to start on or

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 23. That 120 pieces Goods, in 2 Boats manned by 15 men, including the Guide, and Indians hired for the trip in English River, constitute the Current Outfit for this District.

Resolved 24. English River.

Resolved 25. That the usual quantity of dried provisions be provided and forthcoming for the use of the inward and outward bound Brigades Spring and Summer, 1843.

Resolved 25. Saskatchewan

Resolved 27. That about 450 pieces Goods, in 9 Boats manned by 43 servants belonging to the District, constitute the Current Outfit, and that the crews be made up by ingoing servants belonging to Columbia and New Caledonia Districts.

Resolved 28. That the following provisions and other Country Produce be provided by this District and brought to Norway House next summer:—

Resolved 29. That 120 Bags Pemican and the usual quantity of Country Produce be deposited at Cumberland House next season, for the use of the Brigades passing.

Resolved 30. That a boat and 2 men be left at York Factory for the purpose of conveying 6 Labourers and a boat carpenter, coming by the ship, inland; the carpenter to be attached to the district and the labourers to be brought to the Depot next spring.

Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 31. Saskatchewan	J. E. Harriott, C. T.
Edmonton	P. Ogden, Clerk, and 12 men
Carlton	P. Small, Clerk, and 7 men
Lesser Slave Lake	G. McDougall, Clerk & 2 men
Fort Pitt	H. Fisher, Clerk & 4 men
Jasper's House	Colin Fraser, P. M. & 1 man
Cumberland	J. Rowand, Jr. Clk., & 2 men.

Resolved 32. That C. F. Rowand be authorized to make the Summer and Winter Arrangements of the Commissioned Gentlemen, Clerks and Postmasters as he may consider expedient.

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 33. Swan River	William Todd, C. T.
Fort Pelly	J. R. McKay, P. M.
Fort Ellice,	An Interpreter
Manitobah	An Interpreter
Shoal River	An Interpreter

Resolved 34. That about 180 pieces Goods, in 3 Boats and 15 voyaging Servants constitute the Outfit of this District; 100 pieces of these Goods for Fort Pelly, Manitobah and Shoal River, and the remainder to be forwarded partly on freight to Red River Settlement for the trade of Fort Ellice; the crews of the boats to be made up to 6 men each by Trippers hired for the voyage.

Resolved 35. That C. T. Todd take to Norway House next spring 200 lbs. Gum, 20 good Leather Tents, 30 bushels Salt, 15 bags fine Pemican each 45 lbs, and 15 bales dried Meat for distribution; and that he take the necessary steps to provide 200 bushels Salt for the use of Red River Settlement, deliverable at the north end of Manitobah Portage, the price not to exceed 8/— (shillings) per bushel.

Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 36. Swan River	
Fort Pelly	2 men, including interpreter
Fort Ellice	J. R. McKay, P. M. and 7 men
Manitobah	An Interpreter
Shoal River	A Labourer

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 37. Red River	
Fort Garry	Duncan Finlayson, C. F.

	Richard Lane, Apprentice Clerk
Lower Fort	John Black, Clerk
Recorder of Rupert's Land,	Adam Thom.
Warden of the Plains,	Cuthbert Grant.
Surveyor	George Taylor.

Resolved 38. That the following supplies be provided at the Colony for exportation to Norway House, Summer 1843, made up in sound and transportable packages, and purchased at the usual prices, viz:—

35 bushels rough Barley	
3 bushels French Beans	50 bales dried Meat
12 cwt good cured Beef	500 bags common Pemican
30 cwt Biscuit	45 cwt salt Pork
34 oak Boards, 13 ft., 7x $\frac{3}{4}$ in	3 bushels Onions
8 oak Boards, 15 ft., 8x $\frac{3}{4}$ in	200 Portage Straps
12 oak Boards, 10 ft, 10x2 in	12 assmts. Garden Seeds
60 firkins Butter each 56 lbs	3 Kegs salted Suet
10 Half firkins Butter each 28 lbs.	400 cwt best dried Flour)
6 Macaroons Butter	1st and 2nd Quality)
80 lbs Cheese	200 cwt best dried Flour)
10 bushels Indian Corn	1st Quality)
15 kegs Eggs	
60 Hams	

5000 white oak Staves for 8 gal. kegs, 22 in by $3\frac{1}{2}$ x $\frac{3}{4}$ in
 1000 white oak Headings for 8 gal kegs 20 in by 4 x $\frac{3}{4}$ in
 600 white oak Staves for 24 gal kegs, 30 in by $5\frac{1}{2}$ x $\frac{7}{8}$ in
 250 white oak Headings for 24 gal kegs, 20 in by $6\frac{1}{2}$ x 1 in.

Resolved 39. That Red River Produce of every description be valued on Inventory at Norway House and York Factory at prime cost with $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. thereon, to cover freight, packages and other charges at Red River; and when sold to Servants the price to be $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on Inventory Tariff.

Resolved 40. That a Guide and 22 men be engaged, for McKenzie's River Transport and the Fall Freight from York Factory to Red River, at £25 to the Guide, £16 to the Steersmen, £— to the Bowsmen, and £— to the Middlemen.

Resolved 41. That the price of Dollars in Red River during the current Outfit be at the rate of $4/9d$ per oz. or $4/1d$ Sterling per Dollar, and English coins at the standard value.

Resolved 42. That the new vessel built at Norway House be laid up for the winter at Red River, and that another vessel of the same dimensions be built next winter at the latter place, if practicable.

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 43. Lac La Pluie

Fort Frances
 Fort Alexander

Nichol Finlayson C. T.
 William Sinclair, Clerk

Rat Portage	D. McKenzie, Clerk
Lac du Bois Blanc	James Isbister, P. M.

Resolved 44. That about 240 pieces Goods, with a complement of 12 voyaging Servants, constitute the Current Outfit; 140 pieces of these to be taken from York to Norway House in 2 boats manned by 12 voyaging servants, and the remaining 100 pieces to be transported to Norway House on freight, and from Norway House the whole to be transported in 4 boats, manned by 3 men each with the assistance of Indians.

Resolved 45. That the sum of £300 Sterling be paid, by Draft on the Governor and Committee, to Ramsay Crooks, Esq., in consideration of the opposition having been removed from the frontiers of Lake Superior, Lac La Pluie and Red River Districts, conformably to the terms of an agreement entered into between the Hudson's Bay Company and the American Fur Company; the said amount to be charged to Lac La Pluie, Outfit 1841.

Resolved 46. That 8 kegs spirits be furnished Lac La Pluie District for the Current Outfit, to be given as Gratuities to the Indians of Fort Frances, Rat Portage and Lac du Bois Blanc.

Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 47. Lac La Pluie

Fort Frances	3 men including interpreter
Fort Alexander	2 Do
Rat Portage	2 Do

Resolved 48. That it be discretionary with C. T. Finlayson to make the necessary Summer Appointments of the Clerks and Postmasters remaining inland.

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 53. Norway House

Norway House	Donald Ross, C. F. R. M. Ballantyne, Appee Clerk and 7 men.
Berens River	R. Cummings, P. M. & 2 men
Nelson River	J. Isbister, P. M. & 2 men

Resolved 50. That 2 Voyaging Servants belonging to the District assisted by 30 Indians, to be engaged for that purpose, be employed to make two trips to York Factory with 4 Boats, carrying 80 pieces each per trip upwards; and that 110 pieces of Goods constitute the Outfit for this District.

Resolved 51. That, with the exception of Red River or other Country Produce, no supplies of any description are to be given or sold to servants or Districts at Norway House.

Resolved 52. That the 6 new hands intended for McKenzie's River consist of 1 Boat Carpenter, 1 Blacksmith and 4 Labour-

ers, and be stationed at Norway House during the winter, together with any supernumeraries that can be supplied from York in the fall.

Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 53. Norway House

Norway House

Donald Ross C. F.

Robert Michael Ballantyne, Apprentice Clerk, and 7 men

Berens River

R. Cummings, P. M. and 1 man

Nelsons River

J. Isbister, P. M. and 1 man

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 54. York Factory

York Factory.

J. Hargrave, C. T.

Wm. McTavish, Accountant

H. McKenzie, Clerk

W. D. Gillespie, Surgeon

R. Clouston, Clerk

G. Hamilton, Apprentice Clerk

Robert Wilson, P. M.

Churchill

Robert Harding, Clerk

Severn

An Interpreter

Oxford House

George Gladman, C. T.

Island Lake

Wm. McKay, P. M.

Resolved 55. That notwithstanding the appointment of Mr. Gladman to Oxford House it is understood that he shall be at York Factory during the summer for the purpose of attending the Fur Stores.

Resolved 56. That 30 men, including Mechanics, and the crew of the schooner "Frances," constitute the Winter and Summer Establishment of York Factory.

Resolved 57. That 6 men constitute the Summer and Winter Establishment of Churchill, with an Outfit amounting to about 90 pieces Goods, Provisions, to be transported from York Factory during the summer by the Frances schooner.

Resolved 58. That 60 pieces Goods with 3 Servants constitute the Current Outfit of Severn. That J. Cromartie, Interpreter, and one servant remain at the post during the summer, unless otherwise directed by C. T. Hargrave, and that the other two proceed to York Factory early in June, for the purpose of being employed there during the summer.

Resolved 59. That Mr. Gladman be directed to employ 4 Boats, manned by 32 Indians and a Guide, in performing a double trip between York Factory and Norway House in the transport of Returns—the lading of each boat upwards to be 80 pieces and 65 pieces downwards, 5 of which to be left at Oxford and

the remaining 60 pieces per boat to be deliverable at York Factory.

Resolved 60. That 75 pieces Goods, transported in a boat manned by 6 servants and 1 Indian, constitute the current outfit for Oxford and Island Lake outposts.

Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 61. Island Lake

Oxford House	Wm. McKay, P. M., and 1 man
Island Lake	1 man

Resolved 62. Columbia Arrangements

Fort Vancouver	J. McLoughlin, C. F.
	James Douglas, C. F.
	Alexander Anderson, Clerk
	Dougald McTavish, Clerk
	Forbes Barclay, Surgeon
	D. McLoughlin, Apprentice Clerk
	G. B. Roberts, P. M.
	J. Lee Lewis, Clerk
	D. Harvey, Clerk & Farmer
Fort George	James Birnie, Clerk
Nasqually	Angus McDonald, Clerk
Fort Langley	J. M. Yale, Clerk
Fort Simpson	John Work, C. T.
	Roderick Finlayson, Apprentice Clerk
Fort McLoughlin	Charles Ross, Clerk
Umpqua	Jean Baptiste Ganier, Interpreter
Bonaventura Expedition.	Fras Ermatinger, C. T.
Snake Expedition &	
Fort Hall	Richard Grant, C. T.
	Angus McDonald, Interpreter
	Francois Payette, Clerk
Fort Colville	Archibald McDonald, C. F.
Flat Heads	J. McPherson, P. M.
Coutonais	Patrick McKenzie, App. P. M.
Thompson's River	Donald Manson, C. T.
	D. Cameron, P. M.
Okanagan	An Interpreter
Nez Perceez	Archibald McKinlay, Clerk
Stikine	J. McLoughlin, Clerk
Takoo	J. Kennedy, Clerk & Surgeon
Disposable	Charles Forrest, P. M.
	William Todd, App. P. M.
"Beaver" steamer	W. H. McNeil, C. T.
	J. Carless, Engineer
	Wm. Heath, 1st Mate
"Vancouver"	A. Duncan.
"Cadboro"	J. Scarborough, Master

	Wm. Mitchell, Mate
"Cowlitz"	Wm. Brothie, Master
	Charles Dodd, 1st Mate
	Edward Heald, 2nd Mate
Sandwich Islands	George Pelly, Agent
	George Allan, Clerk
California	W. Glen Rae, C. T.
New Caledonia.	
Stuart's Lake	P. S. Ogden, C. F.
	H. Maxwell, Clerk
Fraser's Lake	Wm. F. Lane, Clerk
McLeod's Lake	Paul Fraser, Clerk
Alexandria	John Tod, C. T.
Chilcotin	D. McLean, Clerk
Conolly's Lake	Wm. McBean, Clerk
Fort George	Wm. Porteous, Do
Babines	John McKintosh, Clerk

Resolved 63. That it be discretionary with C. F. McLoughlin to make the appointments of the Commissioned Gentlemen, Clerks and Postmasters in the Columbia Department—which is understood to comprehend the Columbia proper, the N. W. Coast, New Caledonia, Sandwich Islands, and the Marine department—it being understood that C. F. Ogden make the appointments of the Gentlemen in New Caledonia as he may consider expedient.

Resolved 64. That Alexander Anderson, Clerk, and William Todd, Apprentice P. M. with 20 servants be forwarded to the Columbia District, and accompany the Saskatchewan Brigade under the charge of C. T. Harriott from the Depot (York Factory) to Edmonton, from thence proceed under the charge of Mr. Anderson to Vancouver, unless he may receive further instructions from C. F. McLoughlin *en route*, by which he will regulate his movements.

From the want of judgment and the foolhardiness of many of the Guides in running rapids, which have already been productive of such melancholy results, in the loss of both lives and property especially in the Columbia—It is

Resolved 65. That no Guide nor Steersman be hereafter permitted to run any rapid or fall, where the least danger is to be apprehended; and that any contravention or evasion of this Resolution be visited with the most severe punishment which the Governor and Council can legally inflict; and that Gentlemen in Charge of Brigades be not allowed to absent themselves from such charge until they reach their destination.

Resolved 66. That all Gentlemen in Charge of Districts, Posts and Brigades be directed to give publicity to the foregoing Resolution.

Resolved 67. That in accordance with the 23rd paragraph of Governor Sir George Simpson's dispatch to the Governor and Committee, dated Fort Vancouver 25th November, 1841, Chief Factor McLoughlin take the necessary steps for abandoning the Posts of Fort McLoughlin and Takoo in Summer 1843, and the Posts of Stikine in Summer 1844, and for fitting the "Beaver" Steamer to secure the trade usually collected at these abandoned Establishments.

It being considered in many points of view expedient to form a Depot at the Southern end of Vancouver's Island, IT IS Resolved 68. That an eligible site for such a Depot be selected, and that measures be adopted for forming this Establishment with the least possible delay.

Resolved 69. That C. F. Ross be directed to take the necessary steps to provide and forward 3000 Otters and 150 prime Fishers by the Columbia Brigade for the purpose of meeting our contract with the Russian American Fur Company; and that C. T. Harriott and Mr. Anderson be particularly enjoined to take the most watchful care of those Skins from soil or damage of any kind during the Voyage.

Resolved 70. That C. F. Ross be further directed to concert measures with Gentlemen in the Southern Department to procure from the Albany District the requisite number of Otters to complete the Contract with the Russian American Company, deliverable at Fort Alexander not later than the 15th June, 1843.

Resolved 71. That C. T. Hargrave take measures to get conveyed to York Factory next spring all the prime Otters procured at Severn during the current outfit, for the purpose of being sent to the Columbia by the Saskatchewan.

Resolved 72. That an allowance of £100 be made Mr. John McCallum in aid of the boarding School under his management, for the Current Outfit

Resolved 73. That an allowance of £100 be made to Dr. Bunn for medical attendance at the Company's Establishments at Red River, and on the retired Servants who cannot afford to pay for such, as well as on other pauper settlers, for the Current Outfit.

Resolved 74. That the usual contribution of £100 per annum towards maintaining the Police Establishment of Red River be continued.

Resolved 75. That an allowance of £100, with the usual supplies of Tea, Sugar &c. be made to the Catholic Mission of Red River Settlement for the Current Outfit.

Resolved 76. That an allowance of £100 be made to the Catholic Mission under the superintendence of the Rev Mr Blanchette in the Columbia District for the Current Outfit.

Resolved 77. That William McKay, P. M., be furnished with 3 or 4 Indians and the necessary implements, during the summer, for improving the portage and river communications between York Factory and Norway House.

Resolved 78. That throughout the Country none but spring rats (musquash) shall hereafter be traded, and that 10 such rats be considered equal to a Made-Beaver, at all Posts and Districts in the Northern Department

In compliance with the 30th paragraph of the Governor and Committee's dispatch of 30th March, 1842, regulating the exportation of Musquash from the Bay by the ships of the season, It is

Resolved 79. . That no more than about 500,00 Musquash be shipped for Europe the autumn, estimated as follows:—say Southern Department Returns Outfit 1839 & 40, 183,000, and those of Outfit 1841 supposed to amount to 90,000; likewise McKenzie's River Musquash of Outfit 1841 about 30,000, and 234,000 of the Northern Department Returns of Outfits 1839 and 1840 now in store at York Factory.

Resolved 80. That no small or damaged Musquash be shipped for Europe this season, as such only swell up the Returns, cause expense for Insurance and other charges, and in the end realize little or nothing in the English market.

Resolved 81. That the usual Winter Packet between Moose and York Factory be discontinued; and that the papers necessary for settling the annual accounts between the Northern and the Southern Departments be forwarded from York in sufficient time to reach Fort Garry before the despatch of the Red River Winter Packet for Sault St. Marie about the 20th January; the said papers to be left at Michipicoton, and thence to be forwarded to Moose by the first convenient opportunity. That the papers from Moose be sent by the usual Winter Packet to Michipicoton and thence to York by the Montreal Spring Express Canoe.

Resolved 82. That the Gentleman in Charge of Lake Superior District be instructed to forward a Packet from the Sault Ste Marie to Red River on the 1st February, with all letters and papers for gentlemen on the communication to, and in the Northern Department that may be collected at the Sault or elsewhere within his charge previous to that date; and that no other express be forwarded unless rendered necessary by very important business.

Resolved 83. That a Packet for England be sent from Red River on the 1st November via St. Peters, if anything particular occurs, and that a duplicate dispatch together with any such subsequent information that may be considered worthy of notice be forwarded by Lac La Pluie on the 20th January next.

Resolved 84. That the amount of the Requisition from England for shipment 1843 do not exceed £17,500, say £13,000 for the Northern Department and £4,500 for Red River Settlement.

Resolved 85. That the following Servants be engaged for the Northern Department, from Europe under 3 year's Contracts:—

- 2 Blacksmiths at from £25 to £30 per annum
- 3 Boatbuilders at from £25 to £30 per annum
- 2 Coopers at from £25 to £30 per annum
- 23 Labourers at from £16 to £17 per annum

—
30

From Canada on 3 year's Contracts—

20 Labourers at Prix de Poste

From Red River on 3 year's Contracts—

20 Labourers at Prix de Poste

Resolved 86. That a Commissioned Gentleman's Allowance be forwarded from York Factory to each of the undermentioned Wesleyan Missionaries:—

Mr. Evans, Norway House

Mr. Rundle, Edmonton

Mr Mason, Lac La Pluie -

Resolved 87. That the following Clerks and Postmasters be engaged for the term, and at the salaries affixed to their names respectively:—

Henry Maxwell, Clerk 3 years £60 from 1st June, 1841

Alexander Christie, Jr., Clerk 3 years £75 from 1st June, 1842

Samuel McKenzie, P. M. 3 years £30 from 1st June, 1842

William Hardisty, App. P. M. 3 years £20 from 1st June, 1842

James Pruden, App. P. M. 3 years £20 from 1st June, 1842

Robert Campbell, Clerk, Salary to be increased to £100 from 1st June, 1841 to 1843.

Resolved 88. That the following Clerks be permitted to retire from the Service this season:—

Andrew McPherson

William Thew,

Charles Brisbois.

The impoverished state of the country in the article of Beaver is increasing to such an alarming extent that it becomes necessary to take practical measures for providing an immediate remedy, to that end it is

Resolved 89. That the Gentlemen in Charge of Districts and Posts be strictly enjoined to discourage the hunting of Beaver by every means in their power, and that no more than one half the number collected Outfit 1839 be traded during the Current and ensuing Outfits at the undermentioned Districts and Posts, viz:—

Northern Department.

Athabasca:—Fort Chippewyan, Dunvegan, Vermilion, Great Slave Lake.

McKenzie's River:—Fort Simpson, Riv. au Llard, Forts Good Hope, & Norman.

English River:—Ile a la Crosse, Green Lake, Deer's Lake Rapid River.

Saskatchewan:—Jasper House, Lesser Slave Lake, Cumberland, Moose Lake.

Swan River:—Shoal River.

Norway House:—Norway House, Nelson River.

York Factory:—York Factory, Churchill, & Severn.

Oxford House:—Oxford House, Island Lake.

Southern Department.

Albany:—Albany Factory, Martin's Falls, Osnaberg, Lac Seul.

Moose:—Moose Factory, Rupert's River, Rupert's House., Big River.

And as a further remedy for the evil, if it be found that gentlemen disregard this instruction, as they have done many others issued from time to time for the same object, it is

Resolved 90. That the Governor and Committee be respectfully advised to give notice of retirement from the Service to such gentlemen as may not give effect to the spirit and letter of the Resolution now passed for the preservation of Beaver.

In order to encourage the Indians to greater exertions in hunting other furs, and that they may not suffer any privation in consequence of the proposed restrictions, it is

Resolved 91. That all Indians at posts where the restrictions exist, and who do not kill beaver, be paid in goods the value of 10 skins in Made-Beaver for every 9 skins in small furs they trade in the course of the year.

Resolved 92. That Gentlemen in Charge of Districts be directed to furnish next season for the information of the Governor and Council comparative Statements of the number of Beaver procured at each post in their respective districts for Outfits '39, 40, 41, & 42.

Resolved 93. That dressed leather, robes and parchment to be supplied the Southern Department, as follows, to be packed and invoiced separately at York Factory and shipped for England:—

30 Buffalo Robes at 7/6d. 1200 large dressed Moose Skins at 5/6d.

300 large moose Parchments at 3/6d 800 large dressed Reindeer Skins at 2/—

Resolved 94. That Resolutions No. 88, 91, 92, 95, 98, 99 & 102 of Council, June 1837, and Resolutions No. 71, 73, 74, 78, 81, 82, 83,

86, 87, 93, 94, 95, 97, 99 & 100 of Council June 1841 be considered in force for the Current Outfit.

In accordance with the Governor and Committee's instructions to render every assistance towards increasing the collections of Mamalia in the British Museum and, promoting the science of Zoology generally, IT IS

Resolved 95. That the Gentlemen in Charge of Districts and Posts be requested to collect the skins of such of the animals as are mentioned in the accompanying letter from Mr. Grey as may be found within the limits of their respective districts, and that such specimens be forwarded to the Governor and Committee by the annual ship to England.

Resolved 96. That this Council do now adjourn.

Signed Duncan Finlayson Chief Factor, President
 Roderick McKenzie, Chief Factor
 Donald Ross Chief Factor.

J. E. Harriott, William Todd, George Gladman, Chief Traders.

Minutes of Council
 1843.

Minutes of temporary Council held at Red River Settlement, Northern Department of Rupert's Land which commenced on the tenth day of June one thousand eight hundred and forty three for the purpose of establishing such resolutions and Regulations as may be considered expedient for conducting the business of said Department, and in order to investigate the result of trade of last year conformably to the provisions of a Deed Poll under the seal of the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay, bearing date the sixth day of June, One Thousand eight hundred and forty four, at which were present the following members:—

Sir George Simpson, Governor-in-chief.
 John Rowand, Chief Factor
 Duncan Finlayson, Do
 Donald Ross, Do
 William Todd, Chief Trader
 Nicol Finlayson, Do

Resolved 1. That the rotations for furlough for the Current Outfit be in favour of Chief Factors Duncan Finlayson and Peter Skene Ogden, and Chief Traders John Bell, Thomas Corcoran and John McLean.

Resolved 2. That Chief Factors Duncan Finlayson and Peter Skene Ogden not being desirous of availing themselves of their rotations of Furlough, they be transferred to Chief Factors George Keith and James Keith, and that Chief Trader John Bell not availing himself of his Rotation and Chief Traders

Thomas Corcoran and John McLean having had leave of absence for the past Outfit, thereby anticipating their Rotation of Furlough, that they be transferred to Chief Traders Alexander Fisher, Wm. Todd and George Barnstone.

Resolved 3. That the rotation of the Furlough for the ensuing Outfit be considered in favour of Chief Factors Donald Ross and James Douglas, and Chief Traders William Glen Rae, John Swanston and Francis Ermatinger.

Resolved 4. That leave of Absence be afforded for the Current Outfit to Chief Factor Angus Cameron.

Resolved 5. That the following appointments take place:—

District.	Chief Factors	Chief Traders
McKenzie River	John Lee Lewes	John Bell John McLean Colin Campbell
Athabasca		
English River	Roderick McKenzie	
Saskatchewan	John Rowand	J. E. Harriett
Swan River		Cuthbert Cummings
Red River	Duncan Finlayson	
Lac La Pluie		Nicol Finlayson
Norway House	Donald Ross	
York Factory		James Hargrave George Gladman
Columbia	J. McLoughlin	John Work
	James Douglas	Richard Grant
	Arch. McDonald	Donald Manson
		Wm. H. McNeil
		Wm. G. Rae
		Charles Ross
		Fras. Ermatinger
New Caledonia	Peter S. Ogden	John Tod

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 6. Athabasca.

Fort Chippewyan	Colin Campbell C. T.
	F. D. Boucher, Apprentice Clerk
Dunvegan	Francis Butcher, Clk.
Vermilion	William Shaw, P. M.
Great Slave Lake	Wm. McMurray, App. P. M.

Resolved 7. That 3 boats and 22 men including the Guide and 180 pieces Goods constitute the Current Outfit for this District.

Resolved 8. That C. T. Campbell accompany his brigade to Norway House, Summer 1844, for the purpose of attending to the business of the District; and that the clerks and Post Masters remain inland, and be appointed as he may consider expedient.

Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 9. Athabasca

Fort Chippewyan	3	men	including	an	Interpr.
Dunvegan	3	"	"	"	"
Vermilion	2	"	"	"	"
Great Slave Lake	2	"	"	"	"

Resolved 10. That Chief Trader Hargrave take the necessary steps to prepare and forward to Norway House about 180 pieces Goods for Athabasca Outfit 1844, by Indians or Red River Carriers.

Resolved 11. That C. F. Ogden's requisition for leather, parchment etc be sent from Athabasca District per Current Outfit.

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 12. McKenzie River

Fort Simpson	J. Lee Lewes, C. F.
	Gavin W. Hamilton, Clerk
Riviere au Liard	A. McBeath, P. M.
Fort Good Hope	John McLean C. T.
	P. C. Pambrun, Apprentice, P. M.
Fort Halkett	A. Christie, Clerk
Fort Norman	G. Deschambeault, Clerk
Peels River, 8 men	Summer and Winter
	James Pruden Appce P. M.
Frances Lake, 5 men	Summer and Winter
	Wm. Hardesty Appce. P. M.

Resolved 13. That 300 pieces Goods in 5 boats manned by 36 men exclusive of the Guide; 30 of whom are Red River men hired for the trip, and 6 men under Contracts as regular Servants intended for the District, constitute the Current Outfit.

Resolved 14. That Chief Factor Lewes be directed to extend the trade from Peel's River in the Direction of Colville River, and continue the examination of the country to the Northward and westward of Frances Lake, but to report thereon before forming an establishment.

Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 15. McKenzie River

Fort Simpson	2 men includ. interpret.
Riviere au Liard	2 men includ. interpret.
Fort Good Hope	2 men includ. interpret.
Fort Norman	1 man
Fort Halkett	
Peels River, 8 men	Summer and Winter
Frances Lake, 5 men	Summer and Winter

Resolved 16. That Chief Factor Lewes accompany his Brigade to Portage La Loche Summer 1844; that the Commissioned

Gentlemen, Clerks, and Post Masters remain inland and be appointed as he may think expedient.

Resolved 17. That Chief Trader Hargrave be directed to prepare and forward in course of this Summer about 300 pieces of Goods to Norway House for outfit 1844, the same to be transported thence to Portage La Loche in 5 boats to start on or before the 15th June 1844, manned by a Guide and 36 men, of whom 31, including the Guide, to be engaged for the trip in Red River Settlement, and 6 Servants under engagements of not less than 3 years to replace any that may retire from the District.

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 18. English River

Ile a la Crosse	R. McKenzie, C. F.
Rapid River	Samuel McKenzie, P. M.
Green Lake	T. Hodgson, P. M.
Deer's Lake	An Interpreter

Resolved 19. That 120 pieces of Goods in 2 boats manned by 15 men, including the Guide and Indians hired for the trip from English River constitute the Current Outfit for the District.

Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 20. English River

Ile a la Crosse	J. Hodgson, P. M. & 2 men
Rapid River	1 man

Resolved 21. That the usual quantity of dried provisions be provided and forth-coming for the Outward and Inward Brigades, Spring & Summer 1843.

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 22. Saskatchewan

Edmonton	J. Rowand, C. F.
	Peter Ogden, Clk.
Carlton	Patrick Small, Clk.
Rocky Mountain House	J. E. Harriott C. T.
	A. E. Pelly, App. CLK
	Wm. Christie, Do
Lesser Slave Lake	G. McDougall, Clk.
Fort Pitt,	John Rowand, Jr. Clk.
Jasper House	Colin Fraser P. M.
Cumberland	W. Heddle, Interpreter
Moose Lake	— Ballenden, Do

Resolved 23. That about 450 pieces of Goods in 9 Boats manned by 43 Servants belonging to the District constitute the Current Outfit; and that the crews be made up of ingoing servants belonging to the Columbia and New Caledonia Districts.

Resolved 24. That the following Provisions and other Country Produce be provided by this district and brought to Norway House next Summer Viz.

12 new boats
 50 bales dried meat
 100 bags pemmican ea. 90 lbs.
 70. Bags fine Pemmican ea. 45 lbs.
 500 pairs tracking Shoes
 30 good leather tents.

Resolved 25. That 120 Bags Pemmican and the usual quantity of Country Produce be deposited at Cumberland House next Summer for the use of the Brigades passing.

Resolved 26. That a boat and 2 men be left at York Factory for the purpose of conveying a boatbuilder and 12 labourers of the servants coming by the ship from England inland; the boatbuilder to be attached to the Saskatchewan District, and the labourers to be brought to the depot next spring.

Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 27. Saskatchewan

Edmonton	John Rowand Jr. and 12 men
Carlton	Patrick Small and 7 men
Lesser Slave Lake	G. McDougall and 2 men
Fort Pitt	Peter Ogden and 4 men
Jasper House	C. Fraser and 1 man
Cumberland	A labourer, (W. Heddle) and 1 man

Resolved 28. That Chief Factor Rowand be authorized to make the winter and summer appointments of the commissioned Gentlemen, Clerks and Postmasters in this District as he may consider expedient.

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 29. Swan River

Fort Pelly	Cuthbert Cummings, C. T.
Fort Ellice	J. McKay and 7 men
Manitobah	An Interpreter
Shoal River	Do

Resolved 30. That about 150 pieces of Goods and 3 boats and 15 voyaging servants constitute the Outfit for this District, 100 pieces of these Goods for Fort Pelly, Manitobah and Shoal River and the remainder to be forwarded partly by freight to Red River Settlement for the trade at Fort Ellice, the crews of the boats to be made up of 6 men each by trippers hired for the voyage.

Resolved 31. That C. T. Cummings take to Norway House next spring 30 good leather Tents and 30 bushels of Salt for distribution; and that he take the necessary steps to provide 100 bushels of Salt for the use of Red River Settlement, deliverable at the

North end of Manitobah Portage,—the price not to exceed 8/— per bushel.

Summer Arrangements.

- Resolved 32. Swan River.
 Fort Pelly, 3 men including Interpreter
 Fort Ellice, J. R. McKay and 7 men
 Manitobah, An Interpreter
 Shoal River, A Labourer
- Resolved 33. Red River.
 Fort Garry Duncan Finlayson, C. F.
 Richard Lane, Clerk
 Robert Clouston, Do
 James A. Grahame, Apprentice Clerk
 Lower Fort John Black, Clerk
 Recorder of Rupert's Land Adam Thom.
 Warden of the Plains Cuthbert Grant.
 Surveyor, George Taylor
- Resolved 34. That the following supplies be provided at the Colony for exportation to Norway House, Summer 1844, made up in sound and transportable packages, and purchased at the usual prices:—
- 35. bushels rough Barley
 - 3 bushels French Beans
 - 12 cwt good corned Beef.
 - 50 cwt Biscuit
 - 34 Oak Boards, 13 feet long, 7 in broad by $\frac{3}{4}$ in
 - 8 Oak Boards, 15 feet long, 8 in broad by $\frac{3}{4}$ in
 - 60 Firkins Butter 56 lbs each
 - 10 Half do Do 28 lbs each
 - 6 Maccaroons Do
 - 240 lbs Cheese
 - 10 bushels Indian Corn
 - 15 Kegs Eggs
 - 600 cwt best dried Flour 1st & 2nd quality
 - 2 casks salt Cabbage
 - 200 cwt best kiln dried Flour 1st quality
 - 60 Hams
 - 50 bales of dried meat
 - 500 bags of com. Pemmican
 - 45 cwt of salt pork
 - 4 bus. of Onions
 - 200 Portage straps
 - 100 prs best portage shoes
 - 10 assortments Garden Seeds.
 - 1 keg Salted suet
 - 1000 white oak headings for 8 Gn. kegs
 - 26 inches long, 4 x $\frac{3}{4}$ in. wide.

300 white oak headings for 24 Gn. kegs
20 inches long, $6\frac{1}{2}$ x 1 wide

In order to afford a market to a certain extent to the Agriculturists of Red River Settlement, It is

Resolved 35. That C. F. Finlayson be instructed to purchase to the extent of 2000 bushels sound clean wheat to have the same kiln dried.

A very improper and irregular practice having been discovered to obtain of Commissioned Gentlemen and Clerks in the service making purchases of flour etc. at Red River from private individuals, the same being conveyed from Norway House to the District in the Company's Craft free of charge from freight, It is

Resolved 36. That no such private purchase shall in the future be freighted in the Company's Craft on any consideration.

Resolved 37. That a Guide and 30 men for McKenzie River Transport and the fall freight from York Factory to Red River be employed at £25 to the Guide and £16 to the steersman, £14 to the bowsman and £12 to the middleman.

Resolved 38. That the Lake Winnipeg Vessels be laid up at Red River for the Winter, and the crews be employed as C. T. Finlayson may consider expedient.

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 39. Lac La Pluie

Fort Alexander,

Fort Francis

Rat Portage,

Lac du bois Blanc,

N. Finlayson, C. T.

William Sinclair, clk.

Donald McKenzie, clk.

J. Isbister, P. M.

Resolved 40. That not exceeding 220 ps. goods, with a complement of 10 voyaging Servants, constitute the Current Outfit, these Goods to be taken from the factory in 3 boats manned by a guide and the 10 voyaging servants assisted by 11 Indians belonging to the district to be employed for the trip.

Resolved 41. That the sum of £300 (sterling) be paid by draft on the Governor and Committee to Ramsay Crooks, Esq., in consideration of the opposition having been withdrawn from the frontiers of Lake Superior, Lac la Pluie, and Red River Districts, conformably to the terms of an agreement entered into between the Hudson's Bay Company and the American Fur Company the said amount to be charged to Lac La Pluie District Outfit 1842.

Resolved 42. That 8 kegs spirits be furnished Lac la Pluie for the Current Outfit, to be given as gratuities to the Indians of Fort Frances, Rat Portage and Lac la bois Blanc.

Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 43. Lac la Pluie

Fort Frances	3 men including Interpreter
Fort Alexander	2 men including Interpreter
Rat Portage	2 men including Interpreter

Resolved 44. That it be discretionary with C. T. Finlayson to make the necessary Summer appointments of the Clerks and Postmasters remaining inland.

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 45. Norway House

Norway House,	Donald Ross, C. F.
	Bernard Ross, App. Clerk and 7 men
Berens River	R. Cummings, P. M. & 1 man
Nelson River,	John Isbister, P. M. & 2 men

Resolved 46. That 3 voyaging servants belonging to this District assisted by 26 Indians to be engaged for that purpose be employed to make 2 trips to York Factory with 4 boats, carrying 70 pieces each per trip upwards; and that 110 pieces Goods, constitute the Outfit for the District.

Resolved 47. That the 6 servants intended for McKenzie River be stationed at Norway House, together with 6 supernumeraries there to pass the winter, for distribution next year.

Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 48. Norway House

Norway House,	Donald Ross, C. F.
	Bernard Ross, App. Clerk. & 7 men.
Berens River	R. Cummings, P. M. & 1 man
Nelson River,	J. Isbister, P. M. & 1 man

Winter Arrangements.

Resolved 49. York.

York Factory	James Hargrave, C. F.
	Wm. McTavish, clk.
	Wm. D. Gillespie, Surgeon
	Robt. Ballantyne App. Clk
	Thomas Charles, App. clk.
	Robert Wilson, P. M.
Churchill	Robert Harding, clk.
Severn	An Interpreter
Trout Lake	Wm. McKay, P. M.
Oxford House	George Gladman, C. T.
Island Lake	James Harrold, Interp.

Resolved 50. That notwithstanding the appointment of Chief Trader Gladman to Oxford House it is understood that he shall pass the Summer at York Factory for the purpose of attending to the Fur Stores.

Resolved 51. That 30 men, including the mechanics and the crew of the Frances Schooner, constitute the Summer and Winter Establishments of York Factory.

Resolved 52. That 6 men constitute the Summer and winter Establishment of Churchill with an outfit amounting to about 90 Ps of goods and provisions, to be transported from York Factory during the summer in the Frances Schooner.

Resolved 53. That not exceeding 50 ps. Goods with the necessary quantity of provisions and a complement of 9 servants, besides the persons in charge, constitute the Current outfit for Severn and Trout Lake, to be conveyed in 2 boats manned by the servants of the Post and Indians.

Resolved 54. That Chief Trader Hargrave be authorized to employ 2 additional boats manned by 16 York Factory Indians in transport between York Factory and Norway House; that the Norway House, Oxford House, and the York Factory freight boats be laden with 70 ps of Goods for Norway House; these Goods to consist of the usual outfits and other Goods to be deposited at Norway House for distribution.

Resolved 55. That Mr. Gladman be directed to employ 4 boats, manned by 32 Indians and a guide in performing a double trip between the Depot and Norway House in the transport of the Goods and returns; the lading of each boat upwards to be 70 ps and Downwards to be 65 pieces, 5 of which to be left at Oxford and the remaining 60 pieces per boat to be delivered at York Factory.

In consequence of the loss sustained last year by the destruction by fire of the usual place of the deposit of the Island Lake Outfit and Returns and to prevent a recurrence of this in future It is

Resolved 56. That the practice of leaving such Outfits and returns in deposit be discontinued, and that they be conveyed to Oxford House, from thence either be forwarded to York Factory or the Post.

Summer Arrangements.

Resolved 57. Island Lake.

Oxford House.

Island Lake.

J. Harriott and 6 men

A Labourer.

Columbia Arrangements.

Resolved 58.

Fort Vancouver

John McLoughlin, C. F.

Dugald McTavish, clk

Forbes Barclay, Surgeon

A. L. Lewes, clk.

David McLoughlin, App. clk.

Thomas Lowe, app. clk.

	D. Harvey, Miller
Fort George	James Birnie, clk.
Nisqually	Angus McDonald, clk.
Cowelitz	Charles Forrest, P. M.
Fort Langley	James M. Yale clk.
Fort Simpson.	John Work, C. T.
	John Kennedy, clk.
Umpqua	Paul Fraser, clk.
Buena Ventura Expdn	
	Mich. Laframboise, P. M.
Snake Expedition	
Fort Hall	Richard Grant, C. T.
	Angus McDonald, P. M.
Fort Boisse	Frances Payette, P. M.
Fort Colville	Arch. McDonald, C. F.
Flat Heads	John McPherson, P. M.
Coutenais	Patrick McKenzie, App. P. M.
Thompsons River	John Todd, C. T.
	Duncan Cameron, P. M.
Okanagan	An Interpreter
Nez Perceez.	Arch. McKinlay, clk.
	Wm. Todd, P. M.
Stikine	Charles Dodd, clk.
	G. Bleakinsop, P. M.
Straits of De Fuca	James Douglas, C. F.
	Charles Ross, C. T.
	Roderick Finlayson, clk.
Sandwich Islands	George Pelly, agent
	George T. Allan, Clk.
Disposable	Wm. Glen Rae, C. T.
	Frances Ermatinger, C. T.
	Wm. F. Tolmie, Surgeon
	H. N. Peers, App. Clk.
"Beaver" Steamer	Wm. Brochie, master
	J. Carless, Engineer
	Wm. Mitchell, first mate
"Vancouver"	— Duncan, Master
	James Sangster, 1st mate
	— Oxley, 2nd mate
"Columbia"	J. Humphreys, master
	1st mate
	2nd mate
"Cadboro"	J. Scarboro, Master
	Alex Lattie
"Cowlitz"	W. H. McNeil, C. T.
	Wm. Heath, 1st mate
	J. Heald, 2nd mate

New Caledonia.

Stuart's Lake

P. S. Ogden, C. F.

Henry Maxwell, Clk.

McLeods Lake

A. C. Anderson, Clk.

Fraser's Lake

Wm. F. Lane, Clk.

Alexandria

Donald Manson, C. T.

Fluz-cuz

Donald McLean, Clk.

Conolly's Lake

William McBean, Clk.

Fort George.

Wm. Porteous, Clk.

Babines

Wm. McIntosh, Clk.

Resolved 59. That Chief Factor McLoughlin for the Columbia and Chief Factor Ogden for New Caledonia be instructed to follow up without deviation the foregoing appointments as far as circumstances may admit.

Resolved 60. That H. N. Peers, App. Clk, with the guide and 10 Servants as many of them boutes as possible to be selected by C. T. Hargrave be forwarded to the Columbia District and accompany the Saskatchewan Brigade under the charge of C. T. Harriott from the depot to Edmonton, from thence proceed under the charge of Mr. Peers to Vancouver, unless he may receive further instructions from Mr. McLoughlin en route by which he will regulate his movements. Of these servants, 2 to be blacksmiths, & 2 coopers, if any such be disposable, if not those tradesmen coming out by the ship this season to be forwarded next season to the Columbia.

Resolved 61. That the Gentlemen in charge of the Columbia be instructed to send to York Factory in the Spring of every year with the accounts an intelligent Officer Conversant with them, qualified to enter into explanations, and to give information on such Points as may not be sufficiently reported in the Public Correspondence, that Mr. Dugald McTavish be sent out with the accounts next year, and be relieved in the office department by Mr. Thomas Lowe, who will be required to come out, with the accounts in the year 1845.

Resolved 62. That Chief Factor Ogden having expressed a desire to obtain leave of absence or exchange of Furlough next year it is resolved that the same be afforded him but this cannot be assured him beyond the ensuing year.

Resolved 63. That the new establishment to be formed on the Strait of Fuca, to be named Fort Victoria, be erected on a scale sufficiently extensive to answer the purposes of a depot; the square of the Fort to be not less than 150 yards; the buildings to be substantial and erected as far apart as the ground may admit with a view to guarding against fire.

Resolved 64. That Chief Factor Ross be directed to take the necessary steps to provide and forward 3000 prime otters by

the Columbia Brigade, this season, for the purpose of meeting our contract with the Russian American Company; and that Chief Trader Harriott and Mr. Peers be particularly enjoined to use their uttermost endeavours to guard against soil and damage of any kind during the voyage.

Resolved 65. That C. T. Hargrave take measures to get conveyed to York Factory next spring all the Prime Otter skins procured at Severn during the Current Outfit, for the Purpose of being sent to the Columbia by the Saskatchewan Brigade.

Resolved 66. That an allowance of £100 be made to Mr. John MacCallum, in aid of the Boarding School under his management for the Current Outfit.

Resolved 67. That an allowance of £100 be made to Dr. Bunn for medical Attendance at the Company's Establishments at Red River, and on the retired servants who cannot afford to pay for such, as well as for other Pauper Settlers for the Current Outfit.

Resolved 68. That an allowance of £100 with the usual supplies of tea, sugar, etc. be made to the Catholic Mission at Red River Settlement for the Current Outfit.

Resolved 69. That an allowance of £100 be made to the Catholic Mission under the superintendence of Mr. Blanchard in the Columbia District, for the Current Outfit.

Resolved 70. That no other than full sized Spring Rats be traded and that 10 be considered equal to a made-beaver at all the Districts and Posts in the Northern Department.

Resolved 71. That the amount of requisition from England for shipment 1844 do not exceed £11,000 for the Northern Department and £4,000 for the Red River Settlement, the latter to be packed up separately.

Resolved 72. That the annexed scale of freight and passage money be adopted and considered a standing regulation until altered or recinded.

It being observed that the Company's Craft are frequently made the means of conveying Strangers totally unconnected with the business. It is

Resolved 73. That Chief Factor McLoughlin be instructed not to permit passages to be taken in any of the Company's Craft to any Stranger, of what ever rank or profession he may be, to, or from any part of the Country or Coast.¹

Resolved 74. That the following servants be engaged for the Northern Dept.

1. For fuller statement of passenger and freight rates, see appendix No. 5, p. 861.

From Europe on five years contracts.

1 Blacksmith at £25 to £30

1 Boatbuilder at £25 to £30

18 Labourers at £16 to £17

From Canada on three Years Contracts.

20 Labourers at £16 to £17

From Red River.

20 Labourers at £16 to £17

In order to remove any misapprehension that may exist as to the footing on which the Gentlemen connected with the Wesleyan Missionary Society are intended to be placed at the Company's Establishments, It is

Resolved 75. That Board and lodging be afforded to the different Wesleyan Missionaries at the establishments at which they are stationed in like manner as provided for Commissioned Gentlemen: If single to eat at the Public Mess Table, but family men to live apart in houses to be provided especially for their accommodation. Each missionary to be provided with the like allowance of luxuries as given to Commissioned Gentlemen in the service. That passages be afforded the missionaries in the Company's Craft from one part of the country to another. In cases where the company have no craft a special conveyance be provided for their use, but not otherwise, such conveyance to be a canoe manned by 3 persons the superintendent only to be provided with means of conveyance by winter traveling to be attended by not more than 2 men.

Resolved 76. That all purchases made by the Wesleyan Missionaries at the Company's Stores be charged them at the servants tariff when such purchases are made.

Resolved 77. That a Commissioned Gentleman's allowance be forwarded from York Factory to each of the undermentioned Gentlemen.

Mr. Evans, Mr. Mason, Mr. Rundle, Mr. Jacobs

Resolved 78. That the following Clerks and Postmasters be engaged for the terms and salaries affixed to their names respectively.

Campbell, Robert at £100 for 3 years from June 1842.

Christie, Alexr. Jr. at £100 for 3 years from June 1842.

Clouston, Robert at £75 for 3 years from June 1842.

Deschambeault, George at £100 for 3 years from June 1842.

Fraser, Paul at £100 for 3 years from June 1842.

Finlayson, Roderick at £75 for 3 years from June 1842.

Lane, Richard at £75 for 3 years from June 1842.

McBean, William at £75 for 3 years from June 1842

McKenzie, Donald at £100 for 3 years from June 1842

McKinlay, Arch. at £100 for 3 years from June 1842.

Ogden, Peter at £50 for 3 years from June 1842.

Rowand, John, Jr. at £100 for 3 years from June 1842.

Sinclair, William at £100 for 3 years from June 1842.

Post masters.

Hodgson, Thomas at £40 for 3 years from June 1842.

Isbister, John at £40 for 3 years from June 1842.

Shaw, William at £40 for 3 years from June 1842.

Resolved 79. That the following Clerks and Postmasters be allowed to retire from the service the present outfit.

Henry Fisher, Clerk,

William Thew, do

John O'Brien, do

Hector McKenzie, app. P. M.

and that A. E. Pelly, clerk, be permitted to retire next year, 1844.

The impoverished state of the country in the article of Beaver is increasing to such an alarming extent, that it becomes necessary to take effectual measures for providing immediate remedy to that end. it is

Resolved 80. That the Gentlemen in charge of districts and posts be strictly enjoined to discourage the hunting of beaver by every means in their power, and that not more than half the number collected outfit 1839 be hunted during the current and succeeding Outfits at the undermentioned districts and posts.

Northern Dept.

Athabasca

Fort Chippewyan

Dunvegan

Vermilion

McKenzie River

Great Slave Lake

Fort Simpson

Rivere au Liard

Fort Good Hope

Fort Norman

English River

Ile a la Crosse

Green Lake

Deer's Lake

Rapid River

Saskatchewan

Fort Assineboine

Jasper's House

Lesser Slave Lake

Cumberland

Swan River

Shoal River

Norway House

Norway House

Nelson River

York

York Factory

Churchill

Southern Department.
Albany

Moose

Severn
Oxford House
Island Lake

Albany Factory
Martin's Falls
Osnaburg
Lac Seul
Moose Factory
Rupert's House
Big River

In order to encourage the Indians to greater exertions in hunting other furs and that they may not suffer privation in consequence of the proposed restriction, It is

Resolved 81. That all Indians at Posts where the restrictions exist, and who do not kill beaver, be paid in goods the value of 10 skins of made-beaver for every nine skins in small furs they trade in course of the year.

Resolved 82. That Gentlemen in charge of districts be directed to furnish next season for the information of the Governor and Council, comparative statements of the number of beaver procured at each post in their respective districts for outfits, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843.

Resolved 83. That the following dressed leather etc. be supplied the Southern Dept. to be packed and invoiced separately at York Factory and shipped for England.

1000 large dressed Moose Skins at 7/6d

200 large parchment skins at 3/6d

800 large Rein deer skins at 2/—

20 cwt grease or tallow in kegs of $\frac{3}{4}$ or 1 cwt each.

Resolved 84. That the annexed standing rules and Regulations numbered one to sixty, and dated Red River Settlement 17th June 1843 be considered in full force until altered or rescinded; and that the former standing rules be hereby annulled.

Resolved 85. That the Council do now adjourn.

SIGNED GEORGE SIMPSON
 JOHN ROWAND, C. F.
 DUNCAN FINLAYSON, C. F.
 DONALD ROSS, C. F.
 WILLIAM TODD, C. T.
 NICOL FINLAYSON, C. T.

RED RIVER SETTLEMENT,
19th June 1843.

APPENDIX



Standing Rules and Regulations.

Resolved. That the following be the Tariff for advances throughout the Northern and Southern Department.

Resolved 1. Commissioned Gentlemen. The Depot Inventory Tariff for all Goods supplied them during the Summer and 25 P. Cent thereon for all subsequent advances without distinction whether taken at the Depot or inland, Wines and Spirits except to be 100 p. cent on the Depot Inventory Tariff but leather and all other country produce to be at the Depot Inventory Tariff or actual cost throughout the year.

Resolved 2. Clerks and Servants. Tariff 50 p. Cent on the Prime Cost of all imported Goods and 12½ p. Cent on the Depot cost of all country made articles supplied during the Summer at the Depot, Wines and Spirits excepted, to be continued at fixed prices Viz, Maderia Wine 20/— Port and all other wines 16/— Shrub, Gin and Brandy 16/— Spirits reduced to Proof Strength 12/— p. Gallon; and all subsequent advances without distinction of articles, whether taken at the Depot or inland to be charged 50 per Cent on the York or Moose Inventory Tariff with the exception of Wines & Spirits to be sold at 50 p. Cent on the Depot Summer Sale Tariff to Servants; and all country produce consisting of dressed and parchment Leather, Buffalo Robes, Provisions &c. &c. will be sold throughout the year at 50 p. Cent on Depot Inventory Prices: It is however understood that in consideration of the peculiar living and mode of journeying at the Bay side Settlements, Wines and Spirits will be allowed to continue at the Depot Summer Sale Tariff throughout the year.

Resolved 3. That it is however understood that the foregoing Tariffs are intended for the ordinary saleable articles, as those classed unsaleable or considered as such, it is left discretionary with those superintending Districts or Posts to dispose of at a price corresponding with their estimated value.

Resolved 4. That all Commissioned Gentlemen Clerks and Servants be charged 10 pr. Cent on the average net Sales, for any Furs supplied from the Stores during the Current Outfit for personal or family use in the Country and 20 p. Cent if supplied for any other purpose.

Resolved 5. That all Freeman, Halfbreed and Iroquois Trappers having no other means of paying for their supplies than with their Hunts be treated on the footing of Indians unless when specially provided for by Council; and that Freeman Trappers having funds in the Company's hands and are unable to pay their supplies with Furs be charged 200 p. Cent on the District Inventory prices and that no money in payment of Furs or other articles be allowed either class without directions

from Council; but the Furs of those owing balances in money to the Company will be taken in payment thereof at the rate of 4/6 Sterling p. each made Beaver.

Resolved 6. That all Furs killed by, or in possession of the Company's Officers and Servants be considered the Company's property and paid for in Goods at the Indian Standard of the place, except to those on special agreements, Fort Hunters &c.

Resolved 7. That no Commissioned Gentleman be allowed to purchase or dispose of Horses, Cattle or Dogs on private Account, but that all such dealings be for and on account of the Company, each Commissioned Gentleman to be permitted however to keep a Saddle Horse or a train of Dogs for his own use when considered necessary on paying the surplus cost thereof over and above the established Indian or Inventory prices of the District; and that Clerks and Servants be permitted to purchase such Horses as may be absolutely necessary to enable them to do their duty from the Company only at Inventory prices; it being understood in the event of removal or Retirement of the Individuals that the Company will assume such Horses at the Cost price.

Resolved 8. That all Country produce &c. subject to valuation or Inventory or in Transfers be priced as follows:—Viz

Birch Bark p. Bottom Fath: 1/6
 Birch Bark Side Fath: 9d
 Barley rough bus. 3/—
 Barley hulled bus. 4/—
 Boats no less than 24 ft. Keel ea. 300/—
 Canoes large North ea. 100/—
 Canoes small Fishing ea. 20/—
 Corn Indian rough Bus. 3/—
 Corn Indian hulled Bus. 4/—
 Fat or Grease Lb. 3d
 Flour Cwt.
 Geese fresh or salted ea. 4d
 Gum or pitch lb. 2d
 Meat pounded lb 3d
 Meat dried or piece lb 2d
 Meat fresh lb 1d
 Meat salted lb. 2d
 Oil Sturgeon Gall. 2/—
 Pemican fine or common lb. 3d
 Pemican p. Bag of 90 lbs. ea. 22/6
 Rice Indian Bus. 4/—
 Robes Buffalo prime ea. 5/—
 Robes Buffalo Common ea. 2/6
 Salt Bus. 8/—
 Shagganapie p. Pack cords lb. 2d

Shagganapie p. Snow Shoes lb. 4d
 Shoes Indian pair 6d
 Sinews lb. 2d
 Skins dressed Buffalo ea. 2/6
 Skins dressed red deer large ea. 3/—
 Skins dressed red deer small ea. 1/6
 Skins dressed reindeer large ea. 2/—
 Skins dressed reindeer small ea. 1/—
 Skins dressed Moose large ea. 4/—
 Skins dressed Moose small ea. 1/—
 Skins dressed Red Deer large ea. 2/—
 Skins dressed Red Deer small ea. 1/—
 Skins dressed reindeer prime ea. 1/—
 Sugar Maple lb. 4d
 Tents Mooseskin not used on voyage)
 but brought out in bales) ea. 25/—
 Tongues Buffalo ea. 9d
 Tongues Red Deer or Moose ea. 9d
 Tongues Reindeer prime ea. 6d
 Wheat Bus. 4/—
 Dogs when transferred ea. 10/—
 Horses when transferred ea. 40/—
 Horned cattle full grown male or)
 female when transferred) ea. 60/—
 Calves or Pigs whether male or)
 female when transferred) ea. 20/—
 Sheep, ewes when transferred ea. 40/—
 Sheep, lambs when transferred ea. 10/—
 Sheep, rams when transferred ea. 40/—

Resolved 9. That Buffalo Robes dressed, and parchment Leather brought out to Norway House and the Depot or transferred to other Districts be charged at Inventory prices; and that the articles when sold to Settlers at Red River be charged at 100 p. Cent on Inventory prices, to cover the risk and freight of their transport thither and that no provisions excepting at the Depot or required for transfers be valued at Inventory.

Resolved 10. That all imported Goods returned to the Depot be considered on the account and risk of the District transferring the same.

Serious inconvenience having been experienced of late years from the circumstance of Gentlemen in charge of Brigades leaving the Factory with Craft not fully laden thereby occasioning a loss of Freight. It is

Resolved 11. That lading of Boats belonging to all Districts in the Northern Department leaving the Depot be 70 pieces Goods of full weight or measurement; exclusive of the usual allowance for passengers Viz 10 pieces for each Commissioned Gen-

tleman, 5 pieces for first class Clerks, 3 pieces for Junior Clerks, and Postmasters. That one-half of the above allowances be made to cover the freight or private orders for the same classes remaining inland and that each Servant remaining inland be allowed the freight of $1\frac{1}{2}$ pieces to cover his private order which shall be considered Cargo; but that the private luggage of the Crew be over and above the Cargo; and that in all cases where a loss of freight is occasioned by neglect of this Resolve, the same be chargeable to the private account of the Commissioned Gentlemen conducting the Brigade.

And with reference to the foregoing Resolutions in order to regulate the charges for freight of private property conveyed inland exceeding the fixed allowance It is

Resolved 12. That the same be charged to private account of the parties as follows Viz

From York Factory to	McKenzies River Dist.	50/— p. piece
“ “	Athabasca Dist.	40/— p. piece
“ “	Saskatchewan, Eng. River.)	
	Lac la Pluie, Up. R. River)	
“ “	& Swan Riv' es)	30/— p. piece.
“ “	Red River Sett &)	
	the Winipeg Posts)	18/— p. piece
“ “	Norway House	14/— per piece
“ “	Oxford Ho. & Nelson	
	River	10/— p. piece
“ “	Churchill & Severn	2/— p. piece
From Norway House to	McKenzies Riv. Dist.	36/— p. piece
“ “	Athabasca	26/— p. piece
“ “	Saskn. Engh. River, Lac)	
	la Pluie, Upper R. River)	
“ “	& Swan River)	16/— p. piece
“ “	Red River Settlement)	
	& the Winipeg Posts)	4/— p. piece
“ “	Oxford & Nelson River	2/— p. piece
“ “	York Factory	5/— p. piece
From Moose Factory to	New Brunswick	10/— p. piece
	Lake Superior Dist.	17/— p. piece
	Lake Huron Dist.	20/— p. piece
	Old Albany Factory	3/— p. piece
	Ruperts river & East	
	Main	3/— p. piece
	Albany Island	20/— p. piece
	Ruperts River Island	20/— p. piece
	Abbetibe	15/— p. piece
	Tamiscamingue & Grand)	
	Lac)	20/— p. piece
	to Kenogamissie District	15/— p. piece

Resolved 13. That the freight to be allowed to Districts for the transport of pieces be as follows Viz

From York Factory to Red River 18/— p. piece
From York Factory to Norway House 14/— p. piece
From York Factory to Oxford Ho. 10/— p. piece
From Oxford House to Norway House 4/— p. piece
From Norway House to Red River 4/— per piece
From Red River to Norway Ho. 1/— p. piece
From Norway House to Oxford House 2/— p. piece
From Oxford House to Y. Factory 3/— p. piece

Resolved 14. That all Chief Factors and Chief Traders for whom no special mode of conveyance is provided accompany their loaded Craft to and from the Depot; and the better to prevent loss of Freight that those in charge of loaded Craft from the Depot previous to their departure give in to the person appointed for that purpose correct Bills of Lading thereof which must be conformable to the provisions of the 11th Resolve.

The better to insure co-operation and efficiency between those superintending and those co-operating in Districts to which two or more Commissioned Gentlemen are appointed It is

Resolved 15. That the person appointed as superintendent thereof by Council be authorized to assume the direction of affairs and to issue such orders and instructions for the good government and successful management of the Posts and trade thereof as to him from time to time appear expedient; to which every attention and conformity are required from those to whom such orders and instructions are addressed or have reference.

Serious inconvenience to the Service having in many instances arisen of late from the circumstances of Clerks in distant parts of the Country applying to the Governor and Council for permission to visit the Depot or withdraw from the District without having previously consulted the Commissioned Gentleman superintending the District and to guard against a recurrence of such inconvenience It is

Resolved 16. That no such permission be granted in future unless the applicant first submit his request in writing to the Gentleman superintending the District to which he belongs; who is hereby directed to report on the same for the information of the Governor and Council, and that any Clerk coming to the Depot without such permission be considered as retiring from the Service.

In order to guard against irregularities and expenses arising from little favoritisms and partialities which occasionally discover themselves It is

Resolved 17. That all appointments to the offices of Postmaster, Interpreters, Apprentice Tradesmen, or Sailors in the Service

be made by the Governor and Council by whom also the wages of the parties are to be regulated and that no Individual be permitted to make such appointments or to increase, reduce or determine such wages, And that the wages of Postmasters shall not hereafter exceed £50 per annum except in cases where parties are at present in the employment of higher Wages.

Resolved 18. That no Guide or Interpreter whether at the Factory Depot or Inland be permitted to mess with Commissioned Gentlemen or Clerks in charge of Posts; but while at the Depot they will be allowed per Week 4 days ordinary rations as issued to Engagees besides 2 Loaves of Bread, 3 lb. Pork $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. Tea 2 lbs. Sugar and 1 Pint Rum; and have an allowance delivered to them on departure for the voyage inland or 1 lb. Tea 6 lb. Sugar, 10 lb. Biscuit and 10 lb. Beef or Pork besides an extra allowance for the Wintering grounds of 25 lb. Flour 20 lbs. Sugar and 10 lb. Grease in addition to the ordinary rations of Engagees at the place where they Winter.

In looking over the list of Servants in each District it is much to be regretted that the number and classification determined on by the Resolutions of Council are not generally adhered to which is productive of irregularity and unnecessary expense It is therefore

Resolved 19. That no Gentleman be permitted in future to deviate from the number and classification of people determined on in Council to be employed in the business of the District.

As it appears by the accounts from several Districts that the established scale of Wages is not duly observed It is

Resolved 20. That in order to prevent all misapprehension on that subject in future the existing scale of Wages be attended to as follows Viz

For all Districts in the H. B. Territories

Steersmen £22

Bowsmen £20

Middlemen £17

For Athabasca and McKenzies River

Steersman £24

Bowsmen £22

Middlemen £19

For the Columbia

Boutes £22

Middlemen £17

For New Caledonia, Millbank, Nass, & Stikine

Boutes £24

Middlemen £19

together with an augmentation of £3 to those who may be employed on the voyage from the West side the Mountains to York Factory and back again Guides never to exceed £5 in addition to the wages of Steersmen of the District and not to be exempted from the ordinary duties of a Steersman, nor allowed an extra man in their Boats with the exception of the Athabasca Guide and the Guides of the hired transport Brigades; no more Bowsmen or Steersmen to be employed in any District than absolutely required for the management of the Craft belonging thereto.

Boat builders not to exceed £30 p. annum Wages

Interpreters not to exceed £25 p. annum Wages

Wages of Mechanics at the Depot to be regulated and varied according to circumstances; and those of Blacksmiths inland not to exceed the Wages of Steersmen of the District.

In order to guard against misapprehension and to check irregularities in regard to Servants It is

Resolved 21. That all Servants engaged in England, Canada, or in the Country be considered for the term of their first Contracts as being disposable for general service at the Wages stated in their Engagements unless "Prix du Poste" be distinctly specified, in which case, the wages of the District to which the party is attached to be allowed; But in all cases where the Engagements are renewed in the Country; the wages of the District for which the Servant is engaged to be allowed accordingly.

The items of Gratuities and Extra Service money having increased to such a degree as to render it necessary to check them It is therefore

Resolved 22. That no gratuity or extra Service money be allowed to any Servant or person whatsoever; except the usual gratuities to Indians in consideration of Goods &c. &c. unless such gratuities or extra service monies be authorized by a former Resolve in Council.

To prevent misapprehension and abuse It is

Resolved 23. That all Commissioned Gentlemen having distinct charges be permitted to employ on the Voyage or inland one of the people appointed to the District in the capacity of Cook or Servant in addition to his ordinary duties and that for such extra Service he be allowed the sum of £3 in addition to his regular Wages, to be put to the credit of his Account at the end of the year, provided the Contract wages of such servant do not exceed those of a common Labourer of the District.

And in order to insure due respect and attention to the foregoing Resolution It is

Resolved 24. That parties deviating from the instructions contained in the Resolution on the subject of Servants, Wages,

Gratuities &c. &c. be held liable for the amount of expenses incurred by such irregularities which the Accountants of the several Depots are hereby authorized to charge to their Accounts immediately from whence it cannot be withdrawn, nor can the charge be remitted without special authority from the Governor and Council first duly asked and obtained.

Resolved 25. That in renewing all Contracts it be distinctly specified that the person hired be at the rate of so much per annum; Wages and duty to commence and be computed from the 1st June, if hired in the Country and if hired in Britain or in Canada the same to commence and be computed from the date of his embarkation thence, and in either case both to be continued to his re-embarkation and departure from the Depot, subject however if under the rank of Clerk to work his passage if required from thence; in any of the Company's Craft or Vessels whether light or laden without any compensation till his arrival in England or in Montreal where his engagement will cease; also that a clause be inserted therein requiring the person hired to give a year's notice of his intention of retiring at the expiration of his agreement, otherwise he will be retained and considered disposable for the Current at the salary of the preceding year's Outfit.

Resolved 26. That the originals of all Contracts with Clerks and Servants, together with notices of retirement be deposited with the Accountant at the Depot for the purpose of being registered.

Resolved 27. That no indebted Servant be permitted to have advances in the course of the year exceeding three fourths of his Current wages Viz: about half at the Depot and one-fourth inland.

Resolved 28. That no Servant be sent from one District to another without he be accompanied with a satisfactory statement of his account; and that no advances except bare essentials be made such Servant while absent from his District without a special order; and that no Servant be transferred from one District to another except at the Depot, and with the knowledge of the principal Account.

Resolved 29 That no transfers of money from one account to another be allowed in the general accounts, but that such be permitted in the Sale Shops.

Much irregularity and in many cases considerable loss having arisen from the circumstance of the Account of retiring Servants not being transmitted to the Depot the year of their retirement It is

Resolved 30. That all Gentlemen in charge of Districts be directed to deliver or forward every Summer to the Gentleman

in charge of the Depot, complete list of all Servants, Freemen or their families retiring from their respective Districts whether to England, Canada or Red River Settlement; together with complete statements of the Inland accounts of these people, in order that the accountant may transmit correct and final pay lists with them to their several destinations. That no Servants be allowed to retire without going to the Depot, except under particular circumstances; and the Gentlemen in charge of Districts be liable for any loss arising from neglect of this Resolution.

Resolved 31. That persons retiring from the Service, likewise "Goers and Comers" be permitted to take with them not exceeding 20 pairs Indian Shoes, or 2 Skins dressed Leather that the baggage of Craft going to Canada be examined at Norway House and Michipicoton, and the baggage of all persons going to Europe be examined at the Depot on the Coast, and in the event of any articles or Furs which have not been regularly purchased and paid for agreeably to the 4th Resolve or in the event of any Shoes or Leather being found among such Baggage exceeding the quantities allowed the same to be forfeited.

To prevent misapprehension on the part of Clerks or Servants in regard to pecuniary matters It is

Resolved 32. That those having funds or balances due to them by the Fur trade, and who may be desirous of making payments in England or Canada be directed to authorize the Governor officially, in writing, to take the necessary steps for that purpose; as no other mode of application will be attended to.

Resolved 33. That all supplies and advances furnished by one District or Post for account of Officers, Servants and others attached to another District or Post be charged at the established sale prices detailed among the other Book Debts of the place, and the amount thereof entered in the statement of advances and Book Debts of the District supplying the same, and by which District alone they are to be charged and taken notice of.

Resolved 34. That in Districts to which only one Commissioned Gentleman is appointed he be directed to furnish annually complete accounts of the business thereof to the Accountant at the Depot; and in Districts to which two or more Commissioned Gentlemen are appointed; that each be directed to furnish accounts of the business under their respective managements, the same to be annually transmitted to the person superintending such District and through him to the Accountant at the Depot, likewise a Journal of occurrences with correct copies of all official correspondence and a report conveying every requisite information in regard to the state and mode of con-

ducting the Trade; exhibiting a comparative statement of the closing and immediately preceding Outfits, together with such suggestions in regard to the improvement of the Trade as may occur; such report also to contain an abstract of the Indian population, exhibiting the number of men, women and children of both sexes; and that all Clerks in charge of Posts be directed to furnish similar accounts and statements.

With a view to save Interest on Inventories.

Resolved 35. That they be hereafter classed, commencing with those of June 1835, under three principal and distinct heads and prices as follows Viz

1st Trading Goods to comprise all those not damaged intended for trade or Sale to Servants to be priced at the established schedule of advances of the District.

2nd Damaged and unsaleable to comprise all of that description, to be priced as heretofore at a fixed Value.

3rd Country produce to comprise Leather and such other produce as the Minutes of Council authorize being valued to be at fixed prices.

No stores or unproductive property of any description whether new or in use such as utensils (Fort Culinary) allowances, Stationery, Medicines to be valued; of all which property every Commissioned Gentleman is directed to take on from the Depot merely what is required for the use of the District.

Resolved 36. That Gentlemen in charge of Districts and Posts be directed to furnish annually with the Inventories a list of the articles in use at each Post, distinguishing them according to their condition as Good, Half worn, much worn, also a list of Cattle or other live stock and the number of Acres in cultivation, and quantity of seed sown for the next crop with quantity reaped the preceding Summer. The Cattle should be distinguished, Bulls, Cows, of the several ages, Calves, one year old, 2 year old, 3 years old and upwards without any valuation affixed.

Resolved 37. That regular and correct accounts of all supplies furnished along the communication or of property transferred from one Post or District to another delivered or forwarded accompanying such supplies or transfers of property, otherwise no charge thereof can afterwards be brought by the District furnishing against the District receiving the same.

Resolved 38. That a list of the Indian and Half breed and Free-men Trappers considered as appertaining to each District be made out and settled on annually by the Gentlemen in charge of neighboring Districts; and that no hunts in payment of supplies advanced by one Post or District, excepting for account or on behalf of the place furnishing, such supplies, and in all

doubtful, cases that such matters be determined and settled on by the parties concerned on a fair & liberal principal.

Resolved 39. That the Indians be treated with kindness and indulgence, and mild and conciliatory means resorted to in order to encourage industry, repress vice and inculcate morality; that the use of spirituous Liquors be gradually discontinued in the few Districts in which it is yet indispensable, and that the Indians be liberally supplied with requisite necessities particularly with articles of ammunition whether they have the means of paying for it or not, and that no Gentlemen in charge of Districts or Posts be at liberty to alter or vary the Standard or usual mode of trade with the Indians except by special permission of Council.

In order gradually to wean the Indians all over the Country from the use of spirituous Liquors to which they are so much addicted It is

Resolved 40. That none of that article either for trade Sales or gratuitous indulgence to Servants or allowances to Officers be imported to English River, Athabasca or McKenzies River Districts; and that such deficiency on the Outfit be made up by a proportionate increase in the supplies of ammunition and Tobacco.

The subject of nursing the Country with a view to the preservation of Beaver not being sufficiently understood It is

Resolved 41. That all Gentlemen in charge of Districts and Posts except such as are exposed to opposition exert their utmost influence in discouraging the hunting of Cub Beaver and of Beaver out of season; and that no Beaver traps or Springs be issued from the Depot of York, except for sale to the Piegan Indians or those hunting foxes on the Coast; and from the Depot of Moose only for Lake Huron District, the Posts along Lake Superior and to the Indians who hunt Foxes on the Bay side, and that in any case where an unusual proportion of Cub or unseasoned Beaver appears, the same to be particularly represented to the Gentleman superintending the Fur Stores, to the Governor and Council for the information of the Honble Committee.

Resolved 42. That all Officers and Servants of the Company having women or Children and wishing to leave the same in the Country on their retirement therefrom be required to make such provision for their future maintenance, more particularly for that of the Children as circumstances may reasonably warrant and the means of the Individual permit; that all those desirous of withdrawing the same from the Country be allowed every facility for that purpose and that none hereafter be allowed to take a woman without binding himself down to

such reasonable provision and maintenance of her & Children in the event of issue, as on a fair and equitable principle may be considered necessary not only during his residence in the Country but after his departure therefrom.

Regulations for Promoting Moral and Religious Improvement

Resolved 1. That for the moral and religious improvement of the Servants, and more effectual civilization and instruction of the families attached to the different Establishments, and of the Indians, that every Sunday divine service be publicly read with becoming solemnity once or twice a day, to be regulated by the number of people and other circumstances at which every man, woman and child resident will be required to attend together with any of the Indians who may be at hand and whose it may be proper to invite.

Resolved 2. That in course of the week due attention be bestowed to furnish the women and children such regular and useful occupation as is suited to their age and capacities and best calculated to suppress vicious and promote virtuous habits.

Resolved 3. As a preparative to education, that the mother and children be always addressed and habituated to converse in the vernacular dialect (whether English or French) of the Father and that he be encouraged to devote part of his leisure hours to teach the children their A, B, C, Catechism together with such further elementary instruction as time and circumstances may permit.

That Chief Factors, Chief Traders and Clerks in charge of Districts or Posts be directed to take the proper measures for carrying these Regulations into effect among the Company's Servants families and Indians attached to their respective charges.

With reference to the 20th Resolution of the foregoing Rules and Regulations It is

Resolved 1. That the Wages of Fishermen employed at such Posts as are entirely or primarily dependent on Fish be £19 instead of £17 p. annum wages; but that no more than one person at each Post so maintained will be allowed such extra pay and that the Blacksmiths employed at inland Posts be allowed £25 p. annum instead of the wages of the Steersman of the District.

With reference to the 23rd Resolution of the foregoing Rules and Regulations It is

Resolved 2. That the wages of Servants acting in the capacity of Cook or Gentleman's waiting man shall in no case be al-

lowed to exceed £17 p. annum, and that the additional gratuity heretofore given to persons acting in that capacity shall in future be allowed only to such Servants as on the Summer Voyage to and from the Wintering Grounds act in the capacity of Cook or waiting man independent of his duty as one of the regular crew of the Craft in which he may be employed except the Cooks employed at the Depots of York, Vancouver, Moose, Norway House & Ft. Garry Red River Settlement.

With reference to the 24th Article of the foregoing Rules and Regulations It is

Resolved 3. That the Accountant at the different Depots instead of debiting the private accounts of the Gentlemen deviating from the instructions contained in the Resolutions on the subject of Servants, Wages, Gratuities &c. with extra wages or gratuities be instructed to forward to the Governor and Council annually a list of such extra wages of Gratuities to be considered and determined on by the Council previous to being charged to private account.

(Signed)	George Simpson	Governor
	John Charles	C. F.
	John Rowand	"
	Peter W. Dease	"
	Allan McDonell	"
	Donald Ross	C. T.
	William Todd	"
	Richard Grant	"

Norway House)
23rd June 1836)

Russian Agreement.

Agreement between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Russian American Company respecting certain commercial arrangements herein after noticed, signed at Hamburgh sixth day of February 1839.

The Governor, Deputy Governor & Committee of the Hudsons Bay Company London and the directors of the Russian American Company of St. Petersburg being desirous of drawing still closer the ties of good understanding and friendship which unite them by means of an agreement which may settle on the basis of reciprocal convenience and advantage different points connected with the Commerce of the said Hudsons Bay Company and the Russian American Company have named agents to conclude an Agreement for this purpose, that is to say—The Hudsons Bay Company of London have appointed Mr. George Simpson Governor of their Territories of Ruperts Land to act in their be-

half; and the Russian American Company have appointed his excellency Baron Wrangell, Rear Admiral in the service of his Majesty, The Emperor of Russia to act in their behalf; who after having communicated to each other their respective full powers found in good and due form have agreed upon & signed the following Articles.—

Article 1st. It is agreed that the Russian American Company having the sanction of the Russian Government to that effect shall cede or lease to the Hudsons Bay Company for a term of 10 years commencing from the 1st June 1840 for commercial purposes the Coast (exclusive of the Islands) and the interior country belonging to his Majesty the Emperor of Russia, situated between Cape Spencer, forming the Northwest headland of the entrance of Cross Sound and Latitude 50° 40' or thereabouts say the Mainland Coast and Interior Country belonging to his Majesty, the Emperor of Russia together with the free navigation and trade of the waters of that Coast and Interior Country, situated to the Southward and Eastward of a supposed line to be drawn from the said Cape Spencer to Mount Fair-Weathr. with the sole or entire Trade or Commerce thereof; and the Russian American Company shall abandon all and every station and trading Establishment they now occupy on that Coast and in the Interior Country already described, and shall not form any station or trading Establishment during the said term of ten years, nor send their Officers, Servants, Vessels or Craft of any description for the purpose of trade into any of the Bays, Inlets, Estuaries, Rivers or Lakes in that line of Coast and in that interior Country; and shall not have any communication for the purpose of trade with any of the Tribes of Indians occupying or inhabiting that Coast or interior Country, and shall not receive in Trade, Barter or otherwise any of the Furs, Peltries or Produce whatsoever of the Mainland Coast or Interior Country already described. And shall in good faith & in spirit to the letter relinquish in favor of, and cede and assign to the Hudsons Bay Company the entire Trade and Commerce of the said Coast and Country, and by every means in their power protect the Hudsons Bay Company from all interference, encroachment or competition in their trade on the part of other Russian subjects, strangers and Foreigners whatsoever during the said term of Ten years as effectually as if the said Coast and Interior Country had not been ceded and had been virtually occupied by themselves. And that the Russian American Company shall permit and afford facilities to the Hudsons Bay Company to take and retain possession of the Russian Establishment of Point Highfield at the mouth of the Stikine river and to occupy by the formation of other Establishments, Stations or otherwise for the purposes of trade such other Posts of the said Coast and Interior Country as they may consider it

desirable so to occupy. And in the event of this Agreement not being renewed after the expiration of the said term of Ten Years it is agreed that the Hudsons Bay Company shall relinquish in favor of the Russian American Company the said Establishment situated at Point Highfield and any other stations or Posts they may in the meantime form on the Russian Territory already described. And in consideration of such cession & protection and of the Commercial and other advantages The Hudsons Bay Company may derive from such cession and protection it is agreed that the Hudsons Bay Company shall pay or deliver to the Russian American Company an annual rent 2000 seasoned Land Otter Skins (excluding Cub and damaged Skins) taken or hunted on the west side of the Rocky Mountains during the said term of Ten years; the first payment of the said rent to be by the delivery of the said 2000 Otter Skins on or before the 1st June 1841 to the Agents of the Russian American Company on the Northwest Coast.

Article 2nd. It is further agreed that the Hudsons Bay Company shall not trade with Indians nor receive in trade or Barter nor hunt any Furs or Peltries on any other part of the Russian Territory on the Northwest Coast or Islands than that ceded to them under the provisions of the foregoing Articles.—

Article 3rd. It is further agreed that the Hudsons Bay Company do sell to the Russian American Company all the seasoned Land Otter Skins they may collect on the West side of the Rocky Mountains not exceeding 2000 skins over and above the 2000 skins agreed to be paid as rent under provisions of the first Article for the said term of Ten Years at the price of 23/ Sterling per skin deliverable annually to their Agent on the Northwest Coast. And that the Hudsons Bay Company do further sell to the Russian American Company 3000 seasoned Land Otter Skins taken or hunted on the East side the Rocky Mountains for the said term of Ten Years at the price of thirty two shillings sterling per skin deliverable annually in like manner to the Agent of the Russian American Company on the Northwest Coast, the first delivery of Skins under this Article likewise to be on or before the 1st June 1841: and the following delivery of Skins to be on or before the first of June in every year.

Article 4th. It is further agreed that the Hudsons Bay Company shall supply the Russian American Company annually for a term of Ten Years with Wheat to the extent of 4000 Fenagos of 126 pounds per Fenago in 1840 and to the extent of 4000 Fenagos per annum afterwards at the price of Ten Shillings and Nine Pence Sterling per Fenago, and the whole or as much of the undermentioned Articles as convenient in 1840 and the full quantities annually for a term of 9 years afterwards at the prices affixed to those articles respectively. Viz.

160 cwt. Wheat Flour @ 18/5 per cwt.
130 cwt. Pease @ 13/— Do
130 cwt. Grits & hulled Pot Barley, if it
can be annually provided @ 13/— Do
300 cwt. Salted Beef @ 20/— Do
160 cwt. Salted Butter @ 56/— Do
30 cwt. Pork Hams @ 6d per lb.

Provided nevertheless that if through any unforeseen cause it may not be possible for the Hudsons Bay Company to fulfill their part of the Agreement, then and in that case it is agreed that the Russian American Company shall send one of their Vessels to the Southern course for the purpose of receiving the like supplies through the agency of the Hudsons Bay Company any extra charge that may be incurred through such contingency to be defrayed by the Hudsons Bay Company.

Article 5th. It being desirable for the Hudsons Bay Company to increase their Shipping or Tonnage from England to the North West Coast as a means of facilitating the transport of the Wheat & other supplies they have, under the foregoing Article of this Agreement undertaken to deliver to the Russian American Company, it is further agreed that whenever the Russian American Company may have occasion to forward to their Settlements on the Northwest Coast British manufactured Goods and other supplies of the like description as they have been usually in the habit of receiving from England & the United States of America they will forward the same on Freight by the Hudsons Bay Company's annual ship from England at a freight of £13 Sterling per Ton, the freight to be computed either by weight or measurement according to custom. It being provided nevertheless that when the Russian American Company may have occasion to send any of their own Ships from St. Petersburg to the North West Coast, they will in such cases forward their supplies by their own Ships instead of by the Hudsons Bay Company's Ships.

Article 6th. It is further agreed that the purchase money for Otter Skins under the 3rd Article; the purchase money of wheat and other Agricultural produce under the 4th Article; the Freight of Goods under the 5th Article of this Agreement; and the purchase money for any other Article that may be supplied to the Russian American Company by the Hudsons Bay Company from time to time shall be paid from time to time on the delivery respectively of the said Skins, Wheat and other Agricultural produce, Goods on Freight and other articles to the Agent of the Russian American Company at Fort Simpson, Stihine or any other Point more convenient to the Hudsons Bay Company on the Northwest Coast, North of the Latitude of Fort Simpson by Bills of Exchange in Triplicate to be drawn by the said Agent of the Russian American Company on the Directors of the Russian American Company

at St. Petersburg in favor of the Governor, Deputy Governor and Committee of the Hudsons Bay Company or order at sixty days after sight which the said Directors of the Russian American Company shall duly honour by acceptance and payment.

Article 7th. It is further agreed that should a declaration of War or hostilities unfortunately break out between Great Britain and Russia hereafter during the existence of this agreement, then and in that case such national hostilities shall not become a pretext for the non-payment on the part of the Russian American Company of the Drafts of their Agent on the North West Coast of America in favor of the Hudsons Bay Company but that all pecuniary matters of Account between the Contracting parties shall be liquidated and discharged honourably and in good faith as if their respective nations were in the most perfect amity.

Article 8th. It is further agreed that should a declaration of war or hostilities unfortunately break out between Great Britain and Russia hereafter during the existence of this agreement, the Russian American Company shall guarantee and hold harmless the Hudsons Bay Company from all loss and damage arising from such hostilities in so far as to enable the Hudsons Bay Company to evacuate and abandon their possessions and Trading Posts within the Russian Territory quietly and peaceably and to remove their Goods, Furs and other property within 3 months after receiving information of such hostility or declaration of war.

Article 9th. It is further agreed by the Hudsons Bay Company in consideration of the arrangements entered into under the provision of this agreement that they shall relinquish their claim now pending on the Russian Government, the Russian American Company or whoever else it may concern for injury or damage said to be sustained by the Hudsons Bay Company arising from the obstruction presented by the Russian authorities on the North West Coast of America to an Expedition belonging to the Hudsons Bay Company at the mouth of the river Stihine on the North West Coast of America in the year 1834 outfitted and equipped by the said Hudsons Bay Company for the purpose of forming a commercial station in the interior British Territory on the Banks of the said Stihine River.

In witness whereof we, the respective Agents sign, seal and execute this Agreement at Hamburgh this sixth day of February Eighteen Hundred and Thirty Nine.

(Signed) George Simpson
(") Baron Ferdinand Wrangell

Attested by Thomas Malis the Russian Vice Consul at Hamburgh 25th January 1839.
6th February

Hamburgh 6th February 1839.

Baron Wrangell

&c, &c, &c,

Sir

With reference to the agreement we have this day concluded between the Hudsons Bay Company and the Russian American Company, I beg to intimate for the information of all whom it may concern, that notice will be sent to Lord Palmerston by the Hudsons Bay Company soon after my arrival in England that the claim made by the Hudsons Bay Company on the Russian Government founded on certain proceedings that took place at the mouth of the Stihine river on the North West Coast of America in the year 1834 has this day been compromised and satisfactorily adjusted by us acting respectively on behalf of the Hudsons Bay Company and the Russian American Company.

I have the honor to be

&c, &c, &c,

(signed) George Simpson

George Simpson, Esquire,

&c, &c, &c,

Sir

With reference to the agreement we have this day entered into between the Russian American and Hudsons Bay Companies, I do hereby agree that during the Term of ten years from the 1st June 1840, the Russian American Company shall not encourage the visits to the North West Coast of Strangers and Foreigners by purchasing from them different Goods except such as may be required in cases of great emergency or to realize payment for operations of the Dock Yard of the Russian American Company on the North West Coast or, if it is necessary to buy a whole Ship for the service of the Russian American Company. But it is distinctly understood that in the event of any strange Vessel happening to visit through severe weather or for the purposes of illicit trade the Russian Territory on the North West Coast and that the Russian American Company have not the power or right of compelling the departure of such Vessel; such contingency is not to be made a pretext by the Hudsons Bay Company for withholding the rent agreed to be paid to the Russian American Company for the lease of the Coast.

I have the honor to be

&c, &c, &c,

(signed) Baron Wrangell

Hamburgh 6th February 1839.

Baron Wrangell

&c, &c, &c,

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge your letter of this date in reference to the agreement we have concluded between the Hudsons Bay Company and the Russian American Company under date 6th February 1839 and in reply I have to say that I am perfectly satisfied with the assurance you have given that the Russian American Company will not during the existence of that agreement encourage the visits of Strangers or Foreigners whatsoever for the purposes of trade, and further that the Hudsons Bay Company will not withhold or evade payment of the rent agreed to be paid to the Russian American Company under the circumstances or possible contingencies referred to in that Letter.

I have the honor to be

&c, &c, &c,

(signed) George Simpson.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR PREPARING CAVIARE

Immediately after the Sturgeon is cut open, take out the Roe, remove the film or skin surrounding it, let the particles of Roe be separated by hand and the little film or pieces of skin be picked out; put the Roes into a sieve or perforated Tub so that the blood and Oil may drain off for two or three hours, in a house of moderate temperature, afterwards mix it well up by hand with Salt in the proportion of one Salt to 7, 8 or 10 Roe according to the time it is intended to be kept, let it then be put into a Bag of Cotton or Linen or clean bale cloth, tightly compressed and tied at the neck and hung up for 4 to 8 days in the house (moderate temperature) so as to allow the Oil or Moisture to drain off, and afterwards let it be packed up and pressed tight in clean Kegs or Casks either with or without the Bags and carried to Market in as cool a temperature as possible. Caviare is made of the Roe of any Fish. The Beluga, a very large Fish of the Sturgeon kind caught in the Volga Ladoga and Onega produces the best; but it is supposed that none can be preferable to the Hudsons Bay or Columbia Sturgeon. Caviare is worth in St. Petersburg about 60 Rubles or 2/10 the Pood of 36 lb. or 1/4 to 1/5 per lb. and is sold in the shops in London at from 2/— to 2/6 per lb.

Average Price list for valuing Returns of Trade, for the Northern, Southern and Montreal Departments, adopted by Resolution No. 98 of Council 1841. (In English shillings and pence. 1/ stands for a shilling, and 6d for a sixpence etc.)

Badgers	Skin	1/7
Bears, Black		25/3
Brown		71/—
Grey		35/6
White		20/—
Beaver, large		32/—
small		15/8
coating		lb. 13/—
Castoreum		lb. 22/3
Feathers, Goose		lb. 1/2
Partridge		lb. —/10
Fishers	Skin	10/6
Foxes, Silver		98/—
Cross		19/—
Red		5/6
White		7/3
Blue		9/6
Kitt		2/3
Isinglass		lb. 6/—
Ivory		lb. 1/9
Lynx	Skins	9/6
Martens		10/4
Minks		2/3
Musquash		—/6
Oil, Train	Ton	567/—
Otters, Land	Skin	20/—
Sea		144/4
Quills, Goose per 1000		35/—
Swan per 1000		90/—
Raccoons	Skin	2/4
Swans,	Skin	4/8
Wolves		5/6
Wolverines		5/9
Bear's Grease	lb.	—/9
Buffalo, Robes	Each	10/—
Buffalo, Skins dressed	Each	5/—
Buffalo, Skins Parchment	Each	5/—
Deerskins, Elk & Red dressed		7/6
Deerskins, Do parchment		5/—
Deerskins, Rein—, dressed		2/—
Deerskins, Rein—, parchment		2/—
Ermines	Skin	—/3
Hares	Skin	—/3
Otter Tails (Sea Otter)	each	3/—
Panther	Skin	2/6
Seal (Fur)	Skin	4/—
Squirrels	Skin	—/1

Swan Pinons	each	—/3
Tallow	lb.	—/4-1/2
Tongues, Buffalo	each	—/9
Tongues, Reindeer	each	—/6
Whalebone	lb.	—/6
Wool	lb.	—/6

The freight and passenger rates referred to in Resolution No. 72 and 73 of the Minutes of Council of 1843.

SCALE of FREIGHT on PASSENGERS and GOODS per HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY'S VESSELS.

Per Hudson's Bay vessels:—

Freight on Goods to Officers and Servants £8 stg. per Ton
 Do Red River Settlers, payable before shipment £8 “ “ “

Passengers Out £8, Home £6
 under 15 Out £6, Home £3
 under 10 Out £4, Home £2
 20/— (shillings) less if landed at Stromness
 10/— (shillings) less if landed at Stromness

Per Columbia vessels:—

Freight on Goods to Russian American Company, payable by Bill on St. Petersburg sixty days after sight, on delivery of Goods at Stikine £10 per Ton

Do to Officers and Servants £8 per Ton

Do to the Puget Sound Company, (including water casks & provender) £6 per Ton

Cabin Passengers above 12 £40

Cabin Passengers under 12 £20

One half (of which) to Captain for extra Cabin allowances to be furnished by him.

Steerage Passengers above 12 £20

Steerage Passengers under 12 £10

TO ALL OTHER PERSONS:—

Freight on Goods £10 per Ton

Passengers in Cabin above 12 years £50

Passengers in Cabin under 12 years £25

Passengers in Steerage above 12 years £25

Passengers in Steerage under 12 years £12.10

These rates apply to persons landed or embarked at the Columbia River, as well as those landed or embarked at the Sandwich Islands.

Freight on Goods landed at the Sandwich Islands £9 per Ton
 Scale of Passage Money by the Hudson's Bay Company's ves-
 sels Between the Sandwich Islands and the Columbia River.

	Per Day
Cabin. Missionaries, male or female, to or from Oaku or elsewhere	\$2.50
Children between the ages of 8 & 12 years	2.00
Children between the ages of 5 & 8 years	1.50
Children under 5 years	1.00
Cabin. All Other Passengers, between above places	3.00
Children 8 to 12 years	2.50
Children 5 to 8 years	2.00
Children under 5 years	1.00
Steerage for above classes \$2—\$1.50—\$1.25, and \$1 per diem	
Between Decks—All passengers—Missionaries and others for above classes \$1.50, \$1.25, \$1.00, and \$.75 per diem.	

NO AGENT SHALL BE AT LIBERTY TO GRANT PASSAGES IN ANY OF THE COMPANY'S VESSELS UNDER ANY CONSIDERATION, WITHOUT SPECIAL AUTHORITY.

Freight on Goods between Sandwich Islands and Fort Vancouver	\$20 per Ton
Freight on Goods between California and Fort Vancouver	\$15 per Ton
Freight on Goods between California and Sandwich Islands	\$15 per Ton

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